

PRIVATE LIBRARIES AND THEIR DOCUMENTATION, 1665-1830

Studying and Interpreting Sources

Edited by Rindert Jagersma, Helwi Blom,
Evelien Chayes, and Ann-Marie Hansen

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Goldmines or Minefields? Private Libraries and Their Documentation (1665–1830)

Rindert Jagersma, Helwi Blom and Ann-Marie Hansen

When in his foundational *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (1627), Gabriel Naudé insisted on the importance of transcribing and collecting the catalogues of public and private libraries, historic and contemporary, large and small, local and foreign, he provided several reasons to justify this advice.* Naudé, who would later serve as librarian to Cardinal Mazarin, First Minister of France, posited that catalogues of (pre-)existing collections were indispensable instruments for those who wanted to build a library, since they not only provided useful models, but could also serve as bibliographic aids.¹ In fact, the idea of collecting and preserving catalogues of library collections was not as surprising as Naudé seemingly believed his readers would find it to be. Already in the mid-sixteenth century, polymath Conrad Gessner had amply demonstrated the usefulness of catalogues for all kinds of bibliographic purposes in his *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545) and made a plea for their preservation.² Yet, it seems that it was only in the decades following the publication of Naudé's *Advis*, a period which coincided with further expansion of the European book market and the rapid development of private book collecting practices, that a wider—less exclusively scholarly—public began to take an interest in the contents and the catalogues of private libraries, all across the continent. The second edition of the *Advis* appeared in 1644, coincidentally giving rise to the publication of a treatise consecrated entirely to discussion of the finest libraries in the world—both past and present.³ Its author, the Carmelite scholar and librarian to the Cardinal de Retz, Louis Jacob, was in fact a friend

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- 1 Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: François Targa, 1627), pp. 27–30 (USTC 6019927).
- 2 Conrad Gessner, *Bibliotheca Universalis* (Zürich: Christoph Froschauer, 1545) (USTC 616753). On Gessner's approach to catalogues see Ann Blair, *Too Much to Know. Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 163.
- 3 Louis Jacob, *Traicté des plus belles bibliothèques publiques et particulières, qui ont esté, & qui sont à présent dans le monde* (Paris: Rolet le Duc, 1644) (USTC 6035314).

of Naudé's and had been asked to help prepare the augmented edition of the *Advis*. Jacob had agreed, but, having received such enthusiastic responses from the correspondents whom he had asked to send him detailed information on sizeable collections (of at least 3,000 volumes), the handful of pages he had set out to write expanded into a full-blown book. In the preface, Jacob noted that while the subject of fine libraries had been discussed before, the focus had been on libraries of the past. His work dealt primarily with libraries of the present, so that his contemporaries, and especially those willing to travel, could benefit in a practical way from the information on the "riches Tresors des Muses" [rich treasures of the Muses] that he had gathered.

From the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, a growing number of reference works on (private) book collections, their cataloguing and their management appeared on the European market. Several of them, such as Johann Heinrich Hottinger's *Bibliothecarius quadripartitus* (1664) and Johannes Lomeier's *De Bibliothecis* (1669), combined a practical approach with an overview of historical and extant libraries. At the same time, the catalogues of private collections increasingly took the form of a printed book, especially when they appeared in conjunction with a public auction organised by a bookseller, a practice that developed in the Low Countries and that, from the end of the seventeenth century onwards, had been adopted in several other countries.⁴ Both manuscript and printed catalogues from this period show that by this time, library owners were taking Naudé's advice: besides booksellers' and public library catalogues, many of them contain numerous catalogues of other private libraries. Some of these were the catalogues from auctions that these owners had attended themselves, whereas others had been collected for different reasons. The renowned physician and collector Hans Sloane for example, who owned an impressive assortment of various types of catalogues from all over Europe, purchased fourteen sale catalogues from auctioneer Edward Millington in 1706/1707. He already owned copies of some of them, having been present at most of the sales himself, but Millington's copies were annotated with prices and the names of the buyers.⁵ Whatever the reason

4 Bert van Selm, *Een menigthe treffelijcke boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: Hes Uitgevers, 1987). For an overview of recent scholarship, see Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

5 Giles Mandelbrote, 'Les catalogues de libraires dans les collections de Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753): provenance et transmission', in Annie Charon, Claire Lesage, Ève Netchine (eds.), *Le livre entre le commerce et l'histoire des idées. Les catalogues de libraires (xv^e–xix^e siècle)* (Paris: École nationale des Chartes, 2011), pp. 203–242. On Sloane's catalogues and inspiration in Naudé and others works on bibliography, see Alexandra Ortolja-Baird, 'Sir Hans

for collecting and preserving private catalogues, whether for the information on prices and buyers they contained, for use as bibliographic reference works, library manuals, reading or shopping lists, or to honour the memory—and the books—of a deceased relative or a famous collector, the end result was the same.⁶ This documentation on early modern private libraries, which in principle should have been of an even more transitory nature than the collections themselves, was thereby preserved well after the dispersal of the collections described, sometimes until the present day. This was especially true when the catalogues were kept in large aristocratic libraries or entered collections that were later bequeathed to public institutions.⁷

The paradigms and practices that underlay Naudé's advice and the collections formed by those who—deliberately or not—followed it, reflect the book culture of their time. Yet the habits that were at the heart of his work seem to be deeply rooted in human nature: the impulse to collect, the urge to document and categorise the objects collected, and also sheer curiosity. Today, the handwritten and printed catalogues of early modern collections remain valuable tools for those interested in the history of the book. In retrospect then, one can add to Naudé's list another justification for collecting, copying, studying and preserving private library catalogues: materials documenting the contents and the use of private libraries are an invaluable source for the study of intellectual and cultural history.

Sloane's Collection of Books and Manuscripts: An Enlightenment Library?', in Arthur der Weduwen and Ann-Marie Hansen (eds.), *Publishers, Censors and Collectors in the European book trade, 1650–1750* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

- 6 In 1772, the Leeuwarden bookseller Abraham Ferwerda published his attempt at a *Catalogus universalis: Algemeene naam-lyst van boeken met de pryzen* [General list of the names of books with their prices]. He based his information on collections of auction catalogues from 1701–1772 and the handwritten auction proceedings. Abraham Ferwerda, *Algemeene naam-lyst van boeken met de pryzen* (Leeuwarden: Abraham Ferwerda and Gerrit Tresling, 1772), STCN: 157192660. See Everhard Hofland, 'Prijzen van boeken van Weyerman in de Naam-lyst van Ferwerda', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 15 (1992), pp. 58–61; Hans Gruys, 'Rijklof Michael van Goens. Het mysterie van de 24.200 verdwenen catalogi', in Ton van Uchelen and Hannie van Goinga (eds.), *Van pen tot laser: 31 opstellen over boek en schrift* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1996), pp. 150–156, here p. 153.
- 7 To give but one example, hundreds of Dutch book sales catalogues have survived the test of time in the Herzog August Library in Wolfenbüttel thanks to the collecting of Augustus II, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1579–1666). Marika Keblusek, 'Gekocht in Den Haag. Hertog August van Wolfenbüttel en de Haagse Elzeviers', in Berry Dongelmans, Paul Hoftijzer and Otto Lankhorst (eds.), *Boekverkopers van Europa: het 17de-eeuwse Nederlandse uitgevershuis Elzevier* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2000), pp. 211–224.

Twentieth-Century Developments in the Academic Study of Private Libraries

Scholars have long acknowledged the importance of studying private libraries and their documentation to understand intellectual and cultural history, especially for the period prior to the rise of public libraries and the mechanisation of book production. Private library catalogues and other book lists have indeed proven to be an essential resource for academic research at least since Daniel Mornet published his seminal article on ‘Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780)’.⁸ In his study, Mornet demonstrated that the analysis of private libraries of the past can reveal more about the ‘influence’ of canonised authors on their contemporaries than a comparative analysis of the production side of the book market (the number of editions a title went through). To substantiate this thesis, he pointed to lacunae in bibliographic research, the lack of information on early modern print runs, and insisted on the fact that a book published is not necessarily a book bought.

Following the publication of Mornet’s work, the importance of this type of material has been increasingly acknowledged by researchers and bibliographers from around the world.⁹ At first, book lists documenting the contents of private libraries were used primarily as sources for the study of the history of ideas, then in the 1960s and 1970s, when book history had earned its *lettres de noblesse* as an academic discipline, the focus shifted to social history and the history of mentalities. At this point, researchers turned to archival material, notably probate inventories, and away from the printed catalogues that, according to some, overrepresented social elites. Michel Marion, for example, examined some 4,000 probate inventories in order to document the presence of books and the constitution of libraries in Parisian households from various

8 “The teachings of private libraries” were gleaned from Mornet’s analysis of the contents of some 500 printed private library catalogues held by the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse. Daniel Mornet, ‘Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780)’, *Revue d’histoire littéraire de la France*, 17 (1910), pp. 449–496.

9 See for example: Sophie A. Krijn, ‘Franse lektuur in Nederland in het begin van de 18^e eeuw’, *De nieuwe taalgids*, 11 (1917), pp. 161–178; George L. McKay, *American Book Auction Catalogues, 1713–1934* (New York: New York Public Library, 1937). For a recent overview of the changing use of printed private library catalogues as a historical source, see Helwi Blom, Rindert Jagersma and Juliette Reboul, ‘Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source for the History of Reading in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe’, in Mary Hammond (ed.), *Edinburgh History of Reading. Early Readers* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), pp. 249–269.

socio-economic strata between 1750 and 1759.¹⁰ This was followed in the 1980s and 1990s by a tendency to study book collections and book lists as part of a communication circuit involving authors and readers, but also publishers, printers, transporters, book sellers, binders and others actors who have an influence on the message and on the medium that conveys it. By foregrounding questions related to the materiality of the book and libraries, print and reading culture, the book trade, and reception studies, research over the last decades has significantly broadened the perspective on the constitution and use of private libraries in the past. Among other aspects, the role of book auctions in—primarily North-Western—Europe has received ample attention.¹¹ Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the possibilities afforded by the ‘digital age’ have led to the development of projects and resources that open new avenues for macro-scale research and renewed interest in quantitative lines of inquiry.¹² An inverse approach focuses on the trajectory of individual books that have been preserved and that contain ownership marks.

Throughout these developments, the scholarship concerned with private libraries and their documentation can roughly be divided into two strands of research that have steadily developed alongside one another since the publication of Mornet’s work. The first concentrates on the contents and uses of historical libraries as well as on the background of their owners. The second consists of bibliographic or analytical overviews of specific types of sources that could be exploited by those interested in library history and the history of book ownership and reading.¹³ These two strands of research, which are

10 Michel Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: BnF, 1978).

11 Hans Dieter Gebauer, *Bücherauktionen in Deutschland im 17. Jahrhundert* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1981); Van Selm, *Een menigte treffelijcke boecken*; Françoise Bléchet, *Les ventes publiques de livres en France, 1630–1750: répertoire des catalogues conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation 1991); Robin Myers, Michael Harris and Giles Mandelbrote (eds.), *Under the hammer: Book auctions since the seventeenth century. Papers originally presented at the conference “Under the hammer” held in London, Nov. 25–26 2000* (London: Oak Knoll Press & The British Library, 2001); Lis Byberg, *Brukte bøker til bymann og bonde: bokauksjonen i den norske litterære offentlighet 1750–1815* (Oslo: Det Humanistiske Fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo, 2007); Iwona Imánska, *Per medium auctionis: aukcje ksiązek w Rzeczypospolitej (XVII–XVIII w.)* [Per medium auctionis: Book Auctions in the Polish Commonwealth (17th–18th Centuries)] (Torún: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2013).

12 The MEDIANE project is just such a case, as are several of the digital projects figuring in the contributions in the present volume.

13 Multiple examples of both of these approaches are cited in Blom, Jagersma and Reboul, ‘Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source’.

evidently intertwined, have each received considerable critical attention and led to the publication of impressive databases and syntheses such as *Book Sales Catalogues Online* (BSCO), David Pearson's *English Book Owners Online* (BOO) and the *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*.¹⁴

The academic study of both the source material itself and the book collections it documents is however hampered by a number of factors. These include the great variety of source types, the permeable boundaries between them, and as a result, the difficult task of distinguishing them, let alone applying clear terminology to identify them. Other complicating factors include difficulties in locating and accessing sources, as well as the nationally oriented focus of many studies. It is these issues that this volume seeks to address, first by foregrounding them and then by proposing ways to move forward, as a form of agenda-setting for future research. The individual contributions in this volume, which revolve on the one hand around the owners, users and contents of early modern private book collections, and on the other, around the book lists and other sources used to document and study these collections, all engage with the problems identified above. Read together, they offer a broad comparative view and substantial insights that can function as stepping-stones for further research.

The initial chronological scope envisaged was the long eighteenth century: 1665–1830. This time frame was set in consideration of the rapid development of printed private library catalogues in North-Western Europe towards the end of the seventeenth century, and the end of the hand press era at the beginning of the nineteenth century. While several of the chapters in this volume show that this range is indeed relevant for certain types of private libraries and book lists, others reveal it to be a less appropriate fit, thus illustrating one of the complexities this book aims to bring to the fore: the different temporalities of the contexts in which private collections and the materials documenting them evolved.

'Private' 'Library' 'Catalogues': The Challenge of Terminology

In everyday speech, the terms 'private library' and 'catalogue' seem clear enough. Yet, when applied to research on historical libraries, they prove to be

14 BSCO is available online at <<https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>>. On the history of the Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic project, see chapter 19 by Otto S. Lankhorst in this volume. For BOO, see <<https://www.bookowners.online>>; *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises* (4 vols., Paris: Promodis-Éditions du Cercle de la librairie, 1988–1992).

less unambiguous, since they can be used to designate different types of documents and collections. What, indeed, is a library and under what conditions can we speak of a 'private' library? And what exactly is a book catalogue? Is it a specific type of list or can any enumeration of books be called a catalogue? This may sound like academic hair-splitting, but asking these questions is in fact essential. Without a clear definition of the object and the scope of studies in this field, communicating about results risks leading to confusion and misunderstandings or to unjustified generalisations in which practices or sources that predominate in regions that have received ample international attention are erroneously presented as typical.

To start with the first element, qualifying a library as 'private' tends to imply that the collection was (primarily) for personal use, distinguishing it from institutional and public libraries. In doing so, however, one risks creating a false dichotomy, as if ownership and use of 'private' collections were limited to a single individual. A private library was generally shared and used by the whole family or household of the supposed owner, if only because reading with others was an important social activity in the early modern period.¹⁵ Private libraries also fulfilled essential functions within broader reading communities, through family and professional networks, and through other networks of informal, interpersonal book lending. Thus, in a time when scholars—especially those in peripheral regions—were largely dependent on their own libraries and those of other private book collectors, the Republic of Letters could indeed not have worked if its affluent citizens had not been willing to share their books with others.¹⁶ In addition, the distinction between 'private' libraries on the one hand, and the collections of institutional and 'public' libraries, including circulating and subscription libraries, on the other, is less obvious when one considers the various ways in which they could be connected.¹⁷ In many cases, private libraries laid the foundations for public libraries or institutional

15 See Abigail Williams, *The Social Life of Books. Reading Together in the Eighteenth-Century Home* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Alicia C. Montoya and Rindert Jagersma, 'Marketing Maria Sibylla Merian, 1720–1800. Book Auctions, Gender, and Reading Culture in the Dutch Republic', *Book History*, 21 (2018), pp. 56–88; Rindert Jagersma and Joanna Rozendaal, 'Female Book Ownership in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic. The Book Collection of Paper-Cutting Artist Joanna Koerten (1650–1715)', *Quaerendo*, 50:1–2 (2020), pp. 109–140.

16 On the willingness to share personal libraries with others, see for example chapter 3 by Paul Hoftijzer and chapter 4 by Laurence Brockliss in this volume.

17 See chapter 2 by Anders Toftgaard on the collection of Otto Thott (1703–1785), Denmark's greatest private book collector. See also chapter 12 by Michał Bajer, below, and Mark Towsey and Kyle B. Roberts (eds.), *Before the Public Library: Reading, Community, and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1650–1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

libraries.¹⁸ Consequently, it is sometimes possible to work backwards from the documentation around the collections of public institutions to arrive at the foundational private collections. Those connections merit all the more attention as they can reveal historical private collections not otherwise known. The opposite is also true: institutional libraries regularly sold the doubles in their collections and these books often ended up in private hands again.¹⁹

Books from ‘private’ collections not only circulated from a geographical point of view, they also travelled in time. Entire book collections could pass from one collector to another, thereby blurring the lines demarcating separate ‘private’ collections. This was not seldom the case with large aristocratic libraries, which sometimes stayed in the family for decades or even centuries. In some regions, library owners could easily resort to the institution of a *fideicommissum* or a family entail.²⁰ Besides, the fact that a library was offered for sale after the death of its owner did not necessarily mean that the collection was broken up. As shown by the announcements in several sale catalogues printed in seventeenth-century France, the heirs often first tried to sell the library “en bloc” and there are several examples of early modern French bibliophiles who acquired large parts of the collections of their former friends and/or rivals. Sometimes the names of former possessors lived on in the catalogues of those who acquired some of their books.²¹

The second element of the term ‘private library’ poses similar problems: in which circumstances can we call a gathering of books a library? Does this require numerous books or does a small number, or even one, suffice? Do books belonging to one owner, but housed in different properties form one library, or do they represent different libraries? To return to Naudé, according to him, it was the orderly disposition that set a library apart from a random

18 See chapter 6 by Róbert Oláh and chapter 7 by Giliola Barbero, below.

19 See for example, Yves Jocteur-Montrozier, ‘Les Jésuites lyonnais et la bibliothèque municipale de Lyon’, in Étienne Fouilloux and Bernard Hours (eds.), *Les Jésuites à Lyon XVI^e–XX^e siècle* (Lyon: ENS, 2005), pp. 95–109. See also chapter 12 by Bajer, below.

20 See chapter 1 by Alex Alsemgeest on the Leufstabruk Library in Sweden, owned by the Dutch eighteenth-century industrialist and entomologist Charles De Geer (1720–1778), below.

21 See for example *Bibliotheca Colbertina: seu catalogus librorum bibliothecæ, quæ fuit primum Ill. V.D.J.B. Colbert, regni administræ, deinde Ill. D.J.B. Colbert, march. de Seignelay; postea Rev. et Ill. D.J. Nic. Colbert, Rothomagensis Archiepiscopi; ac demum Ill. D. Caroli-Leonorii Colbert, comitis de Seignelay* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1728) and *Catalogue des livres provenant de la bibliothèque de Mr le duc de Choiseul, ancien Ministre, et par suite de M. Laborde, ancien Banquier de la Cour* (Paris: Méquignon, 1820). On books travelling from one owner to another, also see chapter 18 by Marieke van Delft, below.

heap of books, but his expert opinion likely differed from that of many of his contemporaries.²² The contributors in this volume who paused to ask this question in so many words also came up with divergent answers, according to the focus of their research, its geographical context and the nature of the source material.²³

In addition, the diverse nature of materials documenting private book collections is such that it is not always easy to distinguish between the different categories of early modern sources recording privately owned books. Hidden under the apparent unity of a type of text generally referred to as a 'catalogue' exists an intricate web of documents in different sizes and shapes, which all claim to list privately owned books. The purposes for which they were compiled vary just as widely; they range from a handwritten list of a meagre handful of titles for personal use, to the multi-volume printed catalogue of a library offered for sale, to a probate inventory listing only the selected titles of a few valuable items. Each type of document has its own conventions, partly dictated by the reasons for which it was drawn up, whether domestic, legal, or commercial, for example. Yet a single list could serve multiple purposes at once, or at subsequent moments, a fact that blurs not only the boundaries between different types of lists, but also our interpretation of what they represent.²⁴

For example, the owners of larger libraries often maintained records of the books they possessed in order to have an overview of their collection, and these could double as an instrument to locate titles on the shelves. After an owner's death, such lists could moreover serve as the basis for a probate inventory, a book sale catalogue or even the catalogue of a public library.²⁵ As the latter possibilities indicate, documents recording the contents of private libraries

22 Naudé, *Advis*, p. 130: "sans cet ordre & disposition tel amas de livres que ce peust estre ... ne meriteroit pas le nom de Bibliotheque" [without this order and disposition a collection of books, however large it might be, does not deserve the name 'library'].

23 See in this volume, chapter 16 by Joseph L. Black, chapter 8 by Federica Dallasta, and chapter 13 by István Monok.

24 See chapter 10 by Idalia García Aguilar and Alberto José Campillo Pardo, and chapter 8 by Dallasta, below.

25 An example for each of these types can be found in the following: the *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Bellanger, trésorier général du Sceau de France* (Paris: Gabriel & Claude Martin, 1740) compiled on the basis of Bellanger's domestic catalogue; Christian Coppens, 'A Post-Mortem Inventory Turned into a Sales Catalogue: a Screening of the Auction Catalogue of the Library of Charles Duke of Croy, Brussels 1614', *Quaerendo*, 38:4 (2008), pp. 359–380; and the *Bibliotheca Prustelliana, sive Catalogus librorum bibliothecae viri clarissimi D.D. Guillelmi Prousteau ... Aurelianus depositae in Monasterio Beatae Mariae de Bono Nuntio, Ordinis Benedictini ... Ad usum studiosorum omnium* (Orléans: typis Francisci Rouzeau, 1721).

fit into a wider corpus of early modern book lists that similarly resist stable characterisation.

The complexity of distinguishing specific categories within this larger corpus becomes evident when one compares typologies developed by specialists within the field. Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman's influential *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue* for example differentiates between personal library catalogues, manuscript inventories, printed inventories, inventory sale catalogues, and auction sale catalogues. The main division underlying their study is not between private and public—or institutional—use and ownership of the books, but between lists of books intended to stay in the collection, and lists compiled in a context of transferring books from one owner to another.²⁶ From that perspective, inventory and auction sale catalogues of private collections fit naturally with different types of lists of books advertised by booksellers and publishers, while personal library catalogues, in the sense of catalogues drawn up for the use of the owner, are closer to catalogues of institutional libraries. This could explain why the typology of early modern book lists designed more recently by Malcolm Walsby groups personal library catalogues and institutional library catalogues together under the heading 'private catalogues'. As far as lists emanating from the members of the book trade are concerned, Walsby makes a distinction between 'booktrade lists', offering insight on the stocks and publications of printers and booksellers, and 'sales catalogues' that focus on the second-hand book trade.²⁷ The latter category encompasses Graham and Pollard's inventory sales and auction sales catalogues. The authors of these studies, who were primarily interested in the book trade rather than in private collectors and collections, note the difficulty of coming up with a clear typology of book lists that does justice to the continuity and entanglement between the different categories. This lack of clarity has led to the elaboration of numerous custom-made typologies in response to different research interests.²⁸

The ensuing ambiguity in the vocabulary used to describe source materials further contributes to the complexity of the situation. Yann Sordet has given an

26 Cf. Graham Pollard and Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800: Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1965), p. 249.

27 Malcolm Walsby, 'Book Lists and their Meaning', in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World. Catalogues and Inventories in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 1–24.

28 On typologies, see in this volume, chapter 13 by Monok, chapter 16 by Black, chapter 9 by Andrea Reyes Elizondo, chapter 17 by Giovanna Granata, and chapter 15 by Fan Wang. Chapter 11 by Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí, and chapter 10 by García Aguilar and Campillo Pardo provide examples of the difficulties in defining a multifaceted and unstable corpus.

insightful overview of the array of partly overlapping terms used to designate lists recording private (and other) book collections, both partial and whole, such as ‘catalogue’, ‘inventory’, ‘repertory’, ‘index’, ‘roll’, ‘list’ or ‘memorandum’.²⁹ Although these terms are all connected through the fact that they refer to lists of books and that they were used in the early modern period, each has different connotations associated with the context in which it originated and functioned. Without clear definitions of the vocabulary used to describe the source material, discussions on the documentation of early modern private libraries risk degenerating into a Babylonian confusion of tongues. This is the reason why, in this introduction, we have preferred the use of the term ‘book list’, which serves as an umbrella term for all the different types of documentation one encounters while searching for tangible traces of early modern private libraries. Used in this sense, book lists are documents that record a number of (privately owned) books. They do not necessarily have to be in the shape of a bibliographically descriptive list, but can take many forms, from handwritten domestic notes to sale catalogues, through descriptions in letters, clerical reports and probate inventories. They can be recorded by the owner, an associate, a third party, or reconstructed at a later stage. The term ‘book list’ has the advantage that it is broader than terms such as ‘catalogue’ or ‘inventory’. Apart from the fact that their definition can also be problematic, these are such prolific sub-categories of book lists, that the use of these terms can unintentionally skew the understanding of the materials referenced or confine their interpretation to the specific characteristics they are traditionally associated with. Rather than impose definitions of what a ‘private library’ or a ‘catalogue’ is or should be, we have left these terms open to the interpretation of each author, thereby allowing for a broad exploration of potential sources and actors’ categories.

Finding and Interpreting Early Modern Lists of Privately Owned Books

In addition to the difficulty characterising private libraries and the documents that list their contents, there are several further pitfalls to be wary of in the use

29 Yann Sordet, ‘Pour une histoire des catalogues de livres: matérialités, formes, usages’, in Frédéric Barbier, Thierry Dubois and Yann Sordet (eds.), *De l’argile au nuage: une archéologie des catalogues (11^e millénaire av. J.-C.–XXI^e siècle)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Mazarine/Bibliothèque de Genève, Éditions des Cendres, 2015), pp. 15–46. Sordet’s analysis also discusses the question of typology.

of book lists to study book ownership and the circulation of ideas. As a book historical source, they provide a partial approach since the different types of lists documenting private collections were not designed to provide an overview of all the books read by the former owner. It is also important to emphasise that, even if they claim to, these lists do not always give a reliable account of all the books possessed by the owner. While they represent at best “an image of the library frozen in time”, often compiled “at a turning point in the life of a collection”, several of them—notably auction catalogues—omit titles that were in the collection or, on the contrary, add titles that were not.³⁰ For this reason, some book historians have turned away from printed catalogues, instead making probate inventories their preferred source for studying early modern book ownership.³¹ However, probate inventories also have particular features that complicate their use; they generally only list the most valuable books and the descriptions of even those titles are sometimes too succinct to be of great help. In fact, both printed auction and sale catalogues and probate inventories were drawn up in the context of a financial evaluation of the goods of the owner and probate inventories were regularly used as a basis for the printed sale catalogues. The catalogue compiled for the sale of the library of French lawyer Pierre Mariot in September 1751, for instance, closely follows the list contained in the *inventaire après décès* drawn up three months earlier. In some respects, the description of the books in the catalogue is more complete than in the inventory and indeed the last three entries in the catalogue contain books that are signalled as not having been described in the inventory. On the other hand, certain inventory numbers are skipped in the catalogue, indicating that not all books were offered for sale.³² Instead of preferring one source over another, aggregating them, whenever possible, is likely to be the most rewarding strategy. An in-depth comparative analysis of multiple lists recording books from

30 Blom, Jagersma and Reboul, ‘Printed Private Library Catalogues as a Source’, p. 254. See also below chapter 5 by Pierre Delsaerd, and chapter 17 by Granata.

31 See for example, José de Kruijff, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers. Leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), p. 59; and Dominique Varry, “*Sous la main de la nation*”. *Les bibliothèques de l’Eure confisquées sous la Révolution française* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d’étude du XVIII^e siècle, 2005), p. 32.

32 See *Catalogue des livres de feu monsieur Mariot, avocat aux conseils du Roy* (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1751), and Archives nationales (Paris), MC/ET/XXVI/458, inventory dated 18 June 1751. For further discussion, see Helwi Blom, ‘Philosophie ou Commerce? L’évolution des systèmes de classement bibliographique dans les catalogues de bibliothèques privées publiés en France au XVIII^e siècle’, in Frédéric Barbier, István Monok and Andrea Seidler (eds.), *Les bibliothèques et l’économie des connaissances/Bibliotheken und die Ökonomie des Wissens 1450–1850 ...* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ, 2020), pp. 203–234.

the same collection could also deepen our understanding of the similarities and differences between different types of lists.

Admittedly, taking such an approach has historically been hampered by a lack of overviews of relevant sources. This results in part from the fact that there are so many different types of sources, and that these are scattered among libraries and archives both public and institutional, as well as in private collections. Even for the best-documented of these source-types, auction catalogues, there are still important bibliographical lacunae and reliable estimates of the surviving numbers are difficult to come by.³³ Nor is it always easy to locate or access the extant material—even in the digital age. Many sources have travelled from one location to another and are now kept well beyond their original place of production. Furthermore, surviving documents are often of a fragmentary nature, may be dispersed in different collections, and their access may be complicated for material, historical and linguistic reasons. The massive destruction and the relocation of archives during periods of political instability and war in the distant and recent past, represent a major impediment.³⁴

By bringing together a selection of overviews of extant material in different regions, this volume contributes to the identification and localisation of a rich array of documents that are indispensable for a broad understanding of early modern book culture.³⁵

The Predominance of Nationally Oriented Case Studies

Despite the fact that reading and owning books is a widespread and fundamentally transnational phenomenon, the study of early modern readership tends to be nationally oriented; scholars have rarely researched readership outside of their own cultural and linguistic borders. This is not altogether surprising, as there are pragmatic reasons for focussing on locally available sources, the most notable being accessibility, and familiarity with the language as well as the local archival traditions. This approach has resulted in a wealth of perceptive and nuanced research into reading and book collecting practices within specific regional contexts. Unfortunately, the dissemination of findings has often

33 Rindert Jagersma, 'Dutch Printed Private Library Sales Catalogues 1599–1800. A Bibliometric Overview', in Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree and Graeme Kemp (eds.), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 87–117.

34 See in this volume, chapter 7 by Barbero, and chapter 9 by Reyes Elizondo, respectively.

35 See, among others, in this volume, chapter 14 by Jonas Thorup Thomsen, chapter 15 by Fan Wang, chapter 11 by Rueda Ramírez and Agustí, chapter 12 by Bajer, and chapter 13 by Monok.

remained restricted to the linguistic sphere in question, resulting in accessibility issues—both linguistic and practical—for a wider audience.

The reverse implication is equally problematic, as historians rely on previous research published in languages that they are able to read. Whereas national, regional or even local traditions with regard to documenting private book collecting differed widely during the early modern period, our understanding of sources and practices is often shaped by a limited number of specific contexts, all the more particular since so many publications concerning private libraries of the past take the form of case studies. Local, regional and national traditions could vary with respect to what people considered to be a 'library', the way collectors organised their books on bookshelves and in catalogues, or how books from private libraries were sold. Without knowledge of other contexts, the commonalities and specificities of any one tradition remain unappreciated. This is all the more problematic when one considers that the early modern book trade was fundamentally international and—despite various attempts to do so—never limited by national borders.³⁶

In order to gain insight into national and cultural differences and convergences in sources documenting private book ownership, libraries and reading practices, it is therefore not only essential to gather hard-to-find publications and sources and provide access to them, but first and foremost to adopt a comparative perspective. While the ongoing digitisation of various print and archival materials—and their increasing use in linked digital humanities projects—brings the first goal within reach, the issue of language and communication continues to represent an important obstacle. Yet, the only road to a truly transnational approach is communication between specialists of different regions, countries and continents.

Besides drawing attention to libraries, archives, repositories and other collections containing substantial documentation on early modern private libraries, the aim of this volume is to offer a state of the art of scholarship on lists of privately owned books in various linguistic and geographical regions as well as to make this information accessible for an audience that does not master the languages in which this scholarship predominantly exists.

36 See for example chapter 12 by Bajer on private collections in the early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: the majority of the extant seventeenth- and the eighteenth-century auction catalogues were published in Royal Prussia, a border region that was heavily influenced by the German book market.

Shifting Boundaries

The chapters collected in this volume serve as a guide to sources and resources in different parts of the world as well as to state-of-the-art methods and interpretational approaches. Our aspiration is for their juxtaposition here to open comparative and transnational perspectives on the study of private libraries and their documentation. This is all the more important because the form and contents of early modern book lists vary according to the geographical, cultural and chronological contexts in which they were composed and preserved. Reading the chapters together encourages the detection of specificities, patterns and developments, such as the role of the Inquisition in documenting private collections in the Spanish Empire, the presence of non-book items, the influence of different inheritance law systems, the timeline of the spread of book auctions in urban, especially academic, environments, or the dichotomy between northern and southern Europe with regard to the publication of printed (sale) catalogues. It also helps historians to consider collecting and cataloguing practices from specific regions and eras in a broader perspective. Although subject categorisation developed in parallel in different parts of the world, resulting in a rich array of region-specific models, categorisation systems used in early modern book lists also testify to the fact that the Republic of Letters was above all a community without borders. International students brought home books from foreign countries and continued to rely on the networks they had established abroad for further supply. The rise of national libraries based on private collections in the nineteenth century was an almost pan-European phenomenon. The practices of Leuven booksellers who squeezed in their own stock when drawing up auction catalogues of private collections were also not limited to this particular region. It is however not yet clear how common this *modus operandi* was among booksellers outside of the Southern Netherlands. The documented occurrences of “ingestoken boeken” [added books] in auctions of private book collections held in certain cities in the Dutch Republic, for example, seem to imply far lower percentages of books than in Leuven. They also show that, with respect to these auctions, professional jealousy led booksellers to keep a sharp eye on each other.³⁷

37 See, for example, Hannie van Goinga, *‘Alom te bekomen’ Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720–1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999), pp. 125, 127, 142–143. See also, above, the observation on the completeness of Pierre Mariot’s auction catalogue, and the private library sale catalogue stating explicitly that some books do not belong to the collection, mentioned in chapter 11 by Rueda Ramírez and Agustí.

On the other hand, eighteenth-century French booksellers are known for presenting the stocks they wanted to dispose of quickly in the form of an auction or a sale catalogue advertising an anonymous private library rather than as a bookseller's catalogue.³⁸ These examples once more show the importance of distinguishing between different types of catalogues as well as the need for additional and comparative research on primary sources regarding the early modern book trade and its regulations.

Juxtaposition of the chapters also makes visible the biases towards certain types of sources, collections, or contexts that have shaped the historiography of the field. Partly thanks to the number of preserved copies and their accessibility, printed catalogues used for the book auctions that dominated the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century second-hand book market in parts of Europe are by far the best-researched type of book list and therefore tend to colour our understanding of early modern book culture.

If there is any overall conclusion to be drawn from this volume, it is that the material and the questions it covers cannot yet be organised into one all-encompassing typology or other organisational structure. Not only are typologies of sources highly dependent on cultural, religious, educational, legal, regional, political and historical contexts, as well as on the goal for which the typology is designed, but several of those sources remain understudied. When we take a closer look at early modern book lists, libraries, their owners and the way in which their collections were built and used, patterns that seemed clear from a distance tend to fade and what we see is fragmentary and coloured by who we are as individual researchers, our particular background and our specific research questions. To overcome these limitations, the challenge is to further identify, locate and aggregate various types of book lists, and to combine local, regional and transnational perspectives, for example by collaborating with colleagues from different language areas. This collected volume aims to give an impetus toward that end.

The contributions are grouped into four interrelated sections that take the reader from large-scale projects on the history of book ownership and reading to micro-level research conducted on individual private libraries, and from analyses of specific types of underutilised primary sources to general typologies as well as overviews and bibliographies per period and per region. The question of what a "private library" is, is central to the first section: 'Private

38 See for example in Claire Lesage, Ève Netchine and Véronique Sarrazin, *Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2006), no. 1422–1424, 1769, 2430, 2432.

Libraries in Use'. The chapters here present case studies of private and communal libraries from different perspectives: collecting practices; composition, management and use of the libraries; their fate after the death of the collector; background and networks of owners, users, buyers and sellers. Although they concentrate on specific libraries and owners, which might not always be typical of contemporary collections and collectors, the observations of the authors provide insights that can be used as a point of entry into the study of a larger corpus. The second section, 'Uncovering Private Libraries in Archival Sources', addresses issues related to locating, accessing and interpreting archival evidence relating to private libraries within specific geographical and socio-political contexts. The third section, 'Private Library Research in Regional Contexts' presents overviews of sources and the state of the art of research for a number of countries or geographical entities, with a focus on regions and historiographies outside north-western Europe. Lastly, 'Building a Field of Study', brings together examples of several projects that collect and utilise documentation on private libraries to study the history of the book trade, book ownership, the history of ideas and readership. The authors look back at the creation of project databases that document early modern private libraries. They reflect on the choices made, while also contemplating future research. The respective focuses of these projects demonstrate the wide range of possibilities that the study of book lists and other documentation on private libraries has to offer.

PART 1

Private Libraries in Use



The Leufstabruk Catalogues: Life Narrative, Collector's Rationale and Network of Charles De Geer

Alex Alsemgeest

In this chapter I will give an overview of all the surviving catalogues and inventories that are connected to the Library of Leufstabruk. This is the eighteenth-century private library of industrialist and entomologist Charles De Geer (1720–1778).¹ It contains approximately 8,500 volumes and is still housed in its original location at the estate Leufstabruk seventy kilometres north of Uppsala. De Geer had spent most of his childhood in the Dutch Republic and it was there that he first started collecting books. When he returned to Sweden in 1738, he made use of local and international networks to further expand his collection. De Geer kept track of his acquisitions in account books and library catalogues in great detail. The sources cover the entire period from the early 1730s until his death in 1778 and allow us to trace the history of nearly every copy in the library.

The combination of the well-preserved material context at Leufstabruk and a rich array of catalogues, inventories and other book lists, offers insight into the life, collection and network of one of the key figures in the overlapping circles of science, commerce and aristocracy in eighteenth-century Sweden.² The combined book lists can be read and understood as a life narrative of De Geer. It provides insight into the collector's rationale, but also to the socio-economic, cultural and scientific networks that he participated in. On another level, the abundance of sources at Leufstabruk could help to understand the

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- 1 The research this article has been part of the project 'The Library of Leufstabruk', a collaboration between Uppsala University Library and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, National Library of the Netherlands, funded by the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. I would like to thank my colleagues Peter Sjökvist and Helena Backman for their support throughout the project and for their comments on an earlier version of this chapter.
 - 2 For a detailed account on the gradual expansion of the library and the library of Leufstabruk as a centre of knowledge production, and the role of Charles De Geer in Swedish-Dutch scientific networks, see Alex Alsemgeest, 'The Library of Leufstabruk. An Eighteenth-century Portal of Cultural Transfer between Sweden and the Dutch Republic', *Quaerendo*, 49:4 (2019), pp. 332–367.

history of other private libraries for which far less information is available. A bio-bibliographical approach of one well-documented private library such as Leufstabruk, I will argue, has the potential to serve as an entry to the Swedish book world at large.

Additionally, the combination of surviving material and written sources about the collection allows us to reflect on an abstract level about the relationship between the books that have been preserved in the library, the titles that are listed in the various catalogues of that same library, and the wider context of print culture that includes books, periodicals and ephemeral publications. In the case of Leufstabruk, material and written evidence can be crosschecked for nearly every book in the library: the copies are located on the shelves, they are listed in multiple contemporary catalogues of the library, and mentioned in other sources such as bookseller's accounts and auction catalogues. Altogether, this allows us to reconstruct book and print culture at Leufstabruk in great detail, not only with regard to the acquisition of books, but also their use and survival. Most private libraries either lack extensive documentary evidence on provenance, composition and use, or, were dispersed long ago and can only be studied through surviving catalogues. This chapter aims to show how a detailed investigation of the library of Leufstabruk help us to better understand private libraries for which only one type of source material remains.

Leufstabruk's Material Context

The well-preserved material context of the library of Leufstabruk is undoubtedly a special feature, but it is not unique. There are hundreds of eighteenth-century private mansions in Sweden alone, several of them have a library, and at least a few of these libraries have been preserved in a seemingly authentic state.³ The reason that so many private mansions in Sweden have survived in near-perfect condition, may well be that no military battle has taken place on Swedish territory for over two centuries. The country was not subjected to the destruction that other parts of Europe haven seen, collections were not burned, plundered or seized. Yet, besides the absence of war, there is a legal factor that contributed to the preservation of heritage: the *fideikommiss*, or legal

3 For a selection of 25 of these libraries in private mansions in Sweden, see Per Wästberg *et al.* (eds.), *Resa i tysta rum. Okända svenska slottsbibliotek* (Stockholm: Bonnier, 2004). Authenticity is of course a problematic concept. Collections are generally not 'frozen in time', but the result of a diachronic process of additions, extractions and modifications.

trust.⁴ Several of the best preserved eighteenth-century mansions and castles in Sweden were organised in that way for centuries, and as such were protected against the division of property as a result of inheritance, family feuds and hostile confiscations by the state. Whereas fideicommissa in most other European countries were abolished long ago, first as a result of the French Revolution and the diminishing role of the aristocracy in the nineteenth century, and again following the loss of state protection after World War I, the legal principle of the fideicommissum remained firmly in place in Sweden until the 1960s.⁵

Even if we limit our perspective to Sweden, the question is justified as to what makes Leufstabruk stand out against other well-preserved private mansions with book collections. First of all, the majority of the books at Leufstabruk were acquired by one collector, Charles De Geer, within a limited timeframe. This means that there is great internal coherence in the collection, that is, we can identify the collector's rationale. Moreover, De Geer had a central and highly respected position in economic, scientific and social circles of his time, both locally and internationally. He had the financial resources to build a library, as well as the social status and the network to acquire, publish and disseminate knowledge.⁶

Research into this library is moreover facilitated by the fact that a large number of catalogues and archival sources has survived.⁷ There are eight contemporary library catalogues for Leufstabruk, dating from 1738 to 1778, the account books from the family De Geer for the period from 1732 to 1738, thirty pages from the registers of the Luchtmans booksellers from 1746 until 1790, and twenty-five receipts for those same book acquisitions at Luchtmans.⁸

4 Nils Segerstråle, *Svenska fideikommiss* (Stockholm: AWE/Geber, 1981).

5 *Ibid.*, p. 7; on 27 November 1963 the Swedish parliament decided to start liquidating the approximately 200 remaining fideicommissa in the country. Some became state museums, most notably Skokloster Castle. Others remained operational as a fideicommissum for much longer; in 2006, there were still 24 active fideicommissa in Sweden. For a comparison with England, see Giles Worsley, *England's Lost Houses. From the Archives of Country Life* (London: Aurum, 2011).

6 For the image of Leufstabruk as a portal for knowledge production and dissemination, see Asemgeest, 'The Library of Leufstabruk'; for a description of the transfer of knowledge at Leufstabruk, see Giles Rydén (ed.), *Sweden in the Eighteenth-century World: Provincial Cosmopolitans* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), especially pp. 1–6.

7 A list of all catalogues and related archival material is given at the end of this chapter.

8 For the account books, see Riksarkivet Stockholm, Leufstaarkivet 164. *Rijnhuizen Account Books of Jean Jacques [=Jan Jacob] De Geer, 1732–1738*; for the Luchtmans archives, see Amsterdam University Library (UBA), Special Collections, *Inventaris van het archief van de firma Luchtmans (1697–1848)*. UBA inv. nr. 354; for the corresponding receipts from Luchtmans in the administration of Charles De Geer, see Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (12). 25 *numrerade räkningar/kvittenser över bokinköp som gjorts hos Luchtmans mellan 1758 och 1772*.

Furthermore, there are booksellers' and auction catalogues that can be connected directly with physical copies that are on the shelves in Leufstabruk; lists of books that were inherited from relatives; and even a few draft lists of books that were loaned out to others.⁹ Finally, there are a number of catalogues that contain no books, but other collections, such as naturalia and prints, that help us to situate the book collection of Leufstabruk in a larger material context.¹⁰

Life Narrative and Collector's Rationale

We could speculate as to why there are eight contemporary library catalogues and a wide range of accompanying inventories and book lists at Leufstabruk. Perhaps it is the nature of a family of industrialists and entrepreneurs to have a solid administration, or, we could consider the combined catalogues of Leufstabruk as an expression of Enlightenment rationality and the desire to structure and classify. There may, however, have been practical reasons to compile a new catalogue at different times. Relocation of the library, rapid expansion of the collection, new ideas on shelving and library systematics, practical use of the collection, and ultimately the death of a collector are all perfectly valid reasons to begin a new catalogue. As such, these catalogues can tell us a lot about how the collection was built up and how the library was used.

The straightforward objective of any private library catalogue is to have a reliable inventory of a collection and to be able to find books on the shelves. Titles in the catalogue may be differentiated according to subject and format, prices can be added to keep track of expenses, and in rare cases you may find remarks on the binding or provenance. Reading between the lines of these catalogues can, however, also tell us much about the collector, or at least, about the person who drew up the catalogue. The choice of language, prices in different currencies, the people mentioned and of course the books that are listed may be complementary to the material evidence from the library itself and for example ego-documents.

In the case of the De Geer family, very few ego-documents—such as memoirs, diaries or even letters—survive, but there is an abundance of sources connected to the administration of books now in the library of Leufstabruk. The combination of biography, the collector's rationale and the network as

9 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (2). *Livres que j'ai prêté à diverses personnes*. 1 page. 1766.

10 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 51. *Catalogue d'estampes*; Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 52. *Förteckning över kartor*; Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 54. *Leufsta-Bruks Malm- och Mineral-Cabinett*. Beskrifwit år 1763.

they emerge from the catalogues, may be placed in a wider perspective in order to understand more about the international book market, trade networks and the sharing and transfer of knowledge and culture across borders.

Childhood in the Dutch Republic: 1720–1738

Charles De Geer was born in Sweden but moved with his parents to the Dutch Republic at the age of three. The account books of his father Jan Jacob de Geer give an indication of the books that were acquired by the family at their family estate at Rijnhuizen. In a letter, his father indicated that already at a young age Charles De Geer bought several books at his own expense.¹¹ Some entries are vague, such as the acquisition of ‘a number of books’, but the expensive folio works such as the *Thesaurus* of Albertus Seba, Tournefort’s *Institutiones rei herbariae* and Maria Sibylla Merian’s works on Surinam and European insects are easily identified. There are several references to the acquisition of ‘music books’, which could well be the core of what is now the renowned collection of sheet music at Leufstabruk.¹² Furthermore, the account books contain evidence of books bought at auctions, of work commissioned from bookbinders, and even of the acquisition of globes and microscopes.

Most of the information from the Rijnhuizen account books is mirrored in the first catalogue Charles De Geer compiled around the time he returned to Sweden, in 1738.¹³ The books are organised according to format, with prices added in the margins, but most theological books are further differentiated by subject without any indication of the prices paid for them. A closer look at the organisation of the items and the dates suggests an unsuccessful attempt was made to add a subject-based structure to the catalogue later on. The part that is structured as an account book ends around 1740, but in the section of theological books we find some books that were published as late as 1744.

In the catalogue, one finds some of the large folio works from natural history that were already mentioned in the Rijnhuizen account books, such as the

11 Stockholm, Riksarkivet, Leufstaarkivet 104. The letter is partially quoted in Tomas Anfält, ‘Buying Books by Mail Order. A Swedish Customer and Dutch Booksellers in the Eighteenth Century’, in Lotte Hellinga *et al.* (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World. The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade 1473–1941* (’t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf, 2001), pp. 263–276, here pp. 265–266.

12 Albert Dunning, ‘Die De Geer’schen Musikalien in Leufsta’, *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 48 (1966), pp. 187–210. The majority of the music books in the Leufsta collection today were acquired in the Dutch Republic before 1738.

13 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 46: *Katalog över böcker fram till 1744; möjligen förvärvskatalog.*

well-known books of Merian, Seba, Valentyn and Rumphius, as well as Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli's *Danubius Pannonico-Mysticus*, for which De Geer had seemingly paid more than for any of the other books.¹⁴ The fact that a young Charles De Geer already owned some spectacular and expensive books in the field of natural history aligns perfectly with the evidence about his interest in natural history that we know from other sources. An apocryphal story tells that he was fascinated by insects from the moment that he received silk worms as a gift at the age of six.¹⁵ His father Jan Jacob de Geer wrote that Charles kept fifty pigeons in a cage, collected butterflies, and also that he had organised the gardens of Rijnhuizen according to the principles of Tournefort.¹⁶ The three-volume quarto edition of *Institutiones rei herbariae* is indeed listed in the first library catalogue, with a price of twenty guilders written in the margin. Moreover, the copy is still in the library at Leufstabruk and has some inserted folia with manuscript annotations by Charles De Geer.¹⁷

The first library catalogue of Charles De Geer from around 1738 also contains the schoolbooks that he used during his years at Rijnhuizen, such as Vossius' Latin works on rhetoric and grammar, Bartjens' famous book on arithmetic, *Cijferinge*, as well as some dictionaries and catechisms. Most of these copies can still be found in the library. They all show traces of extensive use and are generally inscribed, or decorated in a juvenile hand, evidently by Charles De Geer.¹⁸ His old tutors Pieter van Musschenbroek and Christian Heinrich Trotz both left a mark in the collection of De Geer. Four books by Van Musschenbroeck's

14 The copy mentioned here is: Leufstasaml. Ligg. fol. 166:1–6: A. Marsilius, *Danubius Pannonico-Mysticus* (The Hague: Pierre Gosse *et al.*, 1726).

15 First mentioned in the necrology Torbern Bergman, *Åminnelse-tal, öfver kongl. maj:ts tro-man, hof-marschalken ... Carl De Geer, hållet för kongl. vetenskaps academiën den 19 decemb. 1778*, p. 6 (Stockholm: Lange, 1779); quoted by Erik Hamberg, 'Entomologisk litteratur hos Charles De Geer', *Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift* (2015), p. 71.

16 Anfält, 'Buying Books by Mail Order', pp. 265–266.

17 Uppsala UB, Leufsta 97.H.3–5: Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Institutiones rei herbariae* (Paris: e Typographia Regia, 1719). The inserted folia are kept separately, shelf mark Leufsta ms 35. The loose folia with annotation cannot be dated, which means that they were not necessarily made at Rijnhuizen in the 1730s.

18 It is worth noting that there are some minor inconsistencies in the manuscript catalogues, as the year of publication does not always correspond to the copy in the library. For example, Johannes Verwey's *Nova via docendi Graeca* is listed in ms 46 in an edition printed in Gouda 1685. As far as we know, this edition does not exist. In Leufsta library there is a copy of an edition from 1684 and this is in line with the date given in later catalogues, see for example ms 47, p. 355. Even though this rarely leads to methodological problems concerning the identification of books, it reminds us that we need to be cautious with information from catalogues if the material context did not survive. The fact that an edition of a book is listed is not necessarily conclusive evidence that it actually existed.

are listed in the 1738 catalogue, all of them with the price that De Geer had paid for them. One of two works by Trotz that we find in the catalogue, an edition of Herman Hugo's work on linguistics, is mentioned as being a gift from the editor.¹⁹

Nearly all titles from the 1738 catalogue can be traced in later catalogues, apart from a few obscure entries for self-made books, such as "a painted book with flowers and insects, made by myself".²⁰ This particular copy might no longer be part of the library, but similar albums survive in the collection. There is for example a scrapbook that Charles De Geer seems to have made himself. It is an album with engravings taken from publications such as Jacob Hoefnagel's *Diversæ insectarum volatiliū icones ad vivium ... depictæ* and Levinus Vincent's *Wondertooneel der nature*, followed by several pages with paper cuttings of butterflies and birds.²¹ Another undated album comprises over one hundred cut-out watercolour illustrations of insects, mounted on blue paper.²² Finally, there is a parchment binding containing thirty-three stunning watercolours of insects in their natural environment, clearly imitating the style of Maria Sibylla Merian.²³ Regardless of the question if any of these items match the entry in the 1738 catalogue, they all embody De Geer's lifelong naturalist artistry, from the books he himself painted as a child, the paper clippings, to the drawings that he prepared for his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes*.

Settling in Sweden: 1738–1746

The first library catalogue mostly holds books that Charles De Geer acquired in the Dutch Republic and brought along to Sweden in 1738. Each section, however, is closed by a short sentence of autobiographical referentiality:

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- 19 Uppsala UB, Leufsta 92.15: Herman Hugo, *De prima scribendi origine et universa rei literariæ antiquitate*. Enlarged edition with annotations and preface by C.H. Trotz (Utrecht: Hermanus Besseling, 1738).
- 20 Leufsta, MS 46. In a section named "Eenige oude boeken en printe-boeken in octavo", we read: "Geschildert boekje met bloemen en insecten, door mijzelfs gemaakt, Utrecht 1733".
- 21 Uppsala UB, Leufstasaml. q 3. This album contains, among other things, plates and paper cuttings from Jacob Hoefnagel's *Diversæ insectarum ... depictæ* ([Amsterdam]: N.J. Visscher, 1630), and Levinus Vincent's *Wondertooneel der nature* (Amsterdam: F. Halma, 1706).
- 22 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 41 *Inseksillustrationer: utskurna bilder*.
- 23 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 38 *Målade insekter med sina värdväxter, I-XXXIII*. This item matches the description of a "Geschildert boekje met bloemen en insecten", and the format (octavo) is also correct. However, the quality of the artwork seems too good to have been made by a thirteen-year-old. According to Ulla Ehrensward, the paper dates from the 1740s and the illustrations might be from the 1750s: Ulla Ehrensward, 'Leufsta bruks fideikommissbibliotek', *Biblis* (1968), pp. 123–170.

“This is where I start counting using Swedish currency”, followed by a number of acquisitions paid for in the local currency.²⁴ It is striking that most of the books paid for in Swedish currency were antiquarian, for the most part seventeenth-century, editions. The few contemporary books that entered the collection in these years were almost exclusively locally printed editions in the Swedish language (see figure 1.1 page 29).

A practical explanation for this matter is that De Geer was now operating in a new market and dependent on booksellers and auctions in Stockholm and Uppsala.²⁵ However, if we take a closer look at the types of books acquired, their subjects and authors, it is evident that these new acquisitions can be connected to the new social circles that he had entered. There are books on mining, metallurgy, Swedish sagas and literature, and on the Swedish currency system. De Geer already owned a number of works by Linnaeus, but once in Sweden, he also bought works of other members of the Swedish Academy of Sciences such as Mårten Triewald and Nils Rösen von Rosenstein. Moreover, the first folio book that De Geer bought in Sweden, was a copy of Stanisław Lubieniecki’s *Theatrum cometicum*, with the supralibros of Swedish King Karl XI.²⁶

Charles De Geer was quick to adapt to his new home country. He was the first of his family to marry a Swedish woman, Catharina Charlotta Ribbing (1720–1787) and it did not take much time for him to learn the language. It is striking that all manuscript comments in the first library catalogue from 1738 are in Dutch, while in the second library catalogue from around 1750 most comments are in Swedish and some in French. Furthermore, De Geer acquired some important books on Swedish history and literature and was seemingly conscious of ways to raise his social status and communicate his standing through the acquisition of collections. The purchase of a binding with a Swedish royal provenance may well be understood in that way. It is worth noting that the first five folio books that De Geer acquired in 1738, all seem to have come from the collection of Swedish astronomer Nils Celsius.²⁷ De Geer

24 Leufsta MS 42: “Hier begin ik te rekenen na de Zweedsche munt”.

25 For an introduction to book auctions in Sweden, see the chapter ‘Bokauktionens historia i Sverige’ in Anita Ankarcróna, *Bud på böcker: bokauktioner i Stockholm 1782–1801: traditionen—böckerna—publiken* (PhD thesis, Stockholms universitet, 1989).

26 Uppsala UB, Leufstasaml. F 78. Stanisław Lubieniecki, *Theatrum cometicum* (Amsterdam: Daniel Bakkamude and Frans Kuyper, 1668).

27 The Leufsta copy of Johannes Hevelius, *Machina coelestis* (Gdańsk: Simon Reiniger, 1673), Leufstasaml. F 147, has the name of “Niclas Celsius” inscribed on the engraved title-page. The order of the library catalogue Leufsta MS 46 suggests that the work of Lubieniecki (listed in the catalogue as “n. 33”) and three other astronomical works by Marin Mersenne, Otto von Guericke and Maria Cunitz, might have been part of the same acquisition.

Protra.	Typis.	in. Folio.	
120	Haga Com: } Amstel: }	1726.	Danubius Pannonico-Misicus, in sex Tomis digestus, ab A. Lojsio Ford. Com: Martili.
8	Amsterdam.	1736. 1737.	Theatrum Machinarum universale; of Grootte Water-werken, door T. Lomen van der Horst, en Jacob Polley. 2. Deelen.
8	Amsterdam.	1739.	Theatrum Machinarum universale; of Groott Nijemen Malen-boek, door J. van Gyl, 1. Deel.
	ibidem.	1727.	Architectura Mechanica; of Moolen-boek; door Pieter Linperck.
	ibid.	1736.	Groott Volkamen Moolen-boek, door L. van Netrois, G. van Vuuren en J. Pollij. 2. Deelen.
160	Paris.	1729.	Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise, qui comprennent C. His toire de France; par le R. P. Jean Bernard de Montfaucon. 5. Tom.
15	Amsterdam.	1668.	Hier boyn et le retour en va de Swedenes Munt. Stanislai de Lubienitz. Theatrum Cometicum. 2. Tom. 1. Volumen.
7	Paris	1648.	F. M. Mersenni Harmonicorum Libri XII. 5. de Sonorum natura de.
26	Dantzic	1673.	Johannis Hevelii Machina Coelae. 1. Lib. I.
5	Amsterdam.	1672.	Ottonis de Guericke Experimenta nova de Vacuo spatio.
	Oels.	1650.	Mariae Cuniticae Uraniae propheetia sive Tabula Astronomica.
36	Bononia.	1642.	Ulyssis Aldrovandi Monstrorum historia.
	ibidem.	1623.	stem, Ornithologia.
	ibidem.	1606.	stem, de Animalibus exsanguibus.
	ibidem.	1602.	stem, de Animalibus insectis. 4. Vol.

FIGURE 1.1 Page from the first catalogue of Charles De Geer [Leufsta MS 46], with the change to Swedish currency halfway through the page. Note the simultaneous change from contemporary Dutch books, to antiquarian books from a variety of places

was not necessarily interested in astronomy, but the books seem to have had symbolical value. The same applies to entries for three important manuscripts by the respected Swedish scholar Olof Rudbeck (1660–1740), in the library catalogue of around 1750.²⁸ De Geer had paid the astronomical amount of

28 Leufsta MS 46, listed under “Philosophi, fysici, etc. in folio”, no. 28–30.

14,000 daler kopparmynt for manuscripts that included the unpublished botanical illustrations of Rudbeck's planned encyclopaedic work *Campi elysii*.²⁹ Visitors to Leufstabruk were well aware of the importance of these manuscripts: the aristocrat and collector Daniel Tilas, for one, mentions them with admiration in his description of the library in 1762.³⁰

The purchase of the Rudbeck manuscripts was followed by the acquisition of sixty printed books from that same collection at an auction in 1741.³¹ These included some rare and precious books by Ulisse Aldrovandi, John Ray, Robert Boyle, Carolus Clusius, Johannes Commelin and others.³² There is no doubt that these books were of scientific importance to De Geer, and most of them were difficult to obtain in Sweden, but the Rudbeck provenance certainly lent added value in the context of naturalist circles in Uppsala.

Importing Books: 1746–1758

The Swedish book trade was heavily regulated until late in the eighteenth century.³³ As a result of an old privilege from 1630, which was confirmed by Royal decree in 1720, only bookbinders were allowed to sell bound books in Sweden. Consequently, there were far more bookbinders than printers in Sweden. Books were expensive and the output of new titles was meagre. The privilege of the bookbinders would be abolished in 1752, but partially reinstated in 1766 as a result of changes in the political climate in Sweden.³⁴ On an

29 The equivalent in today's currency would be approximately 75,000 euros, according to the calculations of: Rodney Edvinsson and Johan Söderberg, 'A Consumer Price Index for Sweden 1290–2008', *Review of Income and Wealth*, 57:2 (2011), pp. 270–292. For comparison, around that same time De Geer acquired folio editions of Hevelius's *Machinae coelestis* (Leufstasaml. F 147) for 26 daler kopparmynt, Basilius Besler's *Hortus eystettensis* (Leufstasaml. Ligg. fol. 158) for 71 daler kopparmynt, and 11 volumes with the works of Aldrovandi (Leufstasaml. F 93–102) for 200 daler kopparmynt.

30 Ehrensverd, 'Leufsta bruks fideikommissbibliotek', p. 130.

31 Erik Hamberg, 'Rudbeckarnas botaniska böcker hos Charles De Geer i Leufsta', *Svenska Linnésällskapets årsskrift* (2018), pp. 75–98.

32 All are listed in Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 42, under the heading 'Philosophi, Physici, Medici, etc.'

33 Sten G. Lindberg, 'The Scandinavian Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century', in Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (eds.), *Buch und Buchhandel in Europa im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hauwedell, 1981), pp. 225–248; H. Schuck, *Den svenska förlagsbokhandelns historia* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1923).

34 See Lindberg, 'The Scandinavian Book Trade in the Eighteenth Century'; the Royal decrees on this matter are reprinted in Gustaf Edvard Klemming and Johan Gabriel Nordin, *Svensk boktryckeri-historia 1483–1883* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1883), pp. 280–329.

international market, some of the regulations created odd situations. Swedish restrictions on the import of bound books were, for example, incompatible with British restrictions on the export of unbound books. The unsatisfactory output of printers and the obstructions in the book trade meant that certain books were difficult to obtain in Sweden in the early eighteenth century.

The few local bookshops in Stockholm and Uppsala were operated by a small group of German booksellers. Johann Heinrich Russworm opened a shop in the early 1720s. He died in 1731, and after his widow married Gottfried Kiesewetter in 1735, it would become the most important bookshop in Stockholm. Kiesewetter was a regular at the German book fairs and the forty catalogues he published until 1761, show that his stock had a very European outlook. Besides catalogues for the Swedish books that he published himself, most of the Kiesewetter catalogues display a wide range of books in the French language. From the late 1730s onwards, he could provide the latest French titles in literature, history and philosophy, many of which were actually printed in the Dutch Republic.³⁵ His main competitor was Lars Salvius, a young man with an academic background, who took over the printing office of Johan Laurentius Horn in 1742. Salvius managed to break some of the old privileges of the binders, had become the printer of that generation's Swedish naturalists, and exchanged books with all major European centres of book production.

This is a very rough sketch of the context in which Charles De Geer imported approximately 1,500 books from the Luchtmans booksellers in Leiden. We have to keep in mind that the changes in the Swedish book world were a gradual process. Despite the increasing supply of books at the bookshops of Kiesewetter and Salvius, most of the books De Geer read about in periodicals, newspapers, or in his correspondence with natural scientists, could not be obtained in Sweden.³⁶ His dealings with Luchtmans started in 1746, when De Geer acquired a complete run of the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*, through the mediation of his old tutor Van Musschenbroek.³⁷ In the following decade, the orders would slowly increase, from about five to ten titles in the first couple of years, to thirty or forty titles per year in the early 1750s. Overall, there are relatively many periodicals among the orders, both new instalments and back issues. In

35 For an example of the books acquired from Kiesewetter's catalogue of 1738, see Alsemgeest, 'The Library of Leufstabruk', pp. 349–350.

36 Compare: Anna-Maria Rimm, 'Bockernas vagar: den svenska bokhandelns import av utländska bocker 1750–1800', *Sjuttonhundratalet*, 8 (2011), pp. 139–155.

37 Uppsala UB, Leufsta 189–190: *Bibliothèque raisonnée* (Amsterdam, 1728–1753); Bruno Lagarrigue, *Un temple de la culture européenne (1728–1753): l'histoire externe de la Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savants de l'Europe* (PhD Thesis, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1993), p. 358.

March 1751, for example, Luchtman sent a complete run of 150 volumes of the *Journal des Sçavans*.³⁸ Over the course of three decades, De Geer would order more than one hundred periodicals at Luchtman and only a few in Sweden.

Buying books with the help of an agent, or directly via a foreign bookseller was a way for a private collector to work around the Swedish import regulations. However, it is unclear how strictly tariffs, tolls, censorship and the binder's privileges were enforced,³⁹ and how feasible it was to set up such a trade for a private collector.⁴⁰ The Luchtman archives indicate that the book trade with De Geer was organised along the lines of his commercial network. We come across the names of Anthony and Johan Grill, Jan and Carel Hasselgren and Clifford as intermediaries. These were possibly the expected names for anyone who wished to trade anything between Sweden and the Dutch Republic at the time, but it is significant that they operated in the same social, economic and scientific circles as De Geer. The Grill family owned several *bruks* (ironworks) in the vicinity of Leufstaberuk and were practically neighbours of De Geer.

In the library catalogues of Leufstaberuk, we can distinguish the imported books from those that were acquired locally by the currency that was used to denote the acquisition price in the margins. Overall, it seems as if three quarters of the new acquisitions in the 1740s and 1750s came from the Dutch Republic, and just one quarter from Sweden.⁴¹ It is curious, however, that most of the books bought in Sweden were actually printed or published in the Dutch Republic. There are, for example, 98 titles from the Amsterdam publishers Arkstée and Merkus in the library at Leufstaberuk that De Geer paid for in the Swedish currency. These were typically the kind of French books that Kiesewetter had for sale, most likely acquired via the German bookfairs in Leipzig and Frankfurt.

The Leufsta catalogues reveal that the book trade with Luchtman wasn't necessarily set up because De Geer desired books from the Dutch Republic per se, but rather because he wanted the type of books that he could not find in Sweden: periodicals, privately published books, and other hard-to-obtain

38 Amsterdam University Library, Special Collections, *Inventaris van het archief van de firma Luchtman (1697–1848)*. UBA inv. nr. 354, vol. 476, p. 221.

39 The binder's privilege was sometimes ignored. In an order registered in the Luchtman account books on 27 August 1766, De Geer was charged for 99 French bindings, bound in Paris for a total sum of 123 guilders and 15 stuivers. UBA inv. nr. 354, no. 479, fol. 322.

40 There are some other examples of eighteenth-century Swedish collectors who ordered books in the Dutch Republic, be it on a different scale. See for example the 29 bills with a total of 466 titles that Johan Gabriel Sack ordered in Amsterdam from François L'Honoré: Lisbeth Näslund, *Studier om importen av utländsk politisk litteratur under frihetstiden* (Stockholm, unpublished thesis 1971).

41 This is a rough estimate, based on the catalogue Leufsta MS 45, compiled around 1758.

titles. These notably included books from Great-Britain and other markets that were outside the scope of Swedish booksellers, but part of the Luchtmans network.⁴² The fact that De Geer could set up such a trade, that he could afford not only the expensive books but also pay for transport, commission and taxation, and moreover that he had the commercial and scientific networks to organize this, gave him an advantage over the slightly less wealthy collectors and scientists in the north.

New Library, Expanding Collections: 1758–1770

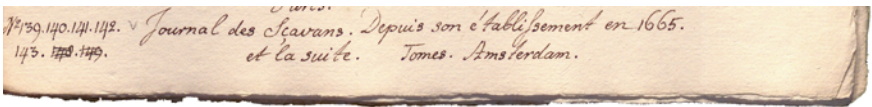
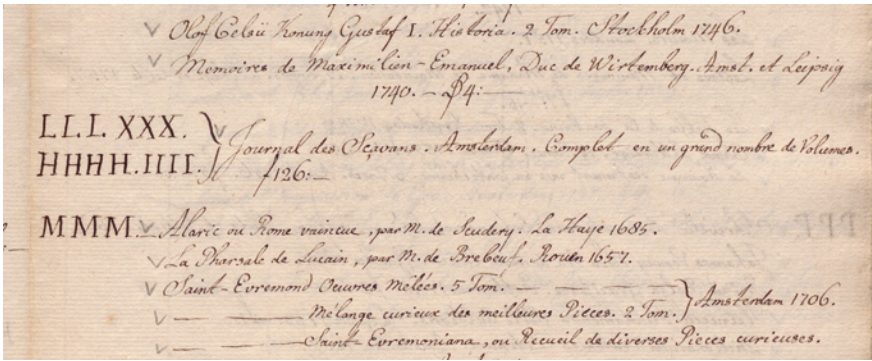
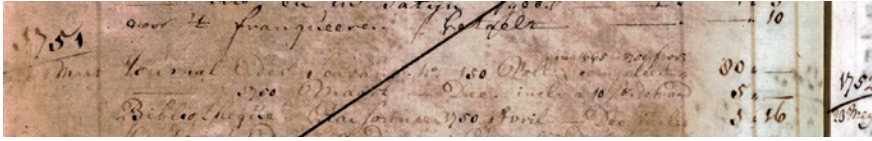
Inventories and catalogues are particularly useful for an owner when collections are relocated. It is no coincidence that the next catalogue is dated 1758, around the time that the new library building at the estate of Leufstabruk was completed.⁴³ The books in this catalogue are arranged according to format (folio, quarto, octavo and smaller), apart from the novels, which have been listed at the end, under the heading 'Romans'. Letter sequences from A to AAAA have been added in the margins, presumably referring to a shelving system at the mansion house. It seems that the books listed for each letter correspond to approximately one meter of shelf space. There are no subheadings in the catalogue for different subjects, but it is noticeable that related books were placed on the same shelf. Some of the larger sets, such as the approximately 150 volumes of the *Journal des sçavans*, have references to non-consecutive letter combinations (LLL, XXX, HHHH and IIII), which further supports the idea that the letters indeed refer to shelves. Such large series clearly had to be divided between multiple shelves (see figure 1.2 page 34).

Printed music, maps, engravings, and natural specimens, are completely absent from the 1758 library catalogue, just like they were in all previous catalogues. A separate catalogue for printed music was compiled by Carl De Geer the younger in 1763.⁴⁴ In the same year, a catalogue was compiled for the natural specimens, while the maps and engravings were listed separately

42 Luchtmans delivered for example books from London, such as Francis Willughby's *Ornithologiae*, Patrick Browne's *The Civil and Natural History of Jamaica*, and Philip Miller's *Gardeners dictionary*, but also multi-volume works from Paris, such as the *Encyclopédie*, the *Descriptions des arts et métiers*, and a four-volume folio edition of the *Fables* by La Fontaine.

43 Leufsta MS 45: *Bibliothèque de Leufsta mise en ordre l'an 1758, med prisuppgifter*.

44 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 53. *Catalogue de livres de musique, redigée par Charles De Geer le jeune, 1763*. See also note 12.



FIGURES 1.2 A–D The *Journal des sçavans* in (a) the account books of Luchtman, (b) the 1758 catalogue with reference to the shelving system in the mansion house, (c) the 1760 catalogue with reference to the shelving system in the new library building, (d) the library today, where the journal occupies the top shelves

somewhat later.⁴⁵ These catalogues give us an impression of what was considered to be part of the library. Not only in an ideological way, but also spatially. Music, for example, was played in the mansion house and it is understandable that printed sheet music was kept there and not at the library.

The new library was designed by Swedish architect Jean Eric Rehn (1717–1793), who had also designed the library at Drottningholm Palace. It was located in a freestanding pavilion on the left side of the mansion house. Natural specimens were placed in another pavilion on the right side of the mansion house. It is striking though, that later library catalogues indicate that most of the books on this subject were also placed in the cabinet rather than in the library. In the library catalogues of the 1760s (from that moment on there were two: one arranged alphabetically, the other by subject matter), all books on the subjects of zoology, botany and geology have the brand new shelf mark crossed out, and a reference “Cab.” added in the margins.⁴⁶ Shortly after both pavilions came into use, these books were placed in the natural history cabinet of De Geer, right next to the beetles, butterflies and other specimens that he studied. It illustrates beautifully how he made use of his collections, how books and other forms of material culture should be understood together, how this is reflected in the catalogues, and also, how this organisational rationale was specifically connected to Charles De Geer. In the catalogues that were in use after his death, the references “Cab.” have been crossed out and the old library shelf numbers were reinstated, showing that the books were brought back to the library pavilion.

The new catalogues of the early 1760s, with additions up to 1768, were the logical follow-up to the 1758 catalogue. The latter had used the shelving system that was employed at the mansion house and was probably used to pack the collection before moving it. The new catalogues were compiled as soon as the books were placed on the shelves in the new library pavilion. The additions throughout the 1760s reveal the significant expansion of the collection in this period. There were generally two or three annual orders at Luchtmans, arriving in spring, summer and early autumn, with a total of more than one hundred titles per year. In fact, the additions to the library were so massive, that there was not enough space in the catalogues to record all of the new titles. In the alphabetical catalogue, some titles have been entered vertically in the margins

45 For the natural specimens, see Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 54: *Leufsta-Bruks Malm- och Mineral-Cabinett*. Beskrifwit år 1763; for the map collection: Leufsta MS 52. *Förteckning över kartor*; for the engravings: Leufsta MS 51: *Catalogue d'estampes*.

46 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 43: *Bibliothèque de Leufsta, realkatalog*; Leufsta MS 44. *Bibliothèque de Leufsta, nominalkatalog med prisuppgifter*.

to fit them in. This was not a very practical, nor an elegant solution, so two new catalogues were compiled around 1770.⁴⁷

Knowledge Production and Exchange: 1770–1778

The new catalogues were similar to those from the 1760s, though slightly larger and with an index. Just like in the 1760s there was one alphabetical catalogue and one arranged by subject matter. These catalogues are the most comprehensive for the library of Leufstabruk today: they have additions in different hands up to 1800 and were used by the nineteenth-century bibliographer Liljebjörn to compile the printed catalogue of 1907.⁴⁸

The final decade of Charles De Geer's life was dominated by the publication of his magnum opus. He had published the first volume of the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes* already in 1752, but it was not until 1770 that this volume was first listed in one of his own library catalogues.⁴⁹ The Luchtmans inventories provide much more information about the production, publication and distribution of the work. De Geer had ordered large amounts of paper in the summer of 1750, and more in September 1751.⁵⁰ The work was printed in Stockholm by Grefing, but straight after publication one hundred copies were shipped to Luchtmans for further distribution in the Dutch Republic and other European countries.

Volumes 2 to 7 of De Geer's entomological masterpiece were published between 1771 and 1778 and the process of production and distribution was identical to that of volume 1. The Leufsta catalogues do not contain any specific information on this process, but the account books of Luchtmans do. Between 1769 and 1777 De Geer ordered 283 reams of "Hollandsch drukmediaan" and 30 reams of "Fransch schrijf" for the plates in Leiden. Furthermore, there is a credit balance on the account of De Geer, where all copies of the *Mémoires* that Luchtmans has in commission are listed. Not only does it give an overview of the turnover rate of the books—it was a slow-seller—but it also shows that the trade between Luchtmans and De Geer had turned into an

47 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 47: *Realkatalog*; Leufsta MS 48: *Nominalkatalog*.

48 Erik Gustaf Liljebjörn, *Katalog öfver Leufsta bruks gamla fideikommissbibliotek. Nominalkatalog* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1907).

49 It was first listed in the manuscript catalogue Leufsta MS 47, p. 155, in the section "Zoologie in quarto", directly following the works of Réaumur.

50 For an extensive description of the production and publication history of *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des insectes*, see Alsemgeest, 'The Library of Leufstabruk', pp. 353–358.

exchange. The orders De Geer placed with Luchtmans in the 1770s were rarely higher than the revenue from the sale of his own book.

Afterlife: 1778–1805

The death of Charles De Geer is visible in the account books of Luchtmans. At the bottom of the final order the booksellers wrote: “from now on [we must] write in French to monsieur Charles De Geer [the younger] and give yearly updates on the number of copies of *Mémoires sur les insectes* that are in stock”.⁵¹ The orders from Leufsta decrease significantly after 1778. The Luchtmans brothers still delivered a limited number of periodicals, such as the *Journal encyclopédique*, but most running orders and subscriptions were stopped immediately. The last order Charles De Geer the younger placed at Luchtmans is registered in May 1791. After that, there are no traces of books traded between Leufsta and the Netherlands.

The new generation at Leufstabruk was disconnected from the Dutch Republic in terms of language and culture. The library catalogues of Leufstabruk suggest the library diminished in importance for the new owners. No new catalogues were compiled after the death of Charles De Geer and the additions to the catalogues of the 1770s are lacking details on prices and provenance. The collection grew by approximately ten percent from 1778 to 1805, for the most part with contemporary literature in French. One of the library catalogues contains a manuscript note by the nineteenth-century bibliographer Liljebjörn. Dated 18 August 1900, it states that the library holds 7,680 volumes and 637 booklets, that is 8,317 volumes in total.

Lost or Unlisted Books

The number of books in the Leufstabruk catalogues that can still be found in the library seems to be high: even the papercutting artwork and the school-books from De Geer’s childhood are listed. Regardless of all the books that are mentioned in the catalogues, there are two categories of books that should be mentioned separately: books that were once registered but which are now lost, and books and ephemera that were never registered, but must have been present at Leufstabruk.

51 UBA inv. nr. 354, no. 481, p. 314.

A small number of books are included in catalogues, account books, or appear on invoices, but are no longer found in the library. Some titles are crossed out in the catalogues, which implies that they were removed from the library at some point, or were, at least on paper, no longer regarded as part of the collection. This happened only occasionally, and considering the types of books marked in this way there is reason to believe that they were simply worn-out.⁵² Sporadically, books seem to have been replaced by later editions. In the catalogue from around 1750, for example, a French edition of Robinson Crusoe printed in Amsterdam 1720 has been crossed out.⁵³ It was probably replaced, because the work is still in the library, but in an Amsterdam edition from 1742–1743.

Other books that were crossed out in the catalogues, particularly Bibles, seem to have been given away by Charles De Geer. A Bible from 1687, for example, was presented to his brother Anton de Geer, while a few other books in the catalogues are marked with the annotation 'bortgifwit' (given away) without indication of the recipient.⁵⁴ In the same catalogue we also find a Dutch Bible from 1662 that has been crossed out and a French Bible present in two copies,⁵⁵ while only one copy is extant in the library: the other was presumably given away. Most of the books that De Geer bought at Luchtmans that cannot be traced in the library today, are Bibles, sermons and commentaries. The entry in the Luchtmans archives for 22 December 1750 mentions a "Summaire de la Bible" with gilded letters and illustrations, bound in maroquin, and another copy of the same book bound in satin.⁵⁶ Neither of these copies is present in the library of Leufstabrik, but they seem to have been copies of the miniature edition with Bible texts that was issued by Anthoni De Groot in The Hague in 1750.⁵⁷ This book measured less than three centimetres, and bound in maroquin or satin it would have made a fine gift.

52 There are a few schoolbooks, for example dictionaries and an undated edition of *De cierslycke voorsnydinge aller tafel-gerechten* (see Leufsta MS 46: Miscellanei, octavo et minori, no. 25), that are no longer in the collection.

53 Leufsta MS 42: Fabularum scriptores, octavo et minori, no. 1.

54 Leufsta MS 42: Theologi, folio, no. 10; Theologi, octavo et minori, no. 6.

55 *Ibid.*, Theologi, quarto, no. 30. This particular French Bible, a Geneva version published by Jean Neaulme in The Hague in 1743, can also be found in the Luchtmans archives, but this seemingly double entry in the archives may refer to two consecutive instalments of the same Bible, see UBA 354, no. 475, 10 September 1748, 19 August 1749, and UBA 354, no. 476, 28 August 1753.

56 UBA 354, no. 476, fol. 221: "Een sommaire de la Bible met goude letters en plaatjes en maroquin, Dito en in satijn geb."

57 *Sommaire de la Bible* (The Hague: Anthoni De Groot and fils, 1750).

In addition to the books that have been lost, removed from the library, or given away, there is a category of ephemeral publications that are not mentioned in any of the catalogues, inventories or other book lists at Leufstabruk, but which must have been around at some point. Apart from a few cuttings found in a schoolbook owned by De Geer, there are, for example, no surviving newspapers in the library of Leufstabruk.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it has been noted before that Charles De Geer had a subscription to the *Gazette de Leyde* and probably to other Dutch newspapers.⁵⁹ Newspapers are not the only printed matter that did not survive. Nearly all ephemeral publications seem to have been omitted from the catalogues and vanished from the library. From the sparse correspondence that has survived between Charles De Geer and Samuel and Johannes Luchtman, we know that the Leiden booksellers occasionally sent book and naturalia auction catalogues to Sweden. None of these auction catalogues survives in the library.

Moreover, there is just one fragment of a booksellers' catalogue from Luchtman, and one from a contemporary Swedish bookseller.⁶⁰ We know that Charles De Geer used periodicals, such as the *Journal des sçavans* and *Année littéraire*, to keep track of the latest publications, but he must have used booksellers' catalogues for the acquisition of new books as well.⁶¹ The same applies to all other forms of short-lived publications that may have been around: pamphlets, broadsides, printed invitations, obituaries or wedding poetry, of which nothing survives in the Leufstabruk library.⁶² The fact that such material does not survive is a reminder that we should make some reservations when we speak of the well-preserved material context of the library of Leufstabruk. Some publications were never registered and simply vanished without a trace.

58 Leufsta's copy of *Linguae Latinae rudimenta* (Amsterdam: Johannes and Gillis Janssonius van Waesberge, 1701), Uppsala UB, Leufsta 139.8, contains a snippet from the '*s-Gravenhaegsche Courant* published on 8 January 1734.

59 Anfält, 'Buying books by mail order', pp. 263–276.

60 Respectively: Uppsala UB, Leufsta 262.H.5: *Catalogus librorum, praecipue in Italia, Germania, Gallia, Anglia, Belgio et alibi editorum, qui inveniuntur apud Samuelem et Johannem Luchtman. Bibliopolas Leidenses, 1774*; and Uppsala UB, Leufsta 109.5: *Catalogue de livres qui se trouvent à Stockholm, chez Halldin*. Additionally, there are two smaller catalogues of Arkstée and Merkus (Leufsta 40.17:2 and 116.4:2), one of Philippe Changuion (Leufsta 16.11:2) and one of L'Honoré and Chatelain (Leufsta 100.H.10:2), all bound with other works.

61 Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 37: *Bibliografiska anteckningar till artiklar i Journal des Sçavans*.

62 Another library collection connected to the De Geer family, Finspongssamlingen in Norrköping, does hold examples of occasional poetry. See for example: Norrköping stadsbibliotek, Finspongssamlingen, Fol. 768 (Br.): *Epithalamium in honorem ... Tobiae Andreae ... et ... Elizabethae De Geer ...* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, 1643).

The Biographical Perspective

A life narrative derived from catalogue records certainly has its limitations. There are very few clear-cut personal remarks and reflections in private library catalogues and there are arguably better ways to gather basic biographical information about an individual. The rationale of a collector is, however, very much present in a catalogue, and understanding how a collection came to be is definitely one of the features that gives a library catalogue its added value over other biographical sources. Rather than simply listing the different subjects or languages which are present in a collection, the private library catalogue allows one to reflect on why certain types of books are in the collection, and why others are not. We have seen that some books in the Leufstabruk library are part of the collection for their symbolic value, while others had a practical use in science or in running the ironmaking estate, or were simply part of a legacy and probably had little meaning to De Geer at all.

The case of Leufstabruk illustrates that it is crucial to understand the library as an organic entity, books were added to and removed from the library over time. The compilation of private library catalogues may be connected to specific life events, such as moving to another country, entering new social circles, the construction of a new library building, the initiation of new research, and ultimately the death of the collector. Typically, the private library catalogue that is most likely to survive is the last one. Earlier catalogues became obsolete when a new one was compiled—after all, the old catalogues were no longer a reliable inventory of a collection and lost their function as an aid to find books on the shelves. The final catalogue of any collection might be a printed auction catalogue, a printed laudatory catalogue in praise of the collector, or simply the last manuscript catalogue that was in use at the library. In all these cases, we should seriously question what a single catalogue, frozen at a specific point in time, reveals about the life and the rationale of the collector.

The Network Perspective

Charles De Geer's life narrative and collector's rationale automatically expose a part of his network. First and foremost by means of the names we come across in the catalogues, such as Gottfried Kiesewetter, Johannes and Samuel Luchtmans, the Grill family, Pieter van Musschenbroek, Carl Linnaeus and many others. But the catalogues also connect him with concrete, physical spaces: the estate of Leufstabruk, the Swedish Academy of Sciences, the Frankfurt book fair, the mansion at Rijnhuizen, the bookshop of Luchtmans, and so on. An

investigation into the private library of Leufstabruk points towards larger questions, such as the import of British books to Sweden, the role of German book fairs in the transfer of knowledge to the north, the redistribution of antiquarian books in eighteenth-century Sweden through auctions, and the availability of European periodicals in Scandinavia, and the role of Dutch booksellers and intermediaries in this process.⁶³ The fact that Charles De Geer set up a book trade relation with the Luchtmans booksellers is arguably a very personal history, initiated by his former tutor Van Musschenbroek. However, it hints at the more general reality that a Swedish collector needed an intermediary outside Scandinavia, in order to acquire certain types of literature.

The library catalogues of other well-preserved private libraries in Sweden are indispensable for understanding the particularities of collections for which less sources survive, and ultimately, these help to define larger research questions.⁶⁴ One example of a complementary approach comes from the collection of Carl Gustaf Bielke, which is still in place at Skokloster Castle. Nearly all copies in this collection hold contemporary manuscript annotations about the acquisition of the books. A large number of these books were bought at auctions in Stockholm and Uppsala and Bielke wrote down, in a systematic way, the date, price and, occasionally, the name of the auction. Curiously, the Bielke library is its own library catalogue, with the unfortunate consequence that a book that is taken from the library is automatically erased from the catalogue.

There are, of course, many more examples of eighteenth-century private libraries in Sweden, all with their own systematics and materiality.⁶⁵ What they

63 Some of these questions have been addressed before, albeit from a somewhat different perspective. See, for example, E. Krefting, E. Nøding, and M. Ringvej (eds.), *Eighteenth-century Periodicals as Agents of Change. Perspectives on Northern Enlightenment* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

64 For some selected examples of Swedish collectors see Sten G. Lindberg, 'Boksamla gjanorde biblioteket', *Biblis* (1976), pp. 55–113.

65 The collection of Peter Jonas and Bengt Bergius, now at Stockholm University Library, was part of the presentation at the conference 'Private Libraries and Private Library Inventories, 1665–1830'. The Bergius Brothers made use of a network of academic connections throughout Europe to exchange books. How this trade was organised, which intermediaries were involved and what spaces were used, is still very much an open question. When Peter Jonas Bergius died in 1790, the library was bequeathed to the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. The will contained detailed instructions on the conditions under which the book collection would be bequeathed. The collection should not be mixed with other books, no books were to be sold or exchanged, and the books must not be mutilated. Combining evidence from the physical copies, often still in their original wrappers from the bookshop, with letters and the manuscript library catalogue will no doubt elucidate the network and spaces connected to this collection. Arguably the most renowned

all have in common, is that the collectors were active in the same geographical and social space. The regulations and obstructions in the book trade, the scarcity on the book market, and all other peculiarities of the Swedish context affected every single one of them. They all operated in the same field, visited the same auctions, were customers at local bookshops, which were supplied via book fairs and possibly similar trade networks. In Sweden, this context is fairly limited and thus manageable in a research context. As of yet, there are however no all-inclusive overviews of the surviving bookseller's and auction catalogues for example.

A detailed study into the specific editions and provenance of the books offered by the likes of Kiesewetter and Salvius, would be a tremendous asset for all further research on book trade and cultural exchange between Sweden and the rest of Europe. The same applies to the auction catalogues of that era. Collections like those of De Geer at Leufstbruk, Bielke at Skokloster and the Bergius brothers at Stockholm University are crucial in reconstructing that context, because the copies that they owned at the time are still in place, bearing the marks of book trade, auctions and other traces of use.

Conclusion

The combination of biographical, bibliographical and historical narratives that we can deduce from the Leufsta catalogues, helps to understand how the library of De Geer was used, how the collection was formed and what its place was in a larger scientific context. We can derive a life narrative of Charles De Geer from the private library catalogues of Leufstabruk. The biographical data are limited, but we can certainly understand the collector's rationale and explain not only how most books came into the library, but also why.

The exceptional number of surviving catalogues, inventories and book lists connected to the library of Leufstabruk, allow for wider reflections on the use of these lists in eighteenth-century Sweden, and their value for researchers today. First of all, precisely because De Geer recorded his collection in so much detail, it accentuates the books and ephemera that were absent in his catalogues. There is evidence that newspapers, pamphlets, price lists, occasional

eighteenth-century private library of Sweden, the collection of Carl Gustaf Tessin, has been dispersed, but the auction catalogue survives: *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu son excellence monseigneur Charles Gustave comte de Tessin* (Stockholm: Hesselberg, 1771).

poetry, printed invitations, Bibles, novels and other books that were heavily used were either never recorded or removed from the records.

Furthermore, the evolution of the library at Leufstabruk can be understood because the catalogues cover the entire period in which the library was built up. The provenance and use of nearly every book in the collection can be determined, and even for some of the lost books we can accurately describe what has happened. This clearly sets Leufstabruk aside from a lot of other private libraries, and may therefore be the key to understanding other private libraries in Sweden for which only one type of source material remains. Most collectors in Sweden in the eighteenth century were part of the same local community and it is likely that they shared much of the same network of auctions, book-sellers and maybe even international trade. A detailed investigation of the catalogues at Leufstabruk can consequently signpost some of the important actors and spaces in the Swedish book world of the mid-eighteenth century, which is vital if we are to understand private libraries in the same space for which far less sources survive.

Appendix: Overview of All Manuscript and Printed Catalogues, Inventories and Other Book Lists Connected to the Library of Leufstabruk

Library Catalogues (in Chronological Order)

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 46. *Katalog över böcker fram till 1744; möjligen förvärvskatalog.*

Manuscript library catalogue, mainly structured according to format (2°, 4°, 8° and 12°), with a start to structure by subject, no shelf numbers but consecutive numbering of books per category, with prices in Dutch and Swedish currency. Compiled c.1738, with additions up to 1744.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 42. *Bibliotheca Caroli De Geer, med prisuppgifter.* Manuscript

library catalogue, structured according to subject and format (2°, 4° and 8°), no shelf numbers but consecutive numbering of books per category, with prices in Dutch and Swedish currency. Compiled c.1745, with additions up to 1753.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 45. *Bibliothèque de Leufsta mise en ordre l'an 1758, med prisuppgifter.* Manuscript library catalogue, structured according to shelving order

(from A to AAAA) of the collection before it was housed in the current library pavilion, with occasional mentions of prices in Dutch and Swedish currency. Compiled 1758.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 43. *Bibliothèque de Leufsta, realkatalog.* Manuscript library catalogue, structured according to subject and format (2°, 4° and 8°) with reference to

corresponding shelf numbers. Compiled c.1760, with additions up to 1768.

- Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 44. *Bibliothèque de Leufsta, nominalkatalog med prisuppgifter*. Manuscript library catalogue, structured according to format (2°, 4° and 8°) and alphabetical order of authors, with reference to corresponding shelf numbers (corrections throughout the catalogue), with prices in Dutch and Swedish currency. Compiled c.1760, with additions up to 1768.
- Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 47. *Realkatalog*. Manuscript library catalogue, 361 pages numbered by hand, with an index of subject headings, structured according to subject and format (2°, 4° and 8°) with reference to corresponding shelf numbers. Compiled c.1770, with additions in various hands up to 1800. Annotations in pencil, probably late nineteenth-century by the bibliographer E.G. Liljebjörn.
- Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 48. *Nominalkatalog*. Manuscript library catalogue, structured according to format (2°, 4° and 8°) and alphabetical order of authors, with reference to corresponding shelf numbers (corrections throughout the catalogue), with prices in Dutch and Swedish currency. Compiled c.1770, with additions in various hands up to 1800. Annotations in pencil, late nineteenth-century by the bibliographer E.G. Liljebjörn. Pasted-in manuscript note by Liljebjörn, dated 9 August 1892, where he estimates the number of books at 8,300, and dated again 18 August 1900, where he states that the library holds 7,680 volumes and 637 booklets, that is 8,317 volumes in total.
- Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 49. *Realkatalog*. Manuscript library catalogue, 425 pages numbered by hand, with an index of subject headings, structured according to subject and format (2°, 4° and 8°). Compiled c.1777 with no additions.
- Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 53. *Catalogue de livres de musique, redigée par Charles De Geer le jeune, 1763*. Manuscript library catalogue of the music books at Leufsta, 70 titles on 12 unnumbered pages, structured alphabetically by author. Compiled 1763.

Account Books and Invoices

- Riksarkivet Stockholm, Leufstaarkivet 164. Rijnhuizen account books of Jean Jacques [= Jan Jacob] De Geer, 1732–1738.
- Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 57. *Memorial [van allerlei saaken] begynt a:o 1744*. Contains, among other things, 1 page with 10 books and two microscopes credited at the account of Petrus van Musschenbroeck. The books correspond to the first deliveries mentioned in the Luchtmans account books.
- Amsterdam University Library, Special Collections, *Inventaris van het archief van de firma Luchtmans (1697–1848)*. UBA inv. nr. 354. Approximately 1,500 titles ordered by Charles De Geer at the bookshop of Samuel (I) and later Samuel (II) and Johannes Luchtmans in Leiden.
- No. 475. 1742[–1765], fol. 126
- No. 476. 1742[–1765], fol. 221, 329, 372
- No. 477. 1756[–1772], fol. 1–4

No. 478. 1756[–1772], fol. 148–150

No. 479. 1756[–1772], fol. 321–323, 452, 454

No. 480. 1770[–1783], fol. 17–19, 160–162

No. 481. 1770[–1783], fol. 236–238, 313–315, 396

No. 482. 1781[–1795], fol. 183

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (12). *25 numrerade räkningar/kvittenser över bokinköp som gjorts hos Luchtmans mellan 1758 och 1772*. Twenty-five invoices from the booksellers Samuel (11) and Johannes Luchtmans for books ordered by Charles De Geer between 1758 and 1772. These invoices match the account books above.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (13). *Förteckning över böcker med priser; tryckår 1756–1771*. Not before 1771. Manuscript list, probably from a Stockholm bookseller, with 29 titles, with prices in Swedish currency. Total amount for the listed books: 727 daler silvermynt and 8 öre.

Kiesewetter's Stock Catalogues (Selection)

Catalogus på åtskillige nya inkomne böcker, som finnes uthi Gottfried Kiesewetters boklåda i Stockh: 1738 ([Stockholm: Kiesewetter, 1738]). Printed booksellers' catalogue by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 4 pages.

Catalogus på åtskillige böcker, som finnes uti Kiesewetteriska boklådan i Stockholm ([Stockholm: Kiesewetter, 1739]). Printed booksellers' catalogue by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 2 pages.

Utan de åtskillige af bokhandlaren Kiesewetter uplagda svenska och latinska böcker, finnes också uti sina boklådor i Stockholm och Upsala ett stort partie tyska och latinska theologiska, historiska, mediciniska, och juridiska böcker (Stockholm and Uppsala: Kiesewetter, 1742). Printed booksellers' catalogue by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 4 pages.

Catalogus på the böcker hwilka, så wäl in- som utom Sverige äro vplagda, med egen bekostnad af Gottfried Kiesewetter ([Stockholm: Kiesewetter, 1742]). Printed booksellers' catalogue by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 16 pages.

Upsats på allahanda böcker, hwilka med egen bekostnad äro uplagde af bokhandlaren Gottfried Kiesewetter, och säljes för de bifogade pris. ([Stockholm: Kiesewetter, 1745–1747]). Printed catalogue with prices of all books published and sold by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 2 volumes.

Förteckning på allehanda böcker, hwilka med egen bekostnad äro uplagde af bokhandlaren Gottfried Kiesewetter, och säljas för bifogade pris ([Stockholm: Kiesewetter, 1752]). Printed catalogue with prices of all books published and sold by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 16 pages.

Förlags catalogus, eller Förteckning på allehanda böcker, hwilka med förwärfwad rättighet och med egen bekostnad äro uplagde af Gottfried Kiesewetter, kongl. privilegerad bokhandlare i Stockholm och Upsala ([Stockholm: Kiesewetter, 1757]). Printed booksellers' catalogue by Gottfried Kiesewetter. 16 pages.

Auction Catalogues

Catalogus bibliothecæ b. defuncti nobil. d.n. Olai Rudbeck, archiatri et profess. med Upsaliensis, auctione publicæ vendendæ Holmiæ a. 1741 die loco horisque solitis (Holmiæ: typis Pet. Georgi Nyström, [1741]). Printed auction catalogue for the collection of Olof Rudbeck the Younger. Charles De Geer acquired approximately 60 books at this auction.

Catalogue d'une nombreuse collection de livres ... rassemblés ... par monsieur Jean Neaulme, libraire, dont la vente publique se sera ... à la Haye, par N. van Daalen & B. Gibert, le lundi 24. juin 1765 (The Hague: N. van Daalen and B. Gibert, 1765). Printed auction catalogue. The Luchtmans booksellers acquired a few dozen books for Charles De Geer at this auction.

Other Leufsta Booklists

Stockholm, Riksantikvarieämbetets arkiv och bibliotek, Vitterhetskademiens handskriftssamling, "Top. o. hist. samlingar"—Typotius, vol. 29: E. Touscher, *Katalog över Charles De Geers myntkabinett, bibliotek och anskaffade persedlar (bl.a. instrument) på Leufsta*, 1739.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 37. *Bibliografiska anteckningar till artiklar i Journal des Sçavans, Année Littéraire, Bibliothèque des Sciences, Frérons Lettres sur quelques écrits de ce temps m.m.*

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (1). *Catalogue de livres de Charles De Geer de Leufsta trouvés apres sa mort dans son cabinet*. 4 pages. 1730. Manuscript list (defective with loss of text) with 99 specified titles (26 folio, 21 quarto, 50 octavo, 2 duodecimo) and "some books in folio, quarto, octavo" that are not individually documented. These books were left at Leufsta by Charles De Geer the elder when he died in 1730.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (2). *Livres que j'ai prêté à diverses personnes*. 1 page. 1766. Manuscript list of 11 titles that were loaned out from Leufsta in 1766 to five men and one woman.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (3). *Catalogue des livres que j'ai reçu de mon chere père*. 2 pages. C. 1738. Manuscript list with 58 titles (7 folio, 8 quarto, 43 octavo and smaller formats) that Charles De Geer had received from his father.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (6). *Till Leufsta försändes*. 1 page. Not before 1792. Manuscript list with 57 French titles, probably late eighteenth century. The title 'Sent to Leufsta' suggests that these books were shipped to Leufsta by an unidentified Swedish bookseller.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (8). *Catalogue des livres que nous avons prêtés de mon cher père*. 1 page. Not before 1750. Manuscript list with 28 titles (1 folio, 7 quarto, 20 octavo), three crossed out, that were loaned from Leufsta library by one of the children.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 50 (10). *Förteckning öfver de utur Leufsta bibliotheque till Stockholm afsände böcker*. Not before 1790. Manuscript list with 42 titles (8 in a different hand) of books that were sent from Leufsta to Stockholm.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 66. *Lämnat till lieutenant m.m. på wårdshuset*. Not before 1790. Manuscript list with 9 titles of books that might have been loaned from Leufsta library and have been returned to De Geer and left behind at the guesthouse.

Leufsta Inventories and Catalogues of Non-book Items

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 51. *Catalogue d'estampes*.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 52. *Förteckning över kartor*.

Uppsala UB, Leufsta MS 54. *Leufsta-Bruks Malm- och Mineral-Cabinett. Beskrifwit år 1763*.

A Private Library as a Material History of the Book. Otto Thott's Encyclopedic Library in Copenhagen

Anders Toftgaard

This article focuses on the library of the Danish nobleman and book collector Count Otto Thott (1703–1785).^{*} Thott collected books, paintings, drawings, weapons, medals and coins, decorative objects and natural history specimens. He was by far the single greatest private book collector in the history of Denmark and of inestimable importance for the Royal Danish Library, since he bequeathed his collection of manuscripts (4,154 catalogue entries) and books printed before 1531 (6,059 catalogue entries) to the Royal Library. The entire collection numbered some 200,000 items, many of which also ended up in the Royal Library when the collection was sold at auction.

In library history, Otto Thott's library has been compared to the libraries of Louis César de La Baume Le Blanc, duc de La Vallière (1708–1780) and Karl Joseph von Firmian (1716–1782).¹ Andreas Wilhelm Cramer (1760–1833), a professor at the University in Kiel, who later oversaw its library—called Thott's library the richest private library in Europe.² So did Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco de Miranda, who visited Thott's library in 1788 (a few years after Thott died). He wrote in his diary that this library was “perhaps the best private collection in Europe”.³

Otto Thott's library may have been unique, but it was also characteristic of the period. Just like in the rest of Europe, the eighteenth century was a flowering period for private libraries in Denmark.⁴ The librarian and literary

* The research behind this article was made possible by funding from the Danish Ministry of Culture. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

- 1 Friedrich Metz, *Geschichte des Buchhandels und der Buchdruckerkunst* (Darmstadt: Jonghaus, 1835), p. 66.
- 2 Andreas Wilhelm Cramer, *Haus-Chronik, meinen Anverwandten und Freunden zum Andenken gewidmet* (Hamburg: bei Perthes und Besser, 1822), p. 227.
- 3 Francisco de Miranda and Haavard Rostrup (eds.), *Miranda i Danmark, Francisco de Mirandas danske rejsedagbog 1787–1788* (Copenhagen: Rhodos, 1987), p. 146.
- 4 Palle Birkelund, 'Nordiske videnskabelige bibliotekers historie: Danmark', in Svend Dahl (ed.), *Nordisk håndbog i bibliotekskundskab* (Copenhagen: Hassing, 1958), vol. 2, pp. 128–196, here p. 134.

historian Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829) described how the four Counts Johan Ludvig Holstein (1694–1763), Otto Thott (1703–1785), Adam Gottlieb Moltke (1710–1792), and Johan Hartvig Ernst Bernstorff (1712–1772) were like a four-leaf clover, who had contributed to the fact that “those days must be considered some of the most favourable and gentlest that the muses have ever enjoyed in Denmark”.⁵ According to Nyerup, who had published one of the earliest catalogues of incunabula in Denmark, and who had direct knowledge of Thott’s library, it was even one of the finest in Europe: “Af disse Musæer var, som bekjendt, det thottiske det allerstørste, og, af en privat Samling at være, af et Omfang som i Europa vel neppe havde sin lige” [Among these museums, Thott’s was by far the largest, and considering that it was a private collection, it was of a size which was probably unequalled in Europe].⁶

Other important Danish book collectors of the eighteenth century were the two historians Hans Gram (1685–1748) and Jacob Langebek (1710–1775), and the two public officials Henrik Hielmstjerne (1715–1780) and Bolle Willum Luxdorph (1716–1788). In the following generation, some of the most prominent collectors were the historian Peter Frederik Suhm (1728–1798), the professor Abraham Kall (1743–1821) and the priest Herman Treschow (1739–1797)—who in the preface to the catalogue of Luxdorph’s library were referred to as the “triumvirate of the learned republic”.⁷

These private libraries blossomed in the period between the fire of Copenhagen in 1728, which annihilated the library of the University of Copenhagen (as well as many private libraries, but not the Royal Library), and the opening of the Royal Library for the general public in 1793.⁸ Until 1793, borrowing a book from the king’s library was not a right but depended on royal grace. The opening of the library of Peter Frederik Suhm to the public in 1778, probably inspired the Royal Library to open up.⁹ Suhm, who eventually sold his library to the Royal Library, described Thott as follows:

5 Rasmus Nyerup, ‘Sic Transit Gloria Mundi’, *Nyeste Skilderie af Kiøbenhavn*, 17 March 1812 (Year nine, no. 23), p. 353.

6 Nyerup, ‘Sic Transit Gloria Mundi’, p. 354. Nyerup had already in 1782–1783 published three leaflets which were put together under the common title *Spicilegium bibliographicum ex Bibliotheca Regia Havniensi, continens semicenturiam monumentorum typograph. rarissimorum. Mich. Maittairei ignotorium* (Copenhagen: Hallager, 1784).

7 Joachim Junge, ‘[Untitled Preface]’, in *Bibliotheca Luxdorphiana, sive Index librorum quos reliquit ... Bolle Wilhelmus Luxdorph, quorum sectio fiet Hafniæ ad d. 14. Septembris 1789* (Copenhagen: C.F. Holm, 1789), p. 18.

8 An *instruction* containing the vision and rules of the Royal Library was penned in 1793.

9 A medal was coined for Suhm after his death, with a temple with one door open and with one Latin word written below: *aperuit* [he opened].

Nobody here ever did possess such a large library in all subject fields, and never has such a large library been put for sale at an auction. He also possessed immense collections of coins, of which he was a connoisseur, of paintings, of which many were bad, specimens, which were not in the best order, artifacts, guns, porcelain, and mathematical instruments. His memory was extraordinary and he almost knew all his books, remembered the places of edition and the year of publication along with the printers' names. He had an extraordinary provision of anecdotes, preferably concerning learned men, famous Danish men and noble families, which have since been buried with him.¹⁰

Suhm then added a famous anecdote about the opinion of the prodigious author and professor Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) concerning Thott: “Holberg gjorde intet af Thott; da jeg engang sagde til ham, at Thott var en lærd Mand, svarte han: Ja, Boghandler.” [Holberg was not impressed by Thott; when I once said to him that Thott was a learned man, he answered: Yes, a bookdealer].¹¹

Even though Holberg may not have considered Thott a learned man, many other persons did. After having visited Thott's library on 31 October 1782, the Swedish nobleman Knut Posse described him as “Le plus grand homme qu'il y a en Danemarck, et un seigneur d'une érudition si peu commune, que cela surprend tout le monde” [The greatest man to be found in Denmark and a lord of erudition so uncommon that it surprises everyone].¹²

10 “Aldrig har nogen her besiddet saa stort et Bibliothek i alle Fag, og aldrig har noget saa stort nogenlunde været til Auction. Han besad og ellers uhyre Samlinger i Mynter, hvoraf han var en stor Kiender, Malerier, hvoraf vare mange slette, Naturalier, som ei vare i den beste Orden, Kunstsager, Gevæhrer, Porcelain, mathematiske Instrumenter. Hans Hukommelse var ugemen, og kiendte han fast alle sine Bøger, kunde huske Udgavernes Sted og Aarstal, samt Bogtrykkernes Navne, havde en ugemen Forraad af Anecdoter, helst om lærde Mænd, og Danske berømte Mænd, samt Adelsslægter, hvilke nu ere begravne med ham.” Peter Frederik Suhm, *Samlede skrifter* (Copenhagen: S. Poulsen, 1788–1799), vol. x, p. 39.

11 *Ibid.* In contrast to this reported evidence, many years earlier, in 1727, Holberg had in print stressed Thott's erudition by describing him as: “vir non minus vitæ integritate ac solida eruditione quam majorum imaginibus clarus” [(“a man no less renowned for his integrity of life and his solid learning than for the pictures of his ancestors”)] in Ludvig Holberg, *Ludovici Holbergii ad virum perillustrem *** epistola* ([Copenhagen: [s.n.], [1728]), p. 168, cf. <<http://holbergsskrifter.dk/holberg-public/view?docId=levnedsbreve%2FAdViru.page&chunk.id=part11&show.second=overs&toc.id=>>>.

12 Uppsala University Library, Posse 28 fol., 2. Journal de mon voyage de Copenhague a Hambourg et de mon retour a cette premiere ville, entrepris le 9 Aout 1782, cf. Harald

Otto Thott's Life

Otto Thott lost his father Tage Thott (1648–1707) as a child, and his mother Sophie Pedersdatter Reedtz (1675–1720) as a young man. Once he had finished school in Sorø, two of his aunts helped him further his education in Europe. According to his official eulogist—appointed by the University of Copenhagen, Jacob Baden (1735–1800)—Thott's communication with men such as Hans Gram (1685–1748), Árni Magnússon (1663–1730) and Frederik Rostgaard (1671–1745) greatly nurtured his love of literary history.¹³ Likewise, the son of Hans Gram described how as a young man Thott had studied history and heraldics privately with his father, professor in history and librarian at the Royal Library.¹⁴

During his Grand Tour, which lasted from 1723 to 1727, Thott went to Halle, Jena, Leiden, Amsterdam, Paris, Oxford, and London. In Halle, where he studied law with Justus Henning Böhmer (1674–1749) and Johann Peter von Ludewig (1688–1743), he obtained permission to use the latter's library. In Paris, he became acquainted with Victor Marie d'Estrées (1660–1737), Armand de Rohan (1674–1749), and the head of the Royal Library, Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743). According to the biography published by Abraham Kall in 1789, Thott bought some books in Paris, which he was persuaded to return in order for the books not to leave France.¹⁵ The learned theologian Mogens Kruse (Magnus Crusius, 1697–1751), who served as Danish priest in Paris 1724–1731, was given leave in 1726–1727 in order to accompany Thott to England. In 1726, Thott was registered at the university in Oxford.¹⁶

In England, Otto Thott met King George I (1660–1727) and participated in the learned gatherings at the home of Thomas Herbert (1656–1733), 8th Earl of Pembroke and 5th Earl of Montgomery, where he met Hans Sloane (1660–1753),

Ilsoe, 'Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?', *Fund og Forskning*, 35 (1996), pp. 65–94, here p. 67.

- 13 Jacob Baden, *Oratio in memoriam Ottonis Comitiss Thottii, Dynastæ in Gaunoe, Lindesvold et Strandgaard, ... habita in auditorio superiore A.D. 17. Novembris 1785* (Copenhagen: Höpffner, 1785), p. 11.
- 14 Laurids Gram, *Vita Johannis Grammii = Hans Grams Levned beskrevet af hans Broder og Fosterson*. (Copenhagen: Det kongelige danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie, 1942), p. 20.
- 15 Abrahamus Kall, *Symmikta Historica, Delineationi Vita Coursus Inservitura, Quem Feliciter Peregit ... Otto Comes de Thott Dynasta in Gaunoe ... S.R. Maiest : A Consiliis Intimis* (Copenhagen: C.F. Holm, 1787).
- 16 Henny Glarbo, 'Danske og Norske Studerende i Oxford', *Personalhistorisk Tidsskrift*, Year 56 (10th series, vol. 2, fascicle 2) (1935), pp. 146–159.

Edmond Halley (1656–1742), and many others. Michael Maittaire (1668–1747), who was to publish one of the first printed catalogues of incunabula, showed him the Harleyan library.

Upon his return to Denmark around 1727, Thott was employed in the Danish Chancery. He created a first private library, comprising books which he had bought on his Grand Tour, but this library was almost completely lost in the devastating fire of Copenhagen in 1728. In 1732, he married Birgitte Charlotte Kruse (1711–1781) who brought the manor Lindersvold as a dowry. Five years later, in 1737, Thott partly inherited the manor house Gavnbø in South Seeland. Eventually, he would become one of the most important landowners in Denmark. Thott participated in the creation of the Board of Commerce (1735) and wrote a programmatic treatise on the subject.¹⁷ In 1746, he became head of the College of Finance, and in 1758 a member of the Privy Council. Immediately after the death of Count Johan Ludvig Holstein (1694–1763), another member of the Privy Council and, as mentioned, an important book collector, Thott succeeded Holstein in all offices: Minister of Finance and supreme secretary of the Danish Chancery, Chairman of the College of Missions, the Royal Orphanage, and the Academy of Sciences, Patron of the University (in Copenhagen), superintendent of the Church and superintendent of the Boarding School Herlufsholm. Thott received the Order of the Elephant in 1763, and was made a Count four years later.

The rise to power of the German physician Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1772), who became physician-in-ordinary to the king Christian VII (1749–1808), led to a temporary fall from power of Otto Thott. When Struensee dismissed the entire Privy Council in 1770, Thott simultaneously lost all of his offices. However, immediately after Struensee's arrest on 17 January 1772, the officer Thomas de Malleville (c.1739–1798) went to Gavnbø in order to call Thott back to power.¹⁸

17 Kristof Glamann, *Otto Thott's uforgribelige tanker om Kommerciens Tilstand, et nationaløkonomisk programskrift fra 1735* (Copenhagen: Bianco Luno, 1966); Kristof Glamann, *Studier i dansk merkantilisme, omkring tekster af Otto Thott* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1983).

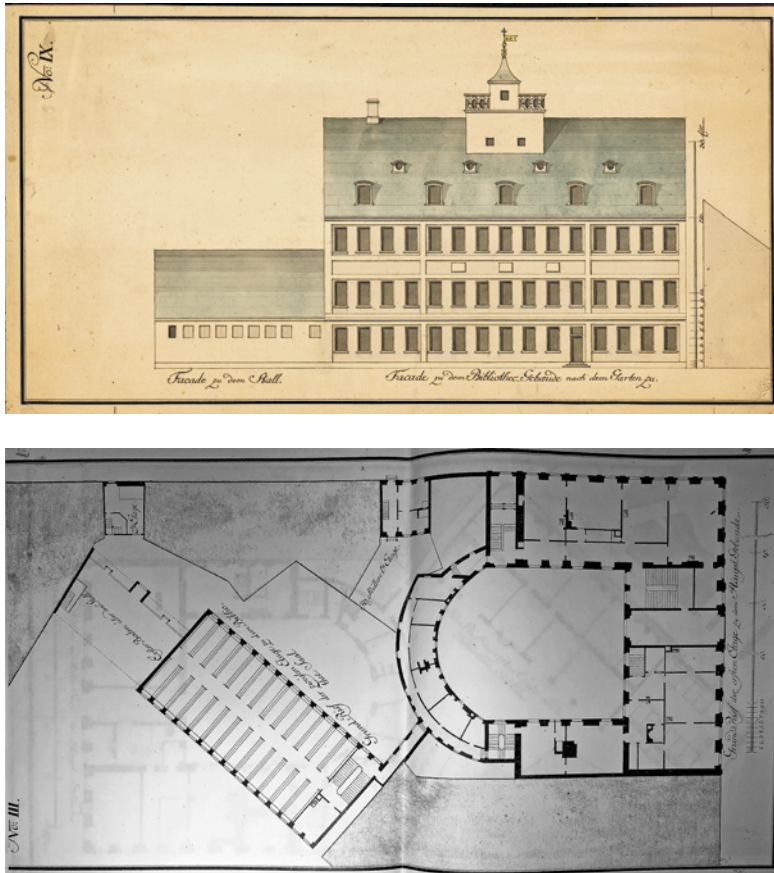
18 The scene is depicted in an allegorical scene serving as a dedication to Thott in Luxdorph's *Carmina* (Copenhagen: A.H. Godiche, 1775). While Struensee practically ruled the country through orders signed by the king, he also had an affair with the queen Caroline Mathilde (1751–1775). Caroline Mathilde, Struensee and Struensee's friend and complice Enevold Brandt (1738–1772) were all arrested on 17 January 1772. Struensee and Brandt were both executed, whereas Caroline Mathilde, after a formal divorce, was banished from Denmark and ended her life in Celle Castle, in the Electorate of Hanover.

In his professional life, Thott was involved in the world of books in different ways, most notably as an administrator of certain institutional libraries. As a patron of the University of Copenhagen, he arranged for the university library to buy the collection of the classical scholar Johann Albert Fabricius (1668–1736), even though he had considered buying it for his own private library.¹⁹ He also oversaw the buying and donating of books to the Herlufsholm school of which he was a superintendent in the years 1763–1785.²⁰ The donations date particularly from the years 1777–1783. Through his position in the Danish Chancery, Thott was also involved in book censorship.²¹

His own private library was located on Kongens Nytorv (King's New Square) in Copenhagen. In 1761, at the age of 58, Thott bought the splendid seventeenth-century palace erected there for the admiral Niels Juul as a replacement of his previous residence in Studiestræde. On Kongens Nytorv, he had a separate three-storey building constructed for his collections.²² The middle storey was almost completely laid out as a large hall measuring 24 × 13 meters.²³ The building functioned as a museum, a library and an observatory and was referred to as 'Museum Tottianum' (see figure 2.1 page 54).²⁴

When Thott passed away in 1785, he did not leave any direct heirs. Therefore the estate was inherited by a grandcousin on his mother's side, Holger Reedtz, who was allowed to take the name Holger Reedtz-Thott (1745–1797). Most of the collections were sold at auctions held at Otto Thott's house in the years 1786–1793 and catalogues of the collections were published.²⁵ Of these, only

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- 19 E.C. Werlauff, *Historiske Efterretninger om det store kongelige Bibliothek i Kiøbenhavn*, Second ed. (Copenhagen: Samfundet til den Danske Literaturs Fremme, 1844).
- 20 Jakob Povl Holck, *Den gamle verdens magi, bogsamlingen fra Herlufsholm på Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsbibliotek, 2015), p. 5.
- 21 Jesper Jakobsen, *Uanstændige, utilladelige og unyttige skrifter: en undersøgelse af censuren i praksis 1746–1773* (PhD thesis, University of Copenhagen, 2017).
- 22 See the detailed account in Ulla Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin: en ideologisk nyklassicist* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2010), pp. 555–559.
- 23 Palle Birkelund, 'Det Thottske Biblioteks sidste Dage', in Arne Stuhr-Rasmussen (ed.), *Fra de Gamle Bøgers Verden. Festskrift fra en Kreds af Husets Venner, udsendt i Anledning af Firmaet Herman H.J. Lynge & Søns 100-aarige Bestaaen som videnskabeligt Antikvariat 1853–1953* (Copenhagen: Herman H.J. Lynge & Søn, 1953), pp. 83–110, here p. 86.
- 24 Anders Toftgaard, 'Landkort over en samling. Hvad katalogposterne kan fortælle om Otto Thotts håndskriftsamling—og om katalogisering', *Fund og Forskning*, 58 (2019), pp. 129–160, here p. 134.
- 25 The catalogue of Otto Thott's art collection: *Fortegnelse paa den store samling, som ... Otto greve af Thott har efterladt sig af malerier i oliefarve af berømte mestere, miniatur-, vandfarve- og pastelmalerier og haandtegninger ... kobbere, træsnit ... udstukne kobberplader etc., hvilken ved offentlig Auction den 24. April førstkommende bliver bortsolgt udi*



FIGURES 2.1 A–B Drawing of the library building erected behind Otto Thott's residence on Kongens Nytorv in Copenhagen. From a set of drawings, ca. 1780, stored at the French Embassy in Copenhagen

hr. kammerherre Reedtz Thottes hotel Kgs. Nytorv (Copenhagen: Müller, 1787). The catalogue of Thott's collection of coins: Elias Chr. v. Haven, *Thesaurus Numismatum ... quæ dum vixit collegit ... Otto comes de Thott* (Copenhagen: typis viduæ Svare, 1788–1789). The catalogue of Thott's collection of weapons and mechanical instruments: *Fortegnelse over endeel Kanoner, meget gamle og rare Gevæhre, samt Pistoler, Buer, Ballister, Stridshamre og Øxer, Dolke, Pile ... saa og endeel kostbare og af berømte Mestere og Mechanicis forfærdigede matematiske, astronomiske og geographiske Instrumenter ... Hr. Otto Greve af Totts Stervboe tilhørende ...* (Copenhagen: Chr. Frid. Holm, 1786). The catalogue of Thott's collection of decorative objects: *Fortegnelse over Hans Høigrevelige Excellences ... Otto Greve af Thott efterladte store Samling af Kunstsager, i dreven Sølv, i Elfenben af store Mestere udskaarne Kunststykker, i Figurer og Pocaler, Drikkekander, Begere, tildeels i Sølv indfattede, Basrelief ...* (Copenhagen: Möller, 1788).

the multi-volume catalogue of the library, *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Thottianæ*, will be treated in detail in this article.²⁶ The museum building is no longer extant, and Thott's collections were dispersed after his death.²⁷

Already before the last volumes of the catalogue had been published, the catalogue was considered the only source of knowledge concerning the library. Indeed, the German physician Ernst Gottfried Baldinger in Marburg wrote in a short notice concerning the publication of the first three volumes: "Wenn man nicht mehr weiß wo Graf Thott seine Bücher hingekommen sind denn noch ist dieses Bücherverzeichniß lehrreich sowie des Teutschen Grafen von Büнау" [Even though we no longer know where Count Thott books have ended up, this catalogue of books is very instructive, just as that of the German count Büнау].²⁸

- 26 The full bibliographical information of the individual volumes—all printed in Copenhagen, but by four different printers—are (with abbreviations of *Tomus* and *Pars*): *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ Tomi Primi Pars I continens Libros Theologicos: Publica Auctione distrahendos circa initium Mensis Aprilis Anni MDCCCLXXXIX.*, N. Møller, 1789 ([2], xvi, 579 p.); *T. 1, Ps. 2; continens Libros Theologicos, Publica Auctione distrahendos circa Medium Mensis Maji Anni MDCCCLXXXIX.*, C.F. Holm, 1789 (viii, 922 p.); *T. 2 continens Libros Juridicos: Publica Auctione distrahendos circa Finem Mensis Novembris Anni MDCCCLXXXIX.*, N. Møller, 1789 (liii, 552 p.); *T. 2, Ps. 2 continens Designationem Specialiorem Dissertationum Juridicarum, in Tomo Secundo comprehensarum, quæ Tota Collectio Junctim uno Ictu vendenda est circa finem mensis Maji MDCCXCII.*, Svare, 1792 ([2], 963, [2] p.); *T. 3, Ps. 1; Libros continens Mathematico-Physicos, Physico-Historicos, Medico-Chirurgico-Chymicos, Philosophicos, Ethicos, atque Oeconomico-Politicos: Omnes in Folio, et Quartæ Formæ Maximam Partem complectens; Publica Auctione distrahendos circa Finem Mensis Aprilis Anni MDCCXC.* N. Møller, 1790 (xx, 706 p.); *T. 3, Ps. 2; Libros continens Philosophicos & Politico-Oeconomicos in Quarto, atque Omnes Mathematico-Physicos, Physico-Historicos, Medico-Chirurgico-Chymicos, Cum Philosophicis Et Politicis, in Octavo et Formis Minoribus: Publica Auctione distrahendos Mense Decembri Anni MDCCXC.*, N. Møller, 1790 (xxx, 879 p.); *T. 4 continens Libros Philologicos: Publica Auctione distrahendos circa Initium Mensis Octobris Anni MDCCCLXXXVIII.*, N. Møller, 1788 ([4], 640 p.); *T. 5, Ps. 1; continens Libros Historicos, Publica Auctione distrahendos circa Initium Mensis Aprilis Anni MDCCCLXXXI.*, C.F. Holm, 1791 ([4], 799 p.); *T. 5, Ps. 2 continens Libros Historicos, Tempore Continuo cum illis, qui in Parte Prima Hujus Tomi continentur, dividendos, nempe circa Initium Mensis Aprilis Anni MDCCXCI.*, C.F. Holm, 1791 ([4], 755 p.); *T. 5, Ps. 3; continens Libros Historicos in Octavo: Publica Auctione distrahendos Mense Aprilis Anni MDCCXCII.*, C.F. Holm, 1792 ([4], 722 p.); *T. 6 continens Libros ad Historiam Ecclesiasticam et Litterariam spectantes: Publica Auctione distrahendos circa Finem Mensis Aprilis Anni MDCCXCII.*, N. Møller, 1792 (vi, 660 p.); *T. 7 Libros cum ab Inventa Typographia ad Annum MDXXX Excusos tum Manuscriptos continens.*, S. Popp, 1795 ([6], 537 p.). In the Royal Danish Library there is a copy of the catalogue with the names of the buyers and prices added in manuscript.
- 27 Apart from those parts of the collection of paintings which, according to his will, were kept in or transferred to his residence in Gavnø.
- 28 *Medicinisches und Physisches Journal. Vom Geheimen Rath Baldinger zu Warburg*, 25 (Göttingen: Johann Christian Dieterich, 1790), p. 43.

Otto Thott's Library

Otto Thott collected all kinds of books. Jonathan Israel has pointed out for example, that Thott had “one of the most extensive collections of forbidden philosophical books and manuscripts to be found anywhere in eighteenth-century Europe”.²⁹ According to Horstbøll and Laursen, the reason that there were so many spinozist and clandestine manuscripts in Thott's library was perhaps quantitative and not qualitative. These works were not there because of Thott's political interest, but because of the sheer size of his library.³⁰

Thott had encyclopedic, all-encompassing, interests. Thott was familiar with classical literature, to such an extent that King Christian VII described him as “a living *autor classicus*”.³¹ He was interested in history, heraldics, genealogy, theology, Danish poetry, law and economics, and became gradually increasingly interested in natural history. It would be fair to say with Carl Petersen, that Thott was also fond of illuminated manuscripts on parchment and had a particular predilection for palaeotypes and incunabula.³² It is clear from what remains of his correspondence that he took a keen interest in bibliography and in the material history of the book in general.

Layout of the Library

After visiting Thott's library during his travels in 1775, the Italian Isidoro Bianchi (1731–1808) recommended it to others:

After the Royal Library, the library of His Excellence, Count Thott, deserves to be known and visited by every learned traveler. Count Thott combines an exquisite knowledge and a marvelous memory with the most courteous manners.³³

29 Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 133. Israel builds upon Miguel Benítez, *La face cachée des Lumières: recherches sur les manuscrits philosophiques clandestins de l'âge classique* (Paris-Oxford: Universitas-Oxford University Press, 1996).

30 Henrik Horstbøll and John Christian Laursen, ‘Spinoza in Denmark. An unknown painting of Spinoza and the Spinoza collection of Count Otto Thott’, in Wiep van Bunge (ed.), *Spinoza and Dutch Cartesianism* (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2006), pp. 248–264.

31 J.H. Bang (ed.), ‘Charlotte Dorothea Biehls Historiske Breve’, *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 3rd series, 4 (1866), p. 363.

32 Carl S. Petersen, *Det kongelige Biblioteks Haandskriftsamling, Første Gang trykt i ‘Bogens Verden’ 24. Aarg* (Copenhagen, 1943), p. 13. In the rest of the article, ‘palaeotypes’ includes incunables.

33 “Dopo la Real Biblioteca merita di essere da ogni più colto Viaggiatore conosciuta, e visitata quella di S.E. il Sig. Conte de Thott, che ad una squisita dottina, e ad una memoria prodigiosa sa unire le più gentili maniere”. Isidoro Bianchi, *Sullo stato delle scienze e belle arti in Danimarca dopo la metà del secolo XVIII.: lettere dell' ab. Isidoro Bianchi* (Cremona:

Bianchi explained that there were bookcases not just along the walls, but also in the middle of the room:

This salon, which is located in an independent wing of the palace, receives its light from the two longest sides through many windows arranged opposite each other. Therefore bookcases full of books are placed not only on the four walls, as is usually the case in other libraries, but there are many other freestanding bookcases in between the windows, which, without lacking light, stretch towards the middle of the hall, and which are full of books on one side and the other.³⁴

This layout of the library room is confirmed by the drawings of the library building, which have been preserved in Thott's palace on Kongens Nytorv.³⁵ The layout was also confirmed by a Swedish traveler, Samuel Heurlin (1744–1835), who visited the library in 1771 and made a sketch of its layout. According to this drawing, the books were arranged in the following order: Bibles, Church fathers, Church history, Law, Medicine, History, Philosophy, Mathematics, Physics, Geography, Belles Lettres, Natural history, Lexica and Classical authors (see figure 2.2 page 58).³⁶

Next to the library room, there was a cabinet for the rarest palaeotypes. Bianchi calls them “prime stampe del quinto decimo al sesto decimo secolo” [first prints of the fifteenth to sixteenth century], which almost certainly means the first printed books (in other words: incunabula and postincunabula or, with an expression from the period, palaeotypes).³⁷ These were placed on the shelves according to the city where they had been printed and then chronologically by year of imprint. Isidoro Bianchi described it in this way:

Giuseppe Feraboli, 1808), p. 73. Marianne Alenius was the first scholar to draw attention to Bianchi's account of Thott's library, which she translated into Danish in her article about Bianchi in Denmark, Marianne Alenius, 'Italieneren Bianchi skriver om dansk kultur i 1700-tallet', *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, 1 (1986), pp. 3–18.

34 “Questo Salone rimanendo come segregato dal Palazzo riceve la sua luce dai due piu lunghi lati con molte finestre poste una dirimpetto all'altra. Quindi e che non solo vi sono scancie piene di Libri appoggiate alle quattro muraglie come d'ordinario si vede praticato in altre Biblioteche, ma ve ne sono molte altre isolate poste tra l'una e l'altra finestra, che senza mancar di luce si estendono sin verso la metà del Salone, e che percio piene sono da una parte, e dall' altra di Libri”. Bianchi, *Sullo stato delle scienze*, p. 74.

35 The drawing is reproduced in Kjær, *Nicolas-Henri Jardin*, p. 557.

36 Lund University Library, Manuscripts, Samuel Heurlin: Utdrag af den journal som blifvit hållen öfver utrikes resorne i Dannemark, Tyskland, Frankrike och Holland åren 1771, 1772 och 1773, p. 13 and separate table with illustrations. The sketch was first reproduced in Svend Dahl, *Haandbog i Bibliotekskundskab*, 3rd ed. (Copenhagen, 1924), vol. 2, p. 99.

37 In an otherwise pioneering article, Ivan Boserup argued that *prime stampe* meant *editiones principes*, but in my opinion this interpretation can be rejected (Boserup, ‘Otto Thotts førsteudgaver—og edb’, *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, 2 (1987), pp. 11–23).

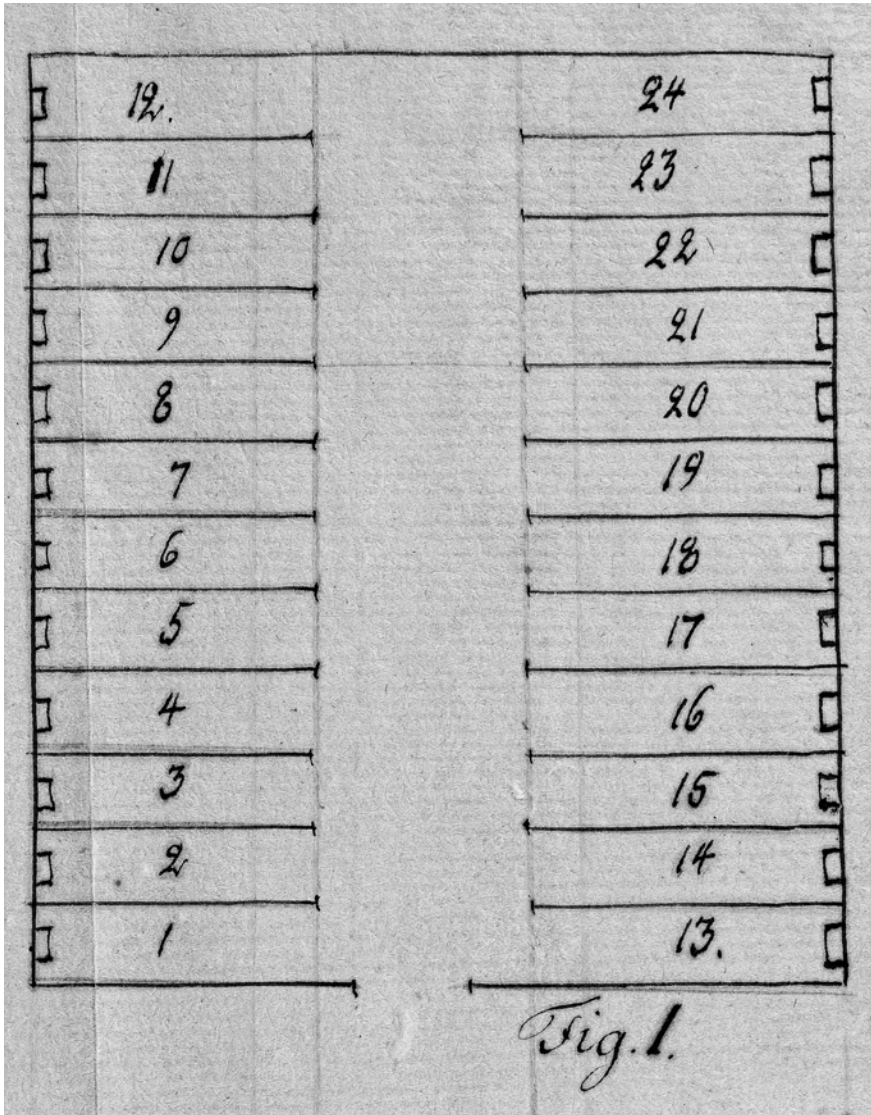


FIGURE 2.2 The layout of Otto Thott's library as drawn by Samuel Heurlin (1744–1835), who visited the library in 1771. Lund University Library, Manuscripts, Samuel Heurlin: Utdrag af den journal som blifvit hållen öfver utrikes resorne i Danmark, Tyskland, Frankrike och Holland åren 1771, 1772 och 1773, p. 13

On top of every book case there is a sign with the name of the town in which the first printed books were issued, and in every bookcase we find chronological series of the various editions of sacred and secular works which have been printed in course of the fifteenth century in Mainz, in

Rome, in Venice, and in other Italian towns and in towns north of the Alps. With the help of such a rare and precious collection it would be possible for everyone very easily to give for the first time to the public the most precise history of the first printed books, which could ever have been seen.³⁸

Thott thus had his library arranged by date within a hierarchy of towns.³⁹ In the case of the early printed books which he had had rebound, the spines displayed information concerning city and year. In this way Thott's collection of palaeotypes provided the same kind of visualisation of the spread of printing which is today offered online by the *Atlas of Early Printing*.⁴⁰ Effectively, Thott arranged his library as a material representation of the history of the book.

In spite of the fact that Thott did not choose to give his books a uniform look, some bindings are peculiar to his library. In some cases, the bindings recognisable as being unlike the others come from a common provenance. This is the case with the books from the Harleyan library. Through a London book dealer, Thomas Osborne, Thott bought approximately 500 volumes of early printed books from the Harleyan library, and many of these books were bound in characteristic bindings—among which the most easily recognisable are those in red Morocco.⁴¹ Other bindings however, were made specifically for Thott's library. In a pioneering article, the Danish book historian Harald Ilsøe described three particular types of bindings which were produced specifically for Thott's library:⁴²

1. Bindings of light brown calf with a plain gilt line frame or a blind tooled border on the covers and gilt spine decoration.

38 "Qui sopra ogni scancia vi ha un cartello, che porta il nome delle Citta, nelle quali sono seguite le prime impressioni; ed in ogni scancia si trovano in una certa serie cronologica distribuite le diverse edizioni di Opere sacre, e profane del quattrocento, che in diversi tempi si sono fatte in Magonza, in Roma, in Venezia, ed in altre Citta d'Italia, e d'Olttramonte, di modo che col presidio di una cosi rara e preziosa collezione si sarebbe da ognuno colla massima facilità potuto dare al Pubblico per la prima volta la piu esatta storia delle prime stampe, che'potesse esser stata veduta." Bianchi, *Sullo stato delle scienze*, pp. 74–75.

39 Georg Wolfgang Franz Panzer adopted such an organisation in his catalogue of incunabula (G.W.F. Panzer, *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD*, Post Maittaitii Denisii aliorumque doctissimorum virorum curas in ordinem redacti emendati et aucti. (vol. 1), Nuremberg: Zeh, 1793).

40 *Atlas of Early Printing*, available online at: <<https://atlas.lib.uiowa.edu/>>.

41 Ruth Bentzen, 'Lord Harley og Grev Thott: En studie i nogle af Det Kongelige Biblioteks bind og bøger fra Harleys og Thotts bogsamlinger', *Fund og Forskning*, 44 (2005), pp. 277–369.

42 Ilsøe, 'Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?.'

2. 'Cambridge bindings' with calf covers in two colours with blind tooled decoration and gilt spine decoration.
3. 'Cambridge bindings' of vellum with the covers decorated in red or blue-violet and gilt spine decoration.

The Catalogue of Otto Thott's Library

Like many other eighteenth century collectors, Thott did not have a catalogue of his library, so the catalogue of his library as we know it, was written and printed after his death for use at its auction. The catalogue of Thott's library covers seven tomes in twelve physical volumes. The costs of producing the catalogue were covered by the estate, apart from one volume, tome seven, dedicated to palaeotypes and manuscripts.

From Library Organisation to Catalogue

In his preface to the first volume of the catalogue, professor Nicolai Elert (1740–1803) described how the books were lying around in disorder, and he recounted the same impression to the committee responsible for the division of the estate. In the preface, Elert explained how in earlier years Thott had been able to administrate his library but in later years had lacked the force to do so.

Already in 1771, in his anonymously published *Essay sur l'état présent des sciences, belles-lettres, et beaux-arts, en Dannemarc et en Norvegue*, Suhm had complained that Thott's library was effectively useless, because he was his own librarian and kept no catalogue:

This treasure is buried, useless, for lack of a librarian and catalogue. In truth, Mr. de Thott is very learned, and his memory is miraculous. He is also full of politeness; but his great responsibilities prevent him from making his library as useful to scholars as he himself would like it to be; and scholars prefer to deprive themselves of this treasure, rather than to annoy its possessor.⁴³

43 "Ce trésor est enseveli sans utilité, faute de Bibliothécaire & de catalogue. A la vérité Mr. de Thott est très-savant, & sa mémoire tient du prodige. Il est aussi rempli de politesse; mais ses grandes charges l'empêchent de rendre sa Bibliothèque aussi utile aux savans, qu'il le souhaiteroit lui-même; & les savans aiment mieux se priver de ce trésor, plutôt que d'importuner son possesseur." Peter Friderich Suhm, *Essay sur l'état présent des sciences, des belles lettres, et des beaux arts dans le Dannemarc et dans la Norvegue* (Friebourg [Copenhagen]: [s.n.], 1771), p. 12.

Thanks to the order of the books in folio format, it was possible for Elert to infer the organisational system underlying the library. This was used as a guideline for the catalogue, since it would, in Elert's words, be an abomination to do anything else.⁴⁴ Judging from the catalogue, the underlying order would have been the following: Theology, Law, Mathematics, Physics, Medicine, Philosophy, Economy, Philology, History, Church history and Literary history.⁴⁵

With the help of assistants, Elert spent many years preparing the catalogue of Thott's library.⁴⁶ Tome four was published as the first volume; thereafter the other volumes were published in numerical order. In his preface to the catalogue, published in volume one, Elert (1740–1803) criticised the work that Elias von Haven (1754–1803) had done on the theological part of the library before leaving it in order to catalogue Thott's collection of coins. According to Elert, Haven had left his area in a confused and disordered state, and that was the reason why tome four was published before the first volume.

When Elias von Haven gave an answer to this criticism in his preface to the numismatic catalogue, Elert replied in a pamphlet.⁴⁷ This led to a small pamphlet war between Haven and Elert, with the support of colleagues.⁴⁸ The debate came to an end after a series of volleys, at which point the pamphlets were described and discussed (in support of Nicolai Elert) in the contemporary journal *Kritik og Antikritik*, edited by Johan Clemens Tode (1736–1806).⁴⁹

44 Nicolai Elert, 'L.B. [Preface to the reader]', in *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ Tom. 1, Pars 1*, p. v: "omnia ipse optima ordinavit atque disposuit, quod etiam ex ordine librorum præsertim majoris formæ in bibliotheca ejus ad huc residuo conjicere licuit, a quo discedere nefas quovque duximus".

45 According to Ivan Boserup, the underlying order was: libri theologici, libri philosophici, libri physici; libri medici; libri mathematici; libri oeconomici; libri ethici; libri juridici; libri philologici; libri geographicici; libri historici (Boserup, 'Otto Thotts førsteudgaver', p. 12). However, Boserup took this order from the classification order of tome 7, which differs from the classification order of the first six tomes of the catalogue.

46 The making of the catalogue has been brilliantly described in Birkelund, 'Det Thottske Biblioteks sidste Dage'.

47 Nicolas Elert, *Til Publicum i Anl. af et vist Stykke i Mag. E. C. v. Havens Fortale til det Thottiske Mønt-Catalog* (Copenhagen: Svare, 1789).

48 Elert's first pamphlet includes supportive testimonial from his employee, Frederik Ekkard (1744–1819), and another employee, Bent Schönberg, published his own pamphlet supporting Elert (Bent Schönberg, *Upartiske Oplysninger i Anl. af Catalog-Arbeidet i Det Thottiske Bibliothek* (Copenhagen: C.F. Holm, 1789)).

49 *Kritik og Antikritik*. No. 14. 24 March 1789. The entire debate has been well described by Birkelund, pp. 97–100.

Tome Seven of the Catalogue: Palaeotypes and Manuscripts

As stipulated in Thott's will, the Royal Library was obliged to publish a catalogue of the palaeotypes and manuscripts bequeathed to it. The manuscripts were moved to the Royal Library in 1786 and the palaeotypes in 1787. Rasmus Nyerup wrote the catalogue before the items were moved, but the catalogue of palaeotypes and Western manuscripts was only printed in 1795, as the seventh tome of the catalogue of Thott's library.⁵⁰ It was prefaced by D.G. Moldenhawer (1753–1823), who had been appointed Head Librarian in 1788. Unfortunately, whereas the volumes of the catalogue concerning books printed after 1530 provide copy-specific information concerning bindings, the part of volume seven concerning palaeotypes does not, as a rule, include any copy-specific information.

Although Thott also had oriental manuscripts in his collection, they were excluded from the printed catalogue. The relevant pages of the preparatory cataloguing work have been preserved however in the Royal Library's archive E 63.⁵¹ Moreover, in the manuscript collection of Rostock University Library, the personal papers of the orientalist Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (1734–1815) contain a catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts in Thott's library.⁵² It would seem to have been written before Thott's death, since it differs from the catalogue compiled thereafter. It contains 58 entries, whereas the posthumous catalogue of oriental manuscripts, which Stig Rasmussen has studied, contains 76. Admittedly, the catalogue studied by Rasmussen also contains Chinese, Jewish, Armenian and Indian (Malabarian) manuscripts, but it does list 41 Arabic, 13 Persian and 9 Turkish manuscripts.⁵³ Interestingly, Tychsen's catalogue contains references to Georg Høst's *Efterretninger om Marókos og*

50 Rasmus Nyerup (ed.), *Catalogi Bibliothecae Thottianæ tomus septimus. Libros cum ab Inventa Typographia ad Annum MDXXX Excusos tum Manuscriptos continens* (Copenhagen: S. Popp, 1795). Some leaves of Nyerup's catalogue concerning palaeotypes (mostly Luther prints), which were not used for the printed catalogue have been preserved in the archive of the Royal Danish Library: "KBS arkiv (indtil 1943) E 64: Blade af kataloget over Otto Thotts palæotypsamling". These leaves mostly cover the numbers 518–1156 in quarto which were left out of the catalogue: "Scriptorum a M. Luthero et ejusd. amicis atque adversariis a. 1517–1530 editorum collectio, DCXXXVIII libellis constans" [a collection of writings by Luther and his friends and antagonists printed 1517–1530 consisting in 638 books].

51 Stig T. Rasmussen, 'Otto Thotts orientalske håndskrifter identificeret på grundlag [af] Det Kgl. Biblioteks Arkiv E 63', *Fund og Forskning* 37 (1998), pp. 299–324.

52 *Codices arabici, Manuscripta persica, Manuscripta Turcica in Bibliotheca Comitum de Thott Status Danici administrati*, Rostock University Library, Mss. orient. 257.a(3).

53 Rasmussen, 'Otto Thotts orientalske håndskrifter', pp. 323–324. It would be interesting to compare these two catalogues in detail.

Fes, published in 1780, so it must have been made after that date. In his book, Høst mentions two manuscripts which he had brought back to Denmark for Thott.⁵⁴

The part of the catalogue concerning palaeotypes contains a few references to other catalogues of incunabula and rare books such as the bibliographies of Guillaume-François de Bure, Maffeo Pinelli and Georg Wolfgang Franz Panzer, and the catalogue of the library of the Duc de la Vallière.⁵⁵ Only in a very few cases does this part of the catalogue mention copy-specific information, such as the provenance noted in entry no. 639: “Ej. libri [Johannes Tauler: *Predigen ...*, Basel, Adam Petri, 1522], exemplar quod anno 1568 pertinuit ad Birgittam Göie et 1583 ad Arnoldum Hwitfeld”.

For the manuscripts however, the catalogue does indicate provenances. To do so, a number of Danish book auctions, and a few European book auctions are referred to.⁵⁶ In fact, Nyerup used auction catalogues as a sort of hyper-textual reference. Thus, the manuscripts with the shelf marks Thott 736 to 741 folio—which stem from the library of Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764)—have a Latin description signalling: “Six volumes marked with B. C. D. E. F. G. on the back of the cover containing various kinds of collections concerning Danish history, both ancient and recent. They are listed in *Catalogus Manuscriptorum*

54 Georg Høst, *Efterretninger om Marókos og Fes samlede der i Landene fra Ao. 1760 til 1768* (Copenhagen: N. Möller, 1779), p. 233. cf. the manuscript f. iv.

55 Guillaume-François de Bure, *Bibliographie instructive: ou, Traité de la connoissance des livres rares et singuliers* (Paris: De Bure le jeune, 1763) [referred to on p. 61, no. 260]; Georg Wolfgang Franz Panzer, *Annalen der ältern Deutschen Litteratur, oder Anzeige und Beschreibung derjenigen Bücher welche von Erfindung der Buchdruckerkunst bis 1526 in deutscher Sprache gedruckt worden sin* (The Hague, 1788) [quoted on p. 34, no. 773 and referred to on p. 123, no. 36]; Guillaume-François de Bure, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de la Vallière* (Paris, 1783) [quoted on p. 87, no. 1746]; Edward Harwood and Maffeo Pinelli. *Prospetto di varie edizioni degli autori classici greci e latini tradotto dall'originale inglese del d.r Eduardo Arwood corretto ed accresciuto da Maffeo Pinelli veneziano* (Venice: Carlo Palese, 1780) [quoted on p. 168, no. 550].

56 Nyerup notably mentions the auction catalogues of the libraries of the following Danish book collectors: Christian Danneskiold-Samsøe (1702–1728); Søren Lintrup (1669–1731); Andreas Hojer (1690–1739); Friedrich Adolph Reinboth (1682–1749); Peder Hersleb (1689–1757); Laurids Lauridsen de Thurah (1706–1759); Wilhelm August von Osten (1687–1764); Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764); Jacob Langebek (1710–1775); Terkel Klevenfeld (1710–1777); J.L. Stubenrauch (d. 1777); Christian Friedrich Temler (1717–1780). The auction catalogues of the following European book collectors' libraries are also mentioned: Nicolas-Joseph Foucault (1643–1721); Johann Peter von Ludewig (1668–1743; Michael Richey (1678–1761).

Pontoppidani, No. 11 and No. 78–82.”⁵⁷ The reader is thus referred to the catalogue of Pontoppidan’s collection for further information.⁵⁸

In terms of presenting the manuscripts and palaeotypes, the printed catalogue of Thott’s collection is arranged according to formats (folio, quarto and octavo) and subjects. The first headlines are numbered in Roman numerals, but after the seventh, these disappear. The first subject, theology, is subdivided into seven subcategories distinguished by capital letters, but not all subject categories have subcategories. Category number four, Mathematics, has three subcategories distinguished by capital letters. Others (such as philosophy and *Epistolographi*) have subdivisions only marked by asterisks, whereas only theology has subcategories distinguished by both capital letters and asterisks. There is a gradual sliding from main categories with subcategories in the first part to a listing without difference of subcategories in the last part.⁵⁹

Despite the system behind Thott’s collection being outlined in the catalogue, the items would be reorganised. Thott’s manuscript collection is still kept as a separate collection at The Royal Library, whereas his collection of palaeotypes—contrary to his last will—was at first scattered across its collections of printed books, which were arranged systematically. Only late in the nineteenth century were the incunabula gathered together in order to form a distinct collection, and only towards the end of the twentieth century were the post-incunabula reassembled in a separate collection. In the meantime some copies had been given away to other libraries or sold at duplicate auctions.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Thott’s collection of palaeotypes is one of the most important sources for the Royal Danish Library’s collections of incunabula and post-incunabula, and it is thanks to his donation that 1530 was chosen as the demarcation year for the collection of post-incunabula in Copenhagen.⁶¹

57 “Volumina sex in dorso involucri notata B. C. D. E. F. G. complectentia varii generis collectanea, quorum tamen longe maxima pars versatur in Rebus Danicis tam prisci quam recentioris ævi. Recensentur in Catalogo Manucriptorum Pontoppidani, No. 11 et No. 78–82”. Nyerup (ed.), *Catalogi Bibliothecae Thottianæ tomus septimus*, p. 334.

58 For other examples, see Anders Toftgaard, ‘Landkort over en samling. Hvad katalogposterne kan fortælle om Otto Thotts håndskriftsamling—og om katalogisering’, *Fund og Forskning* 58 (2019), pp. 129–160, here p. 153.

59 The headlines in the quarto and octavo formats are approximately the same as in the folio format. Some of the headlines in these format sections are numbered in roman numerals.

60 Harald Ilsøe, ‘Bøger der gik den anden vej. Historien om hvad der blev af Det Kongelige Biblioteks dubletter’, *Fund og Forskning* 37 (1998), pp. 11–62.

61 Concerning the collection of post-incunabula, it is worth noting that books published 1501–1530 in the so-called “Danish collection” and books published 1501–1530 in the holdings of the two Departments of the University Library (which was split into two

A Manuscript Catalogue of Otto Thott's Incunabula

The posthumous auction catalogue has traditionally been considered the only source of information about Thott's library because it was believed Thott, who served as his own librarian, had no catalogues of his library. A handwritten catalogue of incunabula found in Thott's library, preserved in the National Library in Oslo under the title *Catalogus Librorum a primis incunabilis Artis Typographicae usque ad Annum 1500 qui in Bibliotheca Comitum de Thott reperiuntur* [A catalogue of books from the very infancy of the art of printing until the year 1500 which are found in the library of Count Otto Thott], would seem to challenge this idea. The manuscript has been catalogued under this title from the start, but it has never before been studied in relation to Thott's library.

The manuscript is bound in an eighteenth-century half binding with marbled paper on paperboards, and spine and outer corners in calf skin. The gold-tooled spine (with flower-tooling resembling tooling on some of Thott's books) bears the abbreviated title "CATA/LOGU/PALE/OTYP". The fact that there is no reference to Thott on the spine, may (very hypothetically) point to the possibility that the catalogue stood in his library.

The catalogue contains 41 leaves covered with homogenous writing, of which the first is the title page in an embellished script that reads: *Catalogus Librorum a primis incunabilis Artis Typographicae usque ad Annum 1500 qui in Bibliotheca Viri Excellentissimi Comitum de Thott reperiuntur* (see figure 2.3 page 66). It is not a catalogue of acquisitions, but a systematic catalogue of a well-rounded collection of incunabula. It is divided into the following main categories: Theologia; Libri Juridici varii Argumenti; Libri Historici; Libri ad Medicinam Pertinentes; Philosophi; Libri Philologici Argum.; Libri Artium elegant. Poetæ recent. Fabulæ etc; Fabulæ Romanenses; Libri Varii Argumenti.⁶² These categories do

Departments in 1938) have not been integrated into this collection. They all hold post-incunabula from Otto Thott's collection of books printed before 1531.

62 The category Theologia has the following sub-categories: Biblia; Liturgica; Patres Græci; Patres Latini; Apparatus & Coment. Bibl.; and Theologica Varii Argumenti. The category Libri Philologici Argum. has the following sub-categories: Lexica Linguarum; Auctores & Poetæ Græci; Auctores & Poetæ Latini; Philologica varii Argum.

The headline *Fabulæ Romanenses*, a latin rendering of *Romans de Chevalerie*, is interesting. The category was used in the systematic catalogue of the Royal Library, and it was used in *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ Tom. 4*; it had previously been used in William Reading (ed.), *Bibliothecæ Cleri Londinensis in Collegio Sionensi Catalogus* (London: Roberts, 1722) and in *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Regiæ* (Paris: Typographia Regia, 1739). It concerns novels or romances in vernacular such as *Hypnerotomachia poliphilii*, *Tristan chevalier de la Table Ronde*, and *The Story of the King Arthur*. There are only eighteen numbers in this class.

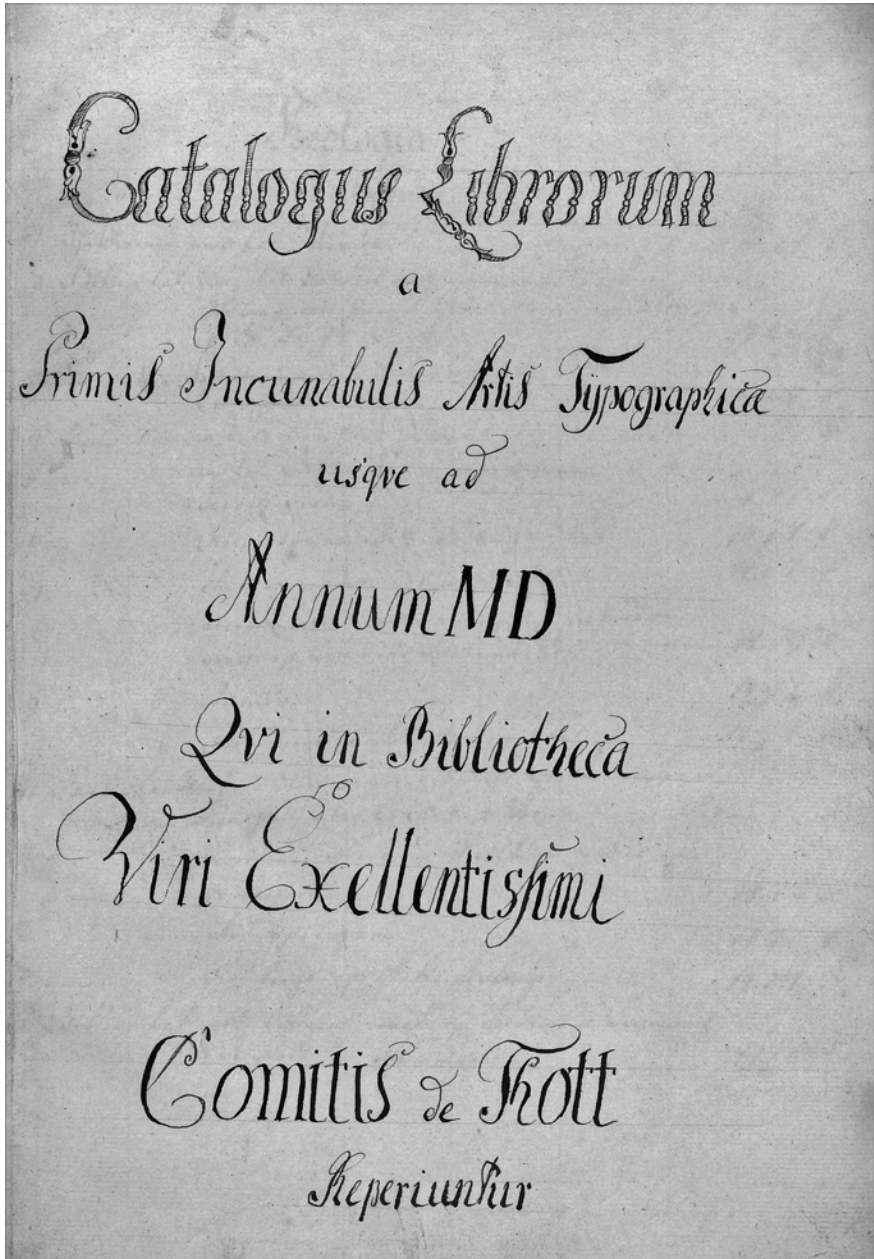


FIGURE 2.3 The title page of the handwritten catalogue of incunabula in Thott's library, preserved in the manuscript collection of the National Library of Norway: *Catalogus Librorum a primis incunabilis Artis Typographicae usque ad Annum 1500 qui in Bibliotheca Comitis de Thott reperiuntur* (ms. fol. 36:1)

not correspond to the categories in the catalogue of palaeotypes printed in 1795. In fact, the subdivision of the handwritten catalogue would appear to be slightly more traditional than that used in the printed catalogue.⁶³ The order used in the handwritten catalogue of incunables is not far from the order of the printed catalogue of Thott's entire library, which, as mentioned above, was supposed to mimic the order of the library.⁶⁴

The number of entries in the two catalogues do not correspond either. The printed catalogue both contains more and less. There are 1,177 entries in the handwritten catalogue, where as there are approximately 1,400 incunabula in the printed one.⁶⁵ It should be noted, however, that in the handwritten catalogue duplicates only count for one number, where as in the printed catalogue they are given separate numbers. Some of the entries in the handwritten catalogue have copy-specific information about the binding. The manuscript catalogue uses some of the same abbreviations as are used in the general catalogue of the library. For instance, the abbreviation "cor: tur: rubr. deaur." is used for bindings in red morocco with miniatures and gilt leaves. There are also a few bibliographical references.⁶⁶ For now, we can conclude that the handwritten catalogue is not a copy derived from the printed catalogue, nor is it not a first sketch of the printed catalogue. It would seem to stem from an earlier date. Let us try to find a date *ante quem*.

63 The handwritten catalogue has the traditional subdivision in traditional order: Theologia, Jus, Historia, Medicina, Philosophia, Philologia, Artes elegantiores (and Poetae and Fabulae), whereas volume 7 of the printed catalogue has the following subdivision: Theologia, Philosophia, Physica et Historia Naturalis, Medica, Mathematica, Oeconomica, Ethica, Politica, Jus, Philologia, Geographia, Historia.

64 See above, note 44.

65 The calculation is made difficult by the fact that many of the books do not have a year of publication. I am in the process of preparing transcriptions of both the printed catalogue of palaeotypes and the manuscript catalogue of incunabula. These transcriptions should make a precise comparison easier.

66 For instance, there is a reference to Wilhelm Ernst Tentzel (1659–1707): "35 Biblia Germanica c. Libror: Capitumque rubriciis & lit: init: minio adscriptis S: indiciis l: t & a Ex Tentzelii Opinione hæc Editio 1467. ex Plurimorum vero Sententia 1467 est impressa". [No. 35. German Bible with headline and initials added in manuscript. Without signs of place, typographer and year. According to Tentzel, this edition was from 1467, and indeed according to several others it is printed 1467]. National Library of Norway, Manuscript collection, Ms.fol. 361, 'Catalogus Librorum a Primis Incunabilis Artis Typographicæ usq. ad Annum MD qvi in Bibliotheca Viri Exell. Comitum de Thott reperiuntur', f. 2v, <https://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-nb_digimanus_54461> [accessed 7 June 2020]. The Tentzel reference must be to: *Monatlichen Unterredungen einiger guten Freunde*, 1693, p. 674.

In the handwritten catalogue there are three copies of a 1492 edition of Saint Birgitta's *Revelations*.⁶⁷ In the printed catalogue only two copies are indicated (folio numbers 862 and 863). It can be deduced that between the two, Thott had given one copy away. In fact, we know that Thott gave one copy of this edition to Herlufsholm school.⁶⁸ It would therefore be legitimate to think that the handwritten catalogue was compiled before Thott became superintendent of Herlufsholm in 1763, or at least before he started giving books to Herlufsholm.

This date range is further supported if we consider the books Thott bought at the auction of the Strängnäs cathedral library in Stockholm in November and December 1763. Of the 103 incunabula from that sale that Victor Madsen identified in the holdings of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, 52 had been bought by Thott.⁶⁹ He had received these books no later than 1766. At the auction of the library of Strängnäs, Thott notably bought the following three copies of editions of works by Antoninus Florentinus:

Antoninus Florentinus: Summa theologica. Pars II. Venezia: Franciscus Renner & Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1474.

Antoninus Florentinus: Summa theologica. Pars IV. Venezia: Leonardus Wild, 1481.

Antoninus Florentinus: Summa theologica. Pars IV. Speyer: Peter Drach, 17. Februar 1487.⁷⁰

These copies do not figure in the handwritten catalogue, but they do appear in the printed catalogue from 1795.⁷¹ If books which Thott bought from the library

67 The entry reads: "S. Birgittæ *Revelationes*. Lübeck ap. Barth. Gothan. /exstat in Triplo/ 1492, Folio". (f. 9r) This edition corresponds to ISTC ib00687000; USTC 743481.

68 Lauritz Nielsen, *Danske Stifts- og Skolebiblioteker: deres historiske Udvikling og deres nuværende og fremtidige Stilling* (Copenhagen: Hagerup, 1925); cf. Holck, p. 11. Shelf mark: RARA M 3.

69 Victor Madsen, 'Strängnäs-Dubletter i Det kongelige Bibliotek i København', *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 11 (1924), pp. 89–111, here p. 108. Otto Walde, 'Strängnäs-dubletter m.m. i danska och norska bibliotek', *Nordisk tidsskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 31 (1944), pp. 59–80.

70 Madsen, 'Strängnäs-Dubletter', p. 95 (where they are numbered 27–29 in the list). Madsen identifies these as: Hain 1254, 1244 and 1247, which would correspond to: ISTC ia00867000 (USTC 997622, Madsen 271); ISTC ia00873000 (USTC 997618, Madsen 267) and ISTC ia00876000 (USTC 742929, Madsen 269).

71 In the printed catalogue, his works have the numbers folio 474–485, and quarto 375–378. In the handwritten catalogue there are three books with texts by Antoninus Florentinus (1389–1459), namely:

144 Antonini Florentini Confession. Venet. ap. Joh. de Colonia & Manthen de Geritzheim, 1476.

145 Idem editio perantiqua s.l.t.a.

146 Medicina del Anima. Bonon. s.t. cor. t.r. deaur. 1472.

of Strängnäs are not listed in the handwritten catalogue, then it would seem plausible to assume the handwritten catalogue to have been written before the auction of the library of Strängnäs, or at least their arrival in Thott's library. The manuscript would thus seem to date from before 1766.

In the manuscript collection in Oslo, the manuscript catalogue of Thott's collection shares its shelf mark with the handwritten catalogue of a London collection of shells compiled by natural historian Morten Thrane Brünnich (1737–1827) in 1766. With help from Thott, among others, Brünnich became the first professor in Natural History at the University of Copenhagen and was in charge of the Natural Theater of the University. In 1789, Brünnich moved to Norway in order to head the silver mines of Kongsberg.

Initially I thought that the two catalogues had a shared provenance.⁷² Thott did actually employ Brünnich in order to help him with his collection of books. In his manuscript autobiography, Brünnich described the relationship in the following way:

Privy Councillor Count Thott had in the same year bought the yard on the corner of Norgesgade and Kongens Nytorv, where he arranged his town house, and in the backyard he erected a large building for his library, his natural collection and a rare collection of antiques and art, which had a limited space in his house in Studiestræde.

He hired me in order to describe the book collection, but my leisure time from other exercises was not sufficient, at last ... he entrusted all these collections to my supervision when they were to be moved to the aforementioned Town House, which happened in the summer of 1763, and since then he maintained his favour and good graces for me and my studies.⁷³

National Library of Norway, Ms.fol. 36a, f. 11v. The first and the last correspond to 1STC ia00803000 (USTC 997644) and ia00782000 (USTC 997700), and the second could refer to any one of various editions.

72 I presented it as such at the conference *Literary Citizenship*, 25–27 September 2019, National Library of Norway, Oslo.

73 “Geheimeraad Grev Thott havde i samme Aar kjøbt Gaarden på hjørnet af Norgesgade og Kongens Nytorv, hvor han indrettede sit Palais og lod opføre i Baggaarden en stor Bygning for sit Bibliothek, sin Natural samling og en sjælden Antik- og Kunstsamling, som havde et indskrænket Rum i hans Gaard i Studiestrædet. Til at beskrive bogsamlingen antog han mig, men mine Fritimer fra andre Øvelser vare ikke tilstrækkelige, omsider ... betrede han alle disse Samlinger til mit Tilsyn, da de skulle flyttes til den forhenomtalte Palais-bygning, som skeete i Sommeren 1763, og siden vedligeholdte han sin Yndest og Bevaagenhed for mig og mine Studeringer”. Royal Danish Library, Ms. Phot. 36 (a photographic reproduction of the original manuscript, which is preserved in the National Archives of Norway, Oslo), M. Thrane Brünnich, *Noget om mit Levnetsløb* [til 1789], p. 16. I am deeply indebted to Anne Haslund Hansen for showing me this passage of Brünnich's autobiography in the reading room in Copenhagen.

Brünnich clearly did remain in favour with Thott, as almost twenty years later, in 1782, it was he who showed Thott's library to the visiting Swede Knud Posse.⁷⁴

Even though the shelf marks of the two manuscripts (ms. fol. 36:1 and ms. fol. 36:2) seem to be related, it is in fact not a shared shelf mark, and the two manuscripts have different provenances. In the catalogue of the manuscript collection in Oslo there is no trace of the provenance of the catalogue of palaeotypes (ms. fol. 36:1).⁷⁵ The other manuscript was received from the estate of Morten Thrane Brünnich.

The handwritten catalogue of incunabula is, however, traceable through a couple of private libraries. In 1793, we find it in the catalogue of Pietro Antonio Bolongaro Crevenna (1736–1792), a tobacco and snuff merchant in Amsterdam born in Milan. At the sale of his library, the catalogue mentions its French binding.⁷⁶ In 1797, we find it in the catalogue of the Danish-Norwegian priest Herman Treschow.⁷⁷

Book Auction Catalogues in Thott's Collection

According to the Swedish traveller Bengt Ferner (1724–1802), who visited Thott in 1758, Thott had commission agents all over Europe.⁷⁸ In his memoirs, Cramer stated the same.⁷⁹ He added that at one auction in The Hague, Thott's commission agent had paid so much for an edition of Cicero's *De officiis*, that

74 Ilsøe, 'Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?', p. 67.

75 I am greatly indebted to research librarian Mette Witting from the National Library in Oslo, who helped me in the reading room there, and afterwards kindly checked those parts of Ms. fol. 3872, which are not available for consultation.

76 *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu mr. Piere Antoine Bolongaro Crevenna; qui sera vendue publiquement au plus offrant à Amsterdam dans la maison du Défunt, le lundi 11 novembre 1793, & jours suivans ...* (Amsterdam: D.J. Changuiun, L. v. Hulst & P. d. Hengst, 1793), p. 11, no. 211.

77 *Bibliotheca Treschowiana, sive Catalogus librorum theologici, et historici argumenti, nec non ad literas elegantiores artesque pulchras pertinentium, item codicum et manuscriptorum et rariorum nitidissime compactorum; quos olim possedit v. c. Hermannus Treschow, prof. theol. et pastor Eccles. Milit. Havniensis* (Copenhagen: typis Nicolai Christensen, 1797), p. 15, no. 23: 'Catalogus librorum ab incunabilis typograph. ad ann. MD qui in Bibl. Thott. reperiuntur'. I have only been able to find three extant copies of the *Bibliotheca Treschowiana*, and none of them have manuscript additions.

78 Bengt Ferner and Sten G. Lindberg, *Resa i Europa: En astronom, industrispion och teaterhabitué genom Danmark, Tyskland, Holland, England, Frankrike och Italien 1758–1762* (*Cod.Holm.M 239*) (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956), p. 30 ("han håller ännu commisionerer öfver nästan hele Europa") cf. Ilsøe, 'Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?', p. 66.

79 Cramer, *Haus-Chronik*, p. 228 ("Überall hatte er seine Emissäre").

it had inspired awe and had made it easier for Thott to get what he wanted at a better price at later auctions:

There was once an auction in The Hague where he had placed unlimited orders for a small edition of Cicero's *De Officiis*, and his commissioner clashed with a commissioner of Burmann's or of the rich d'Orville, who had the same order. For several hundred guilders it was won by Thott, who was not more pleased with any other purchase, and used to show this book to onlookers as the most economical of his immense library. Because, he added, this incident gave me and my orders such predominance in Holland that none thought lightly of outbidding my proxenetes.⁸⁰

The network of commissioners still remains to be reconstructed, but in several cases Thott used the services of Danes travelling abroad (such as Terkel Klevenfeldt and Henrik Hielmstjerne).

In order to place bids, Thott relied upon auction catalogues, and as a consequence we find numerous book auction catalogues in the catalogue of his library.⁸¹ The catalogues of private libraries are listed in tome six of the

80 "Als einst im Haag eine Auction war, hatte er auf eine kleine Ausgabe des Cicero *De Officiis* ungemessene Aufträge ertheilt, und sein Beauftragter stieß zusammen mit einem von Burmann oder dem reichen d'Orville der gleichen Auftrag hatte. Für mehrere hunderte von Gulden verblieb es Thott, der über keinen Ankauf vergnügter war, und dieses Buch als das wohlfeilste seiner unermeßlichen Bibliothek dem Schaulustigen vorzuzeigen pflegte. Denn, setzte er hinzu, dieser Vorfall verschaffte mir und meinen Aufträgen ein solches uebergewicht in Holland, daß sich nicht leicht jemand es einkommen ließ meinen Proxeneten zu überbieten". Cramer, *Haus-Chronik*, p. 228.

81 Otto Thott bought books at the following book auctions in Denmark-Norway: Frederik Rostgaard (1671–1745) in 1726; Johan Conrad Wolfen Wolfen (1656–1730) in 1730; Christian Danneskiold-Samsøe (1702–1728) in 1732; Søren Lintrup (1669–1731) in 1731–1732; Johan Herman Schrader (1684–1737) in 1738 (in Tønder); Andreas Højer (1690–1739) in 1740; Christen Lassen Tychonius (1680–1740) in 1741 (in Viborg); Mathias Achersen (1682–1741) in 1741; Hans Gram (1685–1748) in 1749 and 1750; Marcus Wøldike (1699–1750) in 1751; Friedrich Adolph Reinboth in 1751 (in Schleswig); Laurids Lauridsen de Thurah (1706–1759) in 1754; Peder Stavanger in 1758; Peder Hersleb (1689–1757) in 1758; Nicolay Frederik von Reichweins (1692–1761) in 1762 (Christiania, present day Oslo); Erik Pontoppidan (1698–1764) in 1765 and 1766; Wilhelm August von Osten (1697–1764) in 1764; Waldemar Hermann von Schmettau (1719–1785) in 1767 (in Oslo) and in 1769 (in Altona); J.L. Stubenrauch in 1769 and 1777; Terkel Klevenfeldt (1710–1777) in 1777; Jacob Langebek (1710–1775) in 1777; John Arnesen (d. 1777) in 1779; Fr. Chr. Sevel in 1779; C.F. Temler (1717–1780) in 1781; Christian Brandt in 1784.

Thott bought books at the following auctions in Sweden: Kilian Stobæus, 1742; Strängnäs, 1765; Eckleff, 1769; Möhlman, 1770; Tessin, 1771. Elsewhere in Europe, he bought

catalogue of Thott's library, which is devoted to church history and literary history, and which was published in 1792. The auction catalogues are found under the heading "Indices Librorum", which covers subject bibliographies (and incunable catalogues) and catalogues of public and private libraries.

All together in this section there are 59 catalogues in folio format and 282 in quarto format and 1,323 in octavo format. The auction catalogues were subdivided by country and region. Most of the auction catalogues in quarto and octavo format were from Germany and the Low Countries (755), followed by 528 from Scandinavian countries, and 203 from France and England. From Italy and the Iberian Peninsula there were only 28. The catalogues are listed in chronological order, and the last ones date from 1784, proving that Thott remained active as a buyer until the very end.⁸² In total, these book auction catalogues represent 1,664 entries in the Thott catalogue. It is clear from the headlines in the catalogue that some of these are not auction catalogues of private libraries but catalogues of booksellers, or even catalogues of coins. Some of the auction catalogues were held in the library in several copies, for instance the catalogue of Michael Richey (1761, in four parts) of which there were three copies (octavo, numbers 5513–5524). Another, *Libri partim perrari Kiliae*, 1761, was held in five copies (octavo, 5508–5512). I have only been able to find one surviving copy, now held in the University Library in Copenhagen.⁸³ The catalogue of the library of Frederik Rostgaard was held in seven copies, of which only one was defective. Another of these seven copies had prices added in manuscript. Since one of them was bound in three volumes, the catalogue of Frederik Rostgaard covers nine numbers in the catalogue. On the other hand, many of the entries for auction catalogues cover composite volumes. Moreover, there were other catalogues of book auctions in the library (under added books, or books in manuscript form).⁸⁴ Even though the 1,664 numbers in the catalogue do not correspond to 1,664 editions, there was an impressive number of auction catalogues in Thott's library.

at the auctions of: Balthasar-Henry de Fourcy, 1737 (in Paris); Johann Peter von Ludewig, 1745 (in Halle); Charles-Étienne Jordan, 1747 (in Berlin); Reinboth, 1751 (in Schleswig); Siegbertus Haverkamp, 1742 (in Leiden). These are only a sample of the auctions at which he bought books.

- 82 In other categories one finds books from 1785, and indeed the estate payed a bill from bookbinder Johan Tobias Wilhelmi (1713–1798) for books bound in 1785.
- 83 This is further evidence that Cramer was right when he wrote that the books from Thott's library were "verschleudert und ein Raub der Käsehöcker" [thrown away and made the prey of cheesemongers]. Cramer, *Haus-Chronik*, p. 229.
- 84 Among the manuscript catalogues are Thott 509 folio and Thott 1044–1047 quarto.

Size of the Library According to the Catalogue

All in all, including the manuscripts and palaeotypes in tome seven, there are 151,468 entries in the catalogue of Thott's books. Of these, 141,255 were set for sale at the auction.⁸⁵ It is important to emphasize that the number corresponds to the number of volumes, not to the number of editions. On the one hand, duplicates and the multiple volumes of one edition have each been assigned numbers, and the same is true for issues of journals. Thus, the 49 issues of the periodical *Le Mercure Galant* covering 1678–1694 count for 49 numbers in the catalogue. On the other hand, composite volumes have only been assigned one number. There are examples of such *sammelbände* with 50 dissertations.⁸⁶ In some cases, the numbers correspond to convolutes with loose pamphlets.⁸⁷ As a result, both Palle Birkelund and Harald Ilsøe have argued that the numbers in the catalogue correspond to roughly 200,000 titles.⁸⁸

Copies of the multi-volume catalogue were sent to Göttingen, Gotha and Weimar, but international customers did not buy much (perhaps partly due to repercussions of the French Revolution).⁸⁹ The net profit of the auction was only 8,500 rix-dollar.⁹⁰ At the auction, the Royal Library bought around 50,000 lots, and thanks to private collectors and the University Library (which had received a sum of 5,000 rix-dollar from Thott to buy books at the auction), even more books have eventually ended up in the holdings of the present-day Royal Danish Library.

85 The calculation of the total number of entries is made difficult by the fact that in some volumes, the various formats (folio, quarto and octavo) have separate numberings and in other volumes the numbering is continuous through the formats. I have done the calculation as diligently as possible and compared with Bruun's numbers in his manuscript: 'Danske Privatbibliotheker i 17.–18. Aarh.' (Royal Danish Library, NKS 3680 kvart). Bruun only reached a total sum of 132,553 volumes, including manuscripts, which is erroneous. The total number 138,000 is often seen, but from now on it would be better to use the number 151,468 for the total number of entries in the catalogue and hence for the total number of volumes/physical entities in the library.

86 *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ Tom. 6*, p. 431 ("Hist. Litteraria Argumenti Miscell. in Quarto"), no. 2288.

87 *Catalogi Bibliothecæ Thottianæ Tom. 6*, p. 578 ("Bibl. Privator. Dan. & Norv. in Octavo"), no. 5913–5918: "VI Fasciculi Catal. Dan."

88 Birkelund, 'Det Thottske Biblioteks sidste Dage', pp. 108–9; Ilsøe, 'Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?', p. 65. By titles they mean editions, but as stated, in many cases Thott had many copies of one edition.

89 Danish National Archives. Gavnø Godsarkiv: QA-049 Gavnø Gods, Skifteprotokol efter Otto Thott (1786–1793).

90 Birkelund, 'Det Thottske Biblioteks sidste Dage', p. 107.

Conclusion

Both universal libraries and encyclopedias are essential parts of the Enlightenment. Since the eighteenth century was a flowering period for private libraries in Denmark, it is striking to read what the long entry on libraries in the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1752, has to say about libraries in this northern country. In that part of the article, the anonymous author sets out to mention the most important public and private libraries (in terms of quantity and quality) in Europe. For Scandinavia, only Denmark and Sweden are mentioned. Concerning Denmark, the author states that the two most considerable libraries in Copenhagen are those of the University and of Henrich Rantzau.⁹¹ The entry is not up to date on this point. The library of the University had been annihilated by the fire of Copenhagen in 1728, and the library of Henrich Rantzau (1526–1598) (in the Duchies, and not in Copenhagen) had been dissolved as early as 1627.⁹² The information about this distant country had evidently been copied from a seventeenth century book, the *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques de l'Europe* by Pierre Le Gallois, which was first published in 1680.⁹³ Despite not being named in the *Encyclopédie's* article, Thott's library was already an important library and internationally renowned among connoisseurs when the article was written. Thus, in 1747, an Italian visitor had marvelled at Thott's collection of books and estimated it to be of approximately 60,000 volumes.⁹⁴

91 "Les plus considérables ... sont à Copenhague la *bibliothèque* de l'université, & celle qu'y a fondée Henri Rantzau, gentilhomme Danois" [The most important in Copenhagen are the library of the University, and the one which was founded there by Henry Rantzau, a Danish nobleman]. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres*. (Paris: Briasson etc, 1751), vol. 2, p. 234.

92 Lauritz Nielsen, *Danske Privatbiblioteker Gennem Tiderne: 1: Indtil Udgangen af det 17. Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1946), pp. 33–39.

93 Even though the Bibliothèque nationale de France mistakenly names François le Gallois (1633–1693), the author is identified as Pierre Le Gallois (active 1672–1680) by Alexandre Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965), vol. 2, p. 1240, no. 41755; Claude Jolly et al. (eds.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises* (Paris: Éditions du Cercle de la librairie, 1988); J. Rouvière, 'Le Gallois (Pierre)', in J. Balteau et al. (eds.), *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 2011), vol. 20, p. 879.

94 Michele Enrico Sagramoso, *Lettera del signor marchese Mich. Enr. Sagramoso, Bali del S. Ord. di Malta al conte Ignazio Zanardi di Mantova*, ed. by C.G. Giuliani (Venezia: Francesco Apollonio, 1877), p. 11; Renato G. Mazzolini, 'Linnaeus and Michele Enrico Sagramoso, Knight of the Order of Malta', in Marco Beretta and Alessandro Tosi (eds.), *Linnaeus in Italy: The Spread of a Revolution in Science* (Sagamore Beach: Science History Publications, 2007), pp. 61–75.

Immediately preceding the entry on libraries in the *Encyclopédie*, is an entry on “Bibliomanie”, written by D’Alembert, in which he voiced contempt for oversized libraries. D’Alembert stated that they were simply monuments to human blindness and madness, and were in fact the madhouses of the human mind.

So many mediocre people and so many fools have written; that one can generally look at a large collection of books in any genre whatsoever, as a collection of memories to serve the history of blindness and the folly of men; and we could put above all the big libraries this philosophical inscription: “The madhouses of the human spirit”.⁹⁵

Thott owned such a ‘madhouse’, and he was affected by bibliomania. Indeed, Cramer affirmed that “Thott gehörte zu den entschiedensten Bibliomanen die jemals gelebt haben” [Thott was one of the most determined bibliomaniacs who ever lived].⁹⁶

Even though Thott was interested in philosophy, literature, history, heraldics and theology, his underlying interest seems to have been bibliographic: establishing the history of printing and the history of the book in its material form. The Danish librarian and book historian Svend Dahl has stated that

in contrast to literary history which deals with the spiritual content of books and their authors’ contribution to the history of thought, the history of books comprises the historical development of the book as a material object.⁹⁷

In this regard, while Thott was known to be interested in the content of his books, it is true that he had a particular interest in the historical development

95 “Tant de gens médiocres & tant de sots même ont écrit; que l’on peut en général regarder une grande collection de livres dans quelque genre que ce soit, comme un recueil de mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de l’aveuglement & de la folie des hommes; & on pourroit mettre au-dessus de toutes les grandes bibliothèques cette inscription philosophique: *Les petites maisons de l’esprit humain*”. D’Alembert, “Bibliomanie”, in Diderot and D’Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie*, vol. 2, p. 228.

96 Cramer, *Haus-Chronik*, p. 228.

97 Svend Dahl, ‘Boghistorie’, in Palle Birkelund, Esli Dansten and Lauritz Nielsen (eds.), *Nordisk leksikon for bogvæsen* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, 1951), p. 153. See this quotation in context in Anders Toftgaard, ‘Princely Libraries, the Readings of Common Man and the Entry of the Book Cover into Literary Studies. Trends in Book History Research in Denmark’, *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 20 (2013), pp. 159–181.

of the book as a material object.⁹⁸ Thott created a museum in which he and his visitors could study the history of books physically, through objects. When receiving foreign guests, Thott would show them his collection of palaeotypes, using his library as a physical representation of the history of the book. Moreover, in an age, when libraries were not yet public and literature on bibliography was scarce, Thott used auction catalogues in order to further his understanding of the history of the book. After his death, the catalogue of his collection in turn helped further bibliographical studies of incunabula. Nyerup having sent Panzer a copy of the catalogue, Panzer made use of Thott's collection of palaeotypes already in the fourth volume of his *Annales typographici ab artis inventae origine ad annum MD*, published in 1796.⁹⁹ Otto Thott's magnificent gift to the Royal Library has continued to help further the study of the history of the book ever since.

98 Indeed, Elert affirmed that Thott burned with passion for letters from early childhood: "sed literas a teneris usque ardenti amore amplexus est atque fovit". Elert, 'L.B.', p. iv.

99 The fact that Nyerup sent a copy to Panzer is mentioned in *Allgemeiner litterarischer Anzeiger oder Annalen der gesamten Litteratur für die geschwinde Bekanntmachung verschiedener Nachrichten aus dem Gebiete der Gelehrsamkeit und Kunst*, Leipzig, no. 126, 21 October 1797, col. 1298.

A Collegiant Library in Rijnsburg at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century: The Books of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn (d. 1715)

Paul G. Hoftijzer

The modern visitor of Rijnsburg, a village of some 16,000 inhabitants located north-west of Leiden, will not be struck by the beauty of the place. Rijnsburg like so many other Dutch villages is a victim of progress. Much of the original architecture along its old streets and canals has been replaced by tasteless modern buildings. Of the famous medieval abbey only the tower remains, leaning against a nondescript church hall. The surrounding countryside, moreover, is increasingly built over by housing projects and industrial estates. Rijnsburg now is part of a densely populated, semi-urban agglomeration.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the situation could not have been more different. True, the large and rich abbey, founded in 1133 as a convent of Benedictine nuns of aristocratic birth and because of its protection by the counts of Holland one of the most important religious institutions of the county, had already been destroyed in 1574 in the wake of the siege of Leiden. Its ruinous remains, however, were still overwhelmingly visible, as can be seen in the work of many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artists. In addition, the village was situated in unspoiled green countryside, close to the sea and the gently meandering Rhine (see figure 3.1 page 78).

Early-modern Rijnsburg had other attractions to offer as well. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century, the village had developed into a meeting place for Remonstrants (or Arminians), Mennonites and other strayed members of the Dutch Protestant family. They had chosen Rijnsburg, which after the dissolution of the abbey remained an allodium governed directly by the States of Holland, as a relatively safe place of worship, following the harsh repression of Remonstrants instigated by the Synod of Dordrecht of 1618–1619. Their meetings from the beginning were sober religious gatherings, held without a minister, during which prayers were said, sections were read from the Bible and Psalms and hymns were sung, after which each male participant, inspired by the Holy Spirit, was free to ‘prophesy’, speak straight from the heart. These ‘colleges’, as they were called, attracted growing numbers of people and soon similar meetings were held all over the country. By the second half of

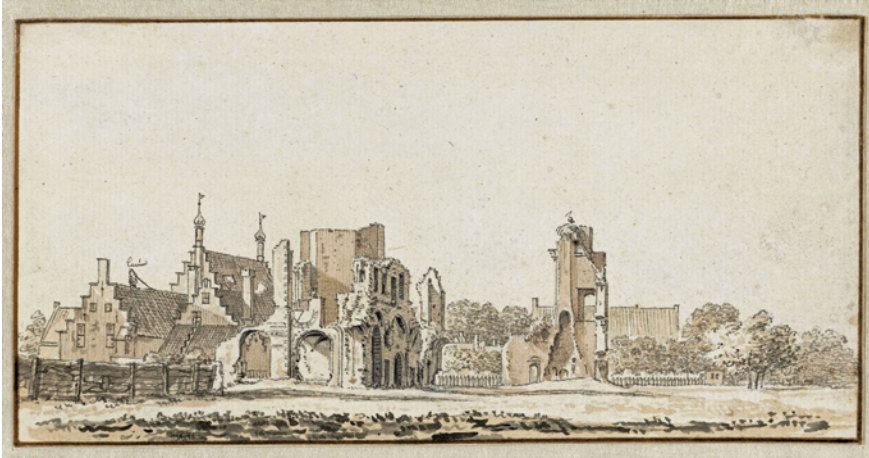


FIGURE 3.1 Hendrik Spilman, Ruins of the abbey at Rijnsburg, ca. 1750. Washed drawing. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-T-1892-A-2502

the seventeenth century, Collegiantism had become a recognisable religious movement, providing a tolerant haven to many “Christians without a church”: dissenting Protestants like the Remonstrants and Mennonites, but also more radical sects, such as the Socinians and Chiliasts.¹ Still, Rijnsburg remained the unofficial centre of the movement and in popular usage the Collegiants were often referred to as ‘Rijnsburgers’.²

Collegiantism functioned as a kind of experimental laboratory of religious belief and philosophical thought, the essence of which was an ongoing attempt to reconcile faith with reason, and consequently the Collegiants played an interesting role in the early Dutch Enlightenment.³ The ‘Rijnsburgers’ were open to all sorts of ideas and influences, from medieval mysticism and spirituality to seventeenth-century Cartesian and Spinozist rationalism, and everything in between, which were openly discussed during their meetings, but also in many treatises and pamphlets, printed on the presses of likeminded

1 Cf. the classic study by Leszek Kolakowski, *Chrétiens sans église. La conscience religieuse et le lien confessionnel au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969).

2 An old, but still remarkably informative study of Collegiantism is J.C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten. Geschiedkundig onderzoek* (Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1895; reprint Utrecht: HES, 1980). The best modern study is Andrew C. Fix, *The Dutch Collegiants and the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

3 Apart from the literature mentioned in the previous note, see also Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650–1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 342–358.

publishers in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and other places.⁴ At times the debate boiled over, particularly during the so-called ‘Bredenburg controversy’ in the second half of the seventeenth century on the issue of atheism, which resulted in a temporary schism, a situation the Collegiants had always wanted to avoid. Eventually, peace was re-established and by the beginning of the eighteenth century the movement entered a quieter phase which would last until the end of the century when Collegiantism finally petered out.

Although the Collegiants did not want to be seen as a ‘church’—they had no confession or formal organisation and abhorred any notion of dogma—some institutionalisation was inevitable, the more so when the tradition was established to gather in Rijnsburg twice a year, at Pentecost and in late August, to celebrate the Lord’s Supper and, following the Mennonite tradition, administer adult baptisms by immersion, the so-called *dompeldoop*. An assembly hall was built at the east end of the village, as well as a large hostel on the nearby Vliet canal, the so-called *Grote Huis* or Big House, which had thirty rooms to provide accommodation for visitors. The baptisms were performed first in the Vliet, later in a pool behind the *Grote Huis*. There was also room for recreation, as a garden was laid out with a tea house on a little mound, the *Bergje*. Sadly, nothing of this remains today (see figure 3.2 page 80).

Already before the creation of these provisions in the early eighteenth century, Rijnsburg had become a popular place of residence. Some would come for a limited period to enjoy the existing toleration and opportunity for contemplation and reflection. Among them was the young, spiritually inclined Amsterdam patrician Coenraad van Beuningen (1622–1693), who after finishing his studies in Leiden around 1650 stayed in Rijnsburg for a year before entering into a successful political career. He would end his life as a mental patient, and fervent Chiliast.⁵ Another was Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677), who following his expulsion from the Sephardic congregation in Amsterdam, lived in Rijnsburg in the early 1660s for nearly two years in the cottage of a local Collegiant physician, grinding lenses as well as reading and writing. Although little is known about his contacts with the Collegiant community, there is no doubt that more than a few, whether they agreed with him or not, were interested in his ideas.⁶ Others settled permanently in the village after their

4 See Piet Visser, “Blasphemous and pernicious”: The Role of Printers and Booksellers in the Spread of Dissident Religious and Philosophical Ideas in the Netherlands in the Second Half of the Seventeenth century’, *Quaerendo*, 26 (1996), pp. 303–326.

5 On his remarkable life and career, see Cornelia Wilhelmine Roldanus, *Coenraad van Beuningen, staatsman en libertijn* (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1931).

6 See Wiep van Bunge, ‘Spinoza and the Collegiants’, *Philosophia OSAKA*, no. 7 (2012), pp. 13–29, who argues that Spinoza was influenced by the political ideas of the Collegiants. For a



FIGURE 3.2 Cornelis Pronk, The Collegiant assembly hall in Rijnsburg, ca. 1740. Drawing. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-T-1921-26

retirement, combining their Collegiant sympathies with living in calm and agreeable rural surroundings. The Huguenot minister Pierre Poiret (1646–1719), who had been one of the most zealous admirers of the mystic Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680), resided in Rijnsburg for thirty years until his death in 1719, during which time he wrote scores of spiritual treatises.⁷ Another retiree was the Amsterdam Collegiant Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn (?–1715), who arrived in 1710. He, or rather his library, is at the centre of this contribution.

contrary view, Steven Nadler, *Spinoza. A Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 193–198. The cottage in which Spinoza lived has remarkably survived and now houses a small museum, administered by the ‘Vereniging Het Spinoza Huis’ <www.spinozahuis.com>.

7 On him, Marjolaine Chevallier, *Pierre Poiret (1646–1719): du protestantisme à la mystique* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1994).

Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn: from Amsterdam to Rijnsburg

Not much is known of Van Drieborn's life in Amsterdam, other than that he was a well-to-do merchant who lived on the Singel canal and that he most probably was a Mennonite who moved in Collegiant circles.⁸ He appears to have been involved in the quarrels surrounding the foundation of the Collegiant orphanage in 1675.⁹ He also was closely associated with the Amsterdam couple who owned and managed the *Grote Huis* in Rijnsburg.¹⁰ When he decided to retire to the village himself with his wife Sibilla van 't Sant in 1710, he must have been in his late fifties or early sixties. He bought a small country house, named De Krogt, on the southern side of the Vliet canal opposite the 'Leiden Bridge' (at the beginning of the road to Leiden), with stables and coach house, an orchard and some land. Another reason for him to leave Amsterdam may well have been that his daughter, also named Sibilla, lived in nearby Leiden after her marriage to a local draper.¹¹ In addition, his wife appears to have been mentally unstable. He had arranged with a female relative in Amsterdam to come and live with the couple, possibly as a kind of carer.¹² Jan's retirement, however, was

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- 8 If indeed he was a Mennonite that would explain why no baptismal record of him has survived. That he was a merchant can be derived from various notarial deeds in the Amsterdam Municipal Archive (AMA). For his residence on the Singel canal, see below, note 10.
- 9 In several pamphlets, such as Jan Dionijsz Verburg, *Brief aen A. S. of kort en waarachtig verhaal van de opkomst en voortgang van't Wees-huys der Collegianten tot Amsterdam ...* (Rotterdam: I. Naeranus, 1686), Jan Matthijsz (without the 'van Drieborn') is mentioned, here as a partisan of the Collegiant Abraham Lemmerman (p. 12). On Lemmerman (?–1700), one of the main actors in the 'Bredenburg controversy', see Van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*.
- 10 The woman was Huibertine (or Huybertje) van Overveld, widow of none other than Abraham Lemmerman. In 1711 she remarried Pieter de Haan, another prominent Collegiant in Amsterdam. In 1702 Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn had sold part of his house on the Singel canal in Amsterdam to De Haan. AMA, Archief van Schepenen, Kwijtscheldingsregisters, Transportakten voor 1811, inv. nos. 21643900 and 21643340.
- 11 She had married Andries Holsteyn on 18 August 1706. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (ELO), DTB Trouwen, Schepenuwelijkken, arch. no. 1004, inv. no. 204, f. H-096. In 1716 she would remarry Fredrik Toger, a medical doctor, theological writer and minister of the Mennonite church in Leiden; *ibid.*, inv. no. 205, f. J-052 (9 May).
- 12 AMA, Oud Notarieel Archief, inv. no. 5004, no. 93 (28 September 1710), contract between Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn and Margareta Wijns van Uijterdijk, who agrees to come to live in Rijnsburg. For her last will, in which Jan Matthijsz is named as one of the executors, see *ibid.*, inv. no. 4996, no. 331 (15 October 1706); for her estate, drawn up after her death in 1712, see *ibid.*, inv. no. 5009, no. 19 (18 January 1713). See also Jan's last will, in which the custodians of his wife, in case he died before her (which indeed he did), are ordered to assist her in her weak condition ("swakheyd"); *ibid.*, no. 167 (22 November 1710).

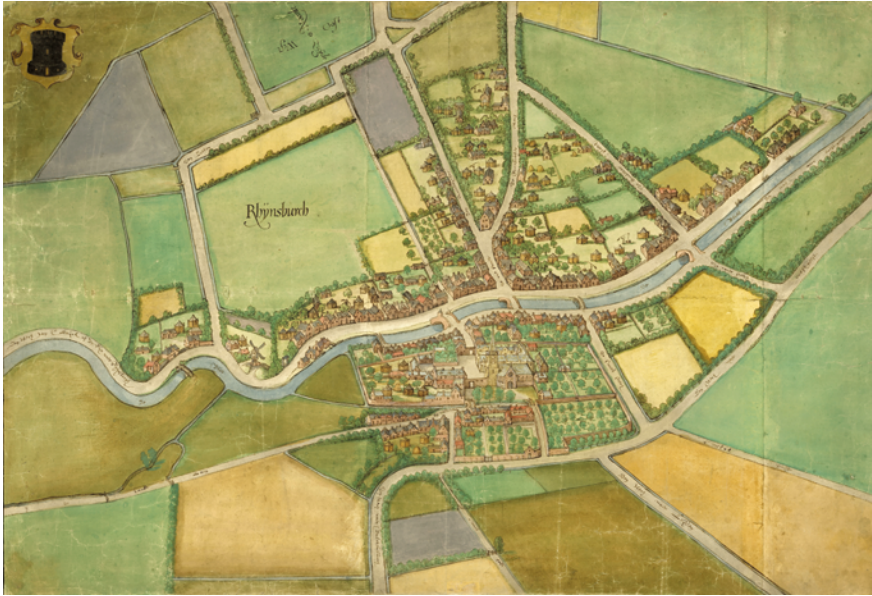


FIGURE 3.3 Village plan of Rijnsburg in the seventeenth century. National Archives, The Hague, Binnenlandse Kaarten Hingman, inv. no. 2309

short-lived. He died on 13 March 1715 and was buried the same day at the local cemetery in Rijnsburg (see figure 3.3 page 82).¹³

In order to settle the inheritance, an inventory of Van Drieborn's possessions was drawn up five months later.¹⁴ This is a revealing document as it not only shows his considerable wealth, but also how he had invested some of it in loans to family members and Amsterdam Collegiants. From the description of his household in Rijnsburg it appears that he had lived a sober life, in accordance with the custom among Collegiants. Far from modest, however, was his library, a considerable collection of some 600 books (see figure 3.4 page 83).

13 ELO, 0700, Ambachts-, Dorps- en Gemeentebestuur van Rijnsburg, inv. no. 1219, f. 93v (13 March 1715) Burial of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn.

14 ELO, 0700, Inventaris van der archieven van de vrije heerlijkheid Rijnsburg (1503–1978), Archief van het dorpsbestuur, I.B.6.4, Vrijwillige rechtspraak, Akten verleden voor het gerecht van Rijnsburg, Minuten van allerhande instrumenten 1715–1718, inv. no. 78, no. 8, ff. 1–52 (8 August 1715) Inventory of the estate of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn (hereafter referred to as 'Inventory').

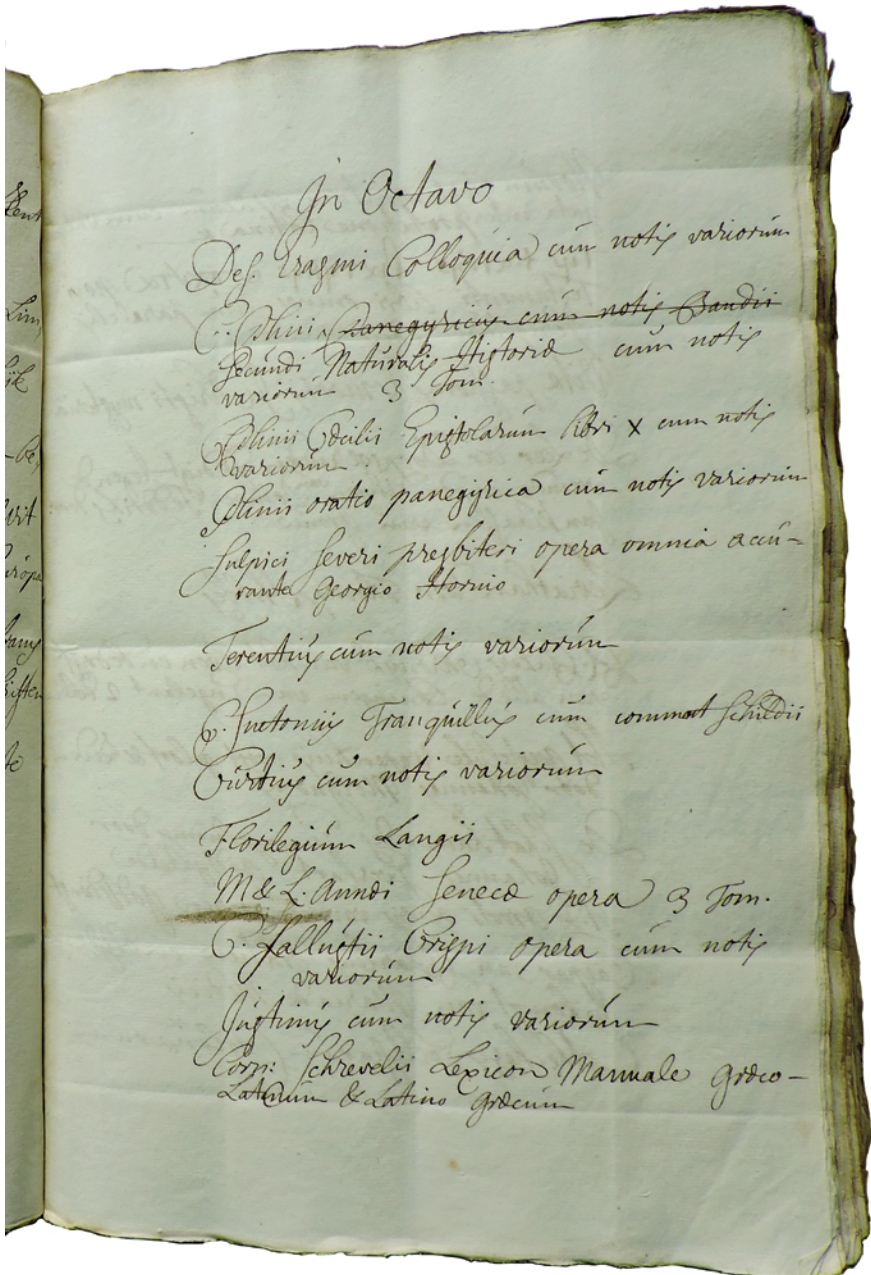


FIGURE 3.4 Fol. 35r of the estate inventory of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn, listing the books in octavo format. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Archieven van de Vrije Heerlijkheid Rijnsburg, Vrijwillige rechtspraak, inv. no. 78, no. 8, Inventory of the estate of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn

Van Drieborn's Library

Although one always has to be cautious with regard to book lists in probate inventories, this list appears to be quite reliable.¹⁵ The volumes, located in a small room upstairs and in the 'comptoir' (office) of the deceased, are described in such detail that almost every book in the collection can be identified, the only exception being the several packets of unbound books, pamphlets, New Testaments, and treatises listed both at the beginning and end. Most of the books are in the Dutch language, although often translated from other languages, besides which one finds some 150 titles in Latin, and a handful in French and Greek (i.e. editions of the original New Testament). On the basis of the identifications it is possible to categorize the collection according to the main areas of interest. The largest section is, not surprisingly, religion, followed by philosophy, then history and politics, geography and travel, literature, medicine, law, self-help books, plus a separate section for classical authors. Of course, there are numerous overlaps between these categories, if only because applying modern labels to early-modern books is not always satisfactory. What to do, for instance, with the numerous collections of edifying poetry and hymns, so popular among the Collegiants: do they belong to the field of religion or that of literature? Here they are categorised among the latter.

In the limited space of this article it is impossible to do full justice to Van Drieborn's library, and for that reason the main focus here will be on the categories of religion and philosophy, which constitute about three-quarters of the collection, its essence one could say.¹⁶ Yet, some information on the books in the other categories has to be given in order to present a more complete picture.

Literature

In the field of literature Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn had a strong preference for Dutch poetry. The inventory lists some thirty titles in this genre, among which numerous works by leading literary authors of the seventeenth century,

15 On the use of Dutch probate inventories, see Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 'Boedelinventarissen', in *Broncommentaren* (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), vol. 2, pp. 5–69. For a book-historical perspective, see José de Kruif, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers. Leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), pp. 71–81.

16 A full transcription of the list of books, with identifications, is available from the author on request.

such as Joost van den Vondel's *Poëzij of verscheide gedichten* (Franeker, 1682), Jacob Cats' *Alle de wercken* (Dordrecht, 1659), Jacob Westerbaen's *Gedichten* (3 vols. The Hague, 1672), Geeraert Brandt's *Poëzij* (Amsterdam, 1688), Jeremias de Decker's *Rym-oeffeningen* (Amsterdam, 1659), Johannes Antonides van der Goes' *Gedichten* (Amsterdam, 1685), Willem Sluiter's *Buiten-eensaem huis- somer- en winter-leven* (Amsterdam, 1688) and Constantijn Huygens's *Koren-bloemen* (The Hague, 1658).¹⁷ Not surprisingly, there are numerous devotional songbooks by Collegiant authors, such as Reinier Rooleeuw's *Schriftuurlyke gezangen* (Amsterdam, 1681), Dirck Rafaelsz Camphuysen's *Stichtelijke rijmen* (two editions: Hoorn, 1624 and Amsterdam, 1628),¹⁸ and Nicolaas Stapel's *Het lust-hof der zielen* (Alkmaar, 1681). Other literary genres in the list include theatrical plays, such as Vondel's *Alle de treur-spelen* (Amsterdam, 1700), and emblem books, for example Pieter de La Court's *Sinryke fabulen* (Amsterdam, 1685).¹⁹

History and Politics

The history section holds some forty titles on a wide range of subjects, both Dutch and foreign. Well-known authors are Hugo de Groot (*Nederlantsche jaerboeken en historien* [Amsterdam, 1681]), Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (*Nederlandsche jaerboeken en historien* [Amsterdam, 1681]), William Temple (*Historische gedenkschriften* [Amsterdam, 1693]) and Richard Baker (*Chronyck van het leven en bedrijf van al de koninghen van Engelandt* [Amsterdam, 1649]).²⁰ Van Drieborn also owned two histories of his native Amsterdam, Johannes Isacius Pontanus' *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1614)²¹ and Olfert Dapper's *Historische beschryving der stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1683), as well as the beautifully illustrated description by Caspar Barlaeus of the visit of Maria de' Medici to Amsterdam (*Blyde inkomst der allerdoorluchtigste koninginne Maria de*

17 The descriptions are based on the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* <www.kb.nl/stcn.nl/>, *Universal Short-Title Catalogue* <www.ustc.ac.uk> and *Worldcat* <www.worldcat.org>. When the source material does not allow for identification of a particular edition, square brackets indicate that an arbitrary edition published in Van Drieborn's lifetime is given; n.d. signals that no known edition could be identified.

18 USTC 1027017 and 1032928.

19 The strong presence of Joost van den Vondel can perhaps be explained by his Mennonite background, although he later converted to Catholicism.

20 USTC 1515289.

21 USTC 1030799.

Medicis t'Amsterdam [Amsterdam, 1639]).²² Of a more popular historical nature are books by prolific authors such as Simon de Vries (*De geheele weereld, in haare sonderlinghste en uytgeleesenste gevallen, voorgesteld tot een historische kronijck der kronijcken*, 5 vols. [Amsterdam, 1686–1694]), Lambert van den Bos (*Prael-tooneel der doorluchtige mannen* [Amsterdam, 1676]), *Het konincklyk treurtoonnel, ofte op- en onder-gangh der keyseren, koningen en vorsten* [Dordrecht, 1656], and *Het vorstelick treurtooneel of op- en onder-gang der grooten* [Dordrecht, 1655]), and Gregorio Leti (*Het leeven van Sixtus den Vyfden, paus van Rome* [Amsterdam, 1695]), as well the *Hollantse Mercurius*, published annually at Haarlem, of which Van Drieborn had a complete run of forty issues bound in nine volumes covering the years 1650–1690.²³ Considering the presence of various anonymous accounts of the lives of the Dutch republican heroes Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (*Waarachtige historie van 't geslachte, geboorte, leven, bedrijf ... en doodt, van ... J. van Olden-Barnevelt* [Rotterdam, 1670]) and Johan and Cornelis de Witt (*Leven, en doodt, vande heeren en meesters, Cornelis, en Johan de Witt* [s.l., 1672]), there can be little doubt about Van Drieborn's political sympathies.

Related to the history section is the much smaller category of political science. Here one finds both general political treatises, such as Dutch translations of two famous works by Thomas Hobbes (*Leviathan* [Amsterdam, 1667] and *De eerste beginselen van een burger-staat* [Amsterdam, 1675]), and Pieter and Johannes de la Court's *Politike discoursen* (Amsterdam, 1662), as well as more topical texts, dealing with the government of the province of Holland (Hugo de Groot, *Verantwoordingh van de wettelicke regering van Hollant ende Westvrieslant* [s.l., s.a.]), or the state of the Dutch Republic (William Temple, *Aenmerckingen over de Vereenighde Nederlandtsche provintien* [Amsterdam, 1673]).

Geography and Travel

To what extent Van Drieborn had himself seen something of the world is unknown, but he certainly liked to travel on paper, as can be gathered from the presence of a hand-coloured atlas ('Atlas of kaartboek afgezet') and numerous travel accounts in Dutch (both original works and translations), among which William Lithgow's *19. Jaarige lant-reyse uyt Schotland, naer ... Europa, Asia ende Africa* (Amsterdam, 1652), Joan Nieuhof's *Gedenkwaerdige zee en lantreise*

²² USTC 1030593.

²³ See Garrelt Verhoeven and Sytze van der Veen, *De Hollandse Mercurius. Een Haarlems jaarboek uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem: Bubb Kuyper veilingen, 2011).

door de voornaemste landschappen van West en Oostindien (Amsterdam, 1682), Wouter Schouten's *Oost-indische voyagie* (Amsterdam, 1676), Jean Baptiste Tavernier's *Reizen* (3 vols. Amsterdam, 1682), Charles de Rochefort's *Natuurlyke en zedelyke historie der voor-eylanden van Amerika* (Rotterdam, 1662), and Pietro Della Valle's *De volkomen beschryving der voortreffelijke reizen* (6 vols. Amsterdam, 1664–1665).

Other Genres

Mention should be made of the considerable number of classical Roman and Greek texts in the collection (Quintus Curtius, Epictetus, Herodianus, Horace, Cornelius Nepos, Pliny, Plutarch, Sallust, M. and L. Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, and Terence), both in Latin and in Dutch translation, while in the sphere of medicine, botany and the natural sciences Van Drieborn had a haphazard selection which included the works of Dutch physicians Johan van Beverwijck (*Alle de wercken* [Amsterdam, 1656]) and Cornelis Bontekoe (*Alle de philosophische, medicinale en chymische werken*, 2 vols. [Amsterdam, 1689]), Kenelm Digby's *Theatrum sympatheticum, ofte wonder-toneel des natuurs verborgentheden* (Amsterdam, 1681), Rembert Dodoens' *Cruydt-boeck* (Leiden, 1608), and John Ray's *De werelt van haar begin tot haar einde* (Rotterdam, 1698). And finally there is a good number of self-help books, from Dutch (Lodewijk Meijer, *Woordenschat* [Amsterdam, 1669] and multi-language (Ambrogio Calepino, *Linguarum novem, Romanae, Graecae, Ebraicae, Gallicae, Italicae, Germanicae, Hispanicae, Anglicae, Belgicae dictionarium* [Leiden, s.a.] dictionaries and Greek (Eilardus Lubinus, *Clavis Graecae linguae* [Leiden, 1644])²⁴ and French (Thomas La Grue, *La vraye introduction a la langue françoise ...* [Amsterdam, 1660]) grammars, to gardening manuals (Hendrik van Oosten, *De Neederlandsen hof, beplant met bloemen, ooft en orangerijen* [Leiden, 1703]) and a handbook for drawing up administrative forms (*Amsterdamsche secretarje, bestaende in alderhande formulieren* [Amsterdam, 1664]).

Religion and Philosophy

As already mentioned, the sections of religion and philosophy dominate in Van Drieborn's collection and it can be said that the rich display of works of all confessions and movements reads like a roadmap of seventeenth-century

24 USTC 1016399.

Collegiantism. To begin with, there are numerous—all in all 36—editions of the Bible, the Old and New Testament, and the Psalms in various languages, the oldest being a sixteenth-century Dutch Liesveldt Bible (Antwerp, 1526),²⁵ the largest the six-volume folio *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, edited by Brian Walton (6 vols. London, 1655–1657). This, together with the many biblical commentaries (33 titles) by a wide variety of authors (e.g. Desiderius Erasmus, Hugo de Groot, Simon Episcopius, Henry Hammond, Matthew Poole), demonstrates the strong emphasis placed by the Collegiants on the individual study of the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, not only for inspiration how to ‘know’ God, but also how to practice the Christian faith in its oldest, uncorrupted form. This last aspect is also reflected by various books in the collection on the state and history of the early church, such as William Cave’s *Het eerste christendom, of de godsdienst der oude christenen* (Utrecht, 1692) and Gottfried Arnold’s *Waare afbeelding der eerste christenen* (2 vols. Amsterdam, 1700–1701).

The largest group in the religion category consists of theological studies, catechisms and handbooks, ranging from the multi-volume collected works in folio and quarto of famous theologians to small booklets in octavo and duodecimo on all sorts of specific issues. Almost every conviction is present, in line with the Collegiant tradition to regard all Christians as brothers in faith. Moreover, the library shows a lively interest in other creeds, first and foremost Judaism and Islam (e.g. Petrus Cunaeus, *De republyk der Hebreën, of gemeenebest der joden* [Amsterdam, 1682] and a Dutch translation by the prolific translator and Mennonite Jan Hendrik Glazemaker (1620–1682) of the Quran [Amsterdam, 1657]), but also the heathen religions in Europe and other parts of the world, both past and present (for example Antonius van Dale, *Verhandeling van de oude orakelen der heydenen* [Amsterdam, 1687] and Godefridus Carolinus, *Het hedendaagsche heidendom, of beschrijving vanden godtsdienst der heidenen, so als die ... in ... Asia, Africa en enige gewesten van Europa bevonden is* [Amsterdam, 1661]).²⁶

Not surprisingly, the writings of Mennonites and Remonstrants take pride of place in this general category. That their identity was very much shaped by the suffering and persecution they had had to endure is clear from the presence of Tieleman van Bragt’s Mennonite martyrology *Het bloedigh tooneel der doops-gesinde, en weereleose christenen* (Dordrecht, 1660) and Johannes

25 USTC 400463.

26 Glazemaker was responsible for quite a few translated books in Van Drieborn’s library. On him, see C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, ‘Jan Hendrik Glazemaker, de 17de eeuwse vertaler’, in C. Louise Thijssen-Schoute, *Uit de Republiek der Letteren. Elf studiën op het gebied der ideeëngeschiedenis van de Gouden Eeuw* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967), pp. 206–261.

Wtenbogaert's ecclesiastical history of his own time, *De kerckelicke historie* (Rotterdam, 1647),²⁷ as well as Geeraert Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie* (4 vols. Amsterdam, 1671–1674), available in two copies.

Remonstrant theology is represented by no less than seventeen books of its most outspoken theologian, Simon Episcopius (1583–1643). They include his *Opera theologica* (The Hague, 1678), numerous collections of sermons (e.g. xxxiv. *Predicatie, over de woorden Christi, in den Evangelio Ioannis, capit. xvii. vers. 3* [Amsterdam, 1646]),²⁸ as well as various anonymously published pamphlets against his opponents (e.g. *De war-religie, ofte de verwarde, valsche en reden-loose religie Iacobi Triglandii* [s.l., 1634]).²⁹ Other prominent Remonstrant theologians are Jacobus Arminius (*Zedich ondersoek ... op het boecxken, welck D. Guilhelmus Perkinsius ... uytgegeven heeft van de maniere ende ordre der predestinatie* [Gouda, 1617])³⁰ and Hugo de Groot (e.g. his *Opera omnia theologica* [3 vols. Amsterdam, 1679]), and, of a more recent date, Philippus van Limborch (*Theologia christiana* [Amsterdam, 1686]) and Jean Leclerc (*Verhandeling van het ongelooft* [Rotterdam, 1697]). The most prominent Mennonite author is Galenus Abrahamsz de Haen (1622–1706), a medical doctor who became the leader of the spiritualist branch of the Amsterdam Mennonites and a staunch advocate of a “reasonable experience-based religion” (e.g. his *Anleyding tot de kennis van de christelyke godsdienst* [Amsterdam, 1677] and *Eenige nagelaten schriften* [Amsterdam, 1707]).

It is not always easy to determine who is a Remonstrant, Mennonite or Collegiant, or for that matter a Unitarian or Socinian (and for the Collegiants it did not really matter), as becomes clear from the large number of contemporary heterodox texts in the collection. They deal with principal issues such as the freedom to prophesy (Laurens Klinkhamer, *De vryheid van spreken, in de gemeente der geloovigen* [Leeuwarden, 1679]), adult baptism (Bastiaen van Weenigem, *De gantsche natuere des doops* [Rotterdam, 1668]), or the true knowledge of God (J.S. [= Jan Stevensz], *Fondament-boeck, of grondigh bewijs van de kennisse Godts, en de christelijke godtsdienst* [Amsterdam, 1683]), but also with controversies both within Collegiantism and without. Two of the most vociferous Collegiant authors in the list are Daniel van Breen and Frans Kuyper. Daniel van Breen (1594–1664), who had a Remonstrant background and worked as a corrector for several publishing houses in Amsterdam, held Socinian and Chiliastic views, as can be seen in his *Breves in Vetus & Novum*

27 USTC 1018660.

28 USTC 1013721.

29 USTC 1034643.

30 USTC 1507763.

Testamentum annotationes (Amsterdam, 1664). Frans Kuyper (1629–c.1692) was a former Remonstrant minister turned printer who became one of the protagonists in the ‘Bredenburg controversy’ (cf. his *Arcana atheismi revelata, philosophice & paradoxè refutata, examine tractatus theologico-politici* [Rotterdam, 1676]), but he also wrote numerous theological treatises on subjects like the interpretation of the New Testament (e.g., with Jan Hartigveld, *Verklaaring over de leer, het leven, de daaden, en lijden, onzes Heeren Jesus Christus. Door den apostel Mattheus* [2 parts, s.l., 1682]). Remarkably, he also was co-responsible for the publication of the eight-volume *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum* (Irenopolis [= Amsterdam], 1668), which brought together the works of major Socinian authors like Faustus Socinus, Johannes Crellius, Jonas Schlichtingius, Valentinus Smalcius and others. It is in the collection together with a great many separate Socinian texts, quite a few of them original editions published in the small Polish town of Raków (Racovia), where the ‘Polish brethren’ had their own seminary for a while (e.g. Valentinus Smalcius and Albert Borkowski, *De ecclesia et missione ministrorum* [Raków, 1614]). All these books, despite their being prohibited by the Dutch authorities, will have been available without too much difficulty in the bookshops of Frans Kuyper himself, but also in those of like-minded booksellers like Pieter Arentsz, Jan Rieuwertsz Jr. and others, all located in the centre of Amsterdam.³¹ It goes without saying that Van Drieborn will have frequently visited them.

The collection is rich in all sorts of other religious works from the Middle Ages to the beginning of the eighteenth century. We find the collected works in Latin of the medieval German mystic Johannes Tauler (*Opera* [Purmerend, 1647]) and those of the French religious rationalist Sebastianus Castellio (*Opera* [Haarlem, 1613]),³² who had openly criticised Calvin for his intolerance. Erasmus is well represented (e.g. *Enchiridion militis christiani* [Leiden, 1641] and the Dutch translation *'t Hand-boeckjen van den christelijcken ridder* [Amsterdam, 1636]);³³ *Colloquia* [n.d.]; *Apothegmata christiana* [Deventer, 1641]). It is quite remarkable, on the other hand, that the writings of Luther are entirely lacking, as are those of Calvin, Beza and other sixteenth-century

31 Frans Kuyper was located on the Nieuwe Braak, at the end of the Brouwersgracht, Pieter Arentsz and Jan Rieuwertsz were both in the Beursstraat; cf. Hans Gruys and Jan Bos (eds.), *Adresboek. Nederlandse drukkers en boekverkopers tot 1700* (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1999), pp. 27, 51, 101. On the Amsterdam book trade in this period, see I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse boekhandel, 1680–1725* (5 vols., Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema NV, 1960–1978). Extensive information on Arentsz and Rieuwertsz, both of them Mennonites, can be found in vols. 3, pp. 15–16 and 4, pp. 64–66.

32 USTC 1025987.

33 USTC 1030253.

reformers. Perhaps the explanation is that the Collegiants were of the opinion that the Reformation they had instigated had failed and that a second, individual reformation of every Christian believer was necessary. This may also explain the presence of various devotional treatises from divergent religious denominations and traditions, such as Thomas a Kempis' *De imitatione Christi* (n.d.), Diego de Estella's *Zeer aendachtige overdenckingen van de liefde Godts* (Rotterdam, 1667), Charles Drelincourt's *Les consolations de l'ame fidele contre les frayeurs de la mort* (Amsterdam, 1660), William Perkins' *Verclaringe van de rechte maniere om te kennen Christum* (Amsterdam, 1608), or Lewis Bayly's *De practycke ofte oeffeninghe der godtzaligheydt* (2 copies, n.d.).³⁴

Anglican authors appear to be present for another reason. Anglicanism is traditionally associated with Dutch Arminianism, and its gradual acceptance of the role of reason as an arbiter in issues of religious doctrine and the propagation of tolerance towards other convictions attracted the attention of Collegiants, particularly through the translated writings of latitudinarian theologians like Edward Stillingfleet (*Origines sacrae, heilige oorsprongkelykheden* [Amsterdam, 1690]), John Tillotson (*'tHeyl des sondaars* [Utrecht, 1698]) and William Sherlock (*Stichtelyke redevoeringe wegens het toekomstende oordeel* [Utrecht, 1696]). This attitude may also be related to Van Drieborn's apparent interest in the relationship between religion and science, in particular with regard to superstition. He had the Dutch translation of Thomas Browne's *Religio medici* (with the false imprint 'Laegeduynen', 1683), as well as Balthasar Bekker's *De betoverde wereld* (Amsterdam, 1691), which attacked the irrational belief in witches, ghosts and devils. The latter book gave rise to a veritable pamphlet war, the echoes of which can be heard in Van Drieborn's list, as it mentions "een pakket boeken zijnde Bekkers schriften zo voor als tegen" [a parcel of books, being Bekker's writings both for and against].³⁵ Van Drieborn, on the other hand, was not yet ready for, or aware of, the new developments in science in which the study of God's creation through the Book of Nature was regarded as equal to the study of the Bible. There is one treatise by the famous naturalist Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680) in the collection, the *Ephemeri vita of afbeeldingh van 'smenschen leven, vertoont in de ... historie van het vliegent ende een-dagh-levent haft of oever-aas* (Amsterdam, 1675), but that curious book was published just after Swammerdam had forsaken his ground-breaking scientific research in order to join the circle of the mystic Antoinette Bourignon where he

34 USTC 1010822.

35 Still of use on Bekker is W.P.C. Knuttel, *Balthasar Bekker. De bestrijder van het bijgeloof* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1906; reprint Groningen/Castricum: Bouma's Boekhuis/Bert Hagen, 1979).

wished to devote himself entirely to God.³⁶ There are, by the way, other notable absentees in the collection. No trace can be found of the works of Jacob Böhme and his adherents, despite their remarkable popularity in seventeenth-century Amsterdam.³⁷ Van Drieborn did not possess a copy of *Een bloemhof van allerley lieflijkheyd sonder verdriet* (Amsterdam, 1668), written by the radical thinker Adriaan Koerbagh (1633–1669), a book that was immediately suppressed by the Amsterdam magistrates because of its blasphemous and atheist content.³⁸ Conspicuously absent too are the works of contemporary Deists like Anthony Collins (1676–1729) and John Toland (1670–1722), or of the man who had had such a profound influence on them, John Locke (1632–1704). Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that only of Locke's theological work translations were available in Van Drieborn's lifetime.³⁹

One last work in the theological section should be mentioned here. Van Drieborn's wife and daughter both were named Sibilla, which may well be the reason why he had a copy of the somewhat peculiar study of the classical sybils and Christian divine revelation by the Amsterdam Reformed minister Joannes Aysma, entitled *Spiegel der Sibyllen* (Amsterdam, 1685). If not for its content, he may have been attracted by the remarkable engraved title-page and other illustrations made by Jan Luyken, a Mennonite and Collegiant whom Van Drieborn will have known personally (see figure 3.5 page 93).⁴⁰

Theological texts in Van Drieborn's library stand on an equal footing with philosophical works, but as said before, the line between them, and for that matter other disciplines, is thin. Moral philosophy, both classical and contemporary, was a major concern of the Collegiants for their practical lives, as is demonstrated by the presence of authors like Theophrastus (*Characteres ethici* [Leiden, 1653]), Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert (*Wercken* [3 vols. Amsterdam, 1629–1632]; *Zede-kunst dat is wel-levens kunste* [s.l., 1630]), Etienne de Courcelles (*Zedelyke werken* [Leiden, s.a.]) and Pierre Nicole (*Proeven van*

36 On the other hand, and somewhat surprisingly, the works of Antoinette Bourignon are almost completely absent in the list, the only exception being her anti-Quaker treatise *Advertissement ... tegen de secte der quakers* (Amsterdam, 1672).

37 See for instance Frans A. Janssen, 'Böhme's *Wercken* (1681): Its Editor, Its Publisher, Its Printer', *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), pp. 137–141.

38 At the time the 672-page book must have been difficult to obtain, as many copies were seized from local bookshops by the authorities; Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, pp. 190–191.

39 For instance, of Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures* (London, 1695), a French translation was already published one year later in Amsterdam by Hendrik Wetstein.

40 Cf. Nel Klaversma and Kiki Hannema, *Jan en Casper Luyken te boek gesteld. Catalogus van de boekencollectie Van Eeghen in het Amsterdams Historisch Museum* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), pp. 42–43 (with illustration).



FIGURE 3.5 Title-page of Johannes Aysma, *Spiegel der sibyllen* (Amsterdam: for the author, 1685). Etching by Jan Luyken. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1896-A-19368-469

zede-kunst [4 vols. The Hague, 1683]). On an altogether different level stand the two greatest philosophers of the seventeenth century, René Descartes and Baruch de Spinoza. Of Descartes, Van Drieborn owned the complete works in Dutch translation (*Alle de werken*, 4 vols. [Amsterdam, 1661]). Of, and on, Spinoza he had much more. There are two copies of the *Tractatus*

theologico-politicus, first published in Amsterdam in 1670 and the Dutch translation of his posthumous works, which included his *Ethics* (*Nagelate schriften* [s.l., 1677]), books that were prohibited by the Dutch authorities upon publication.⁴¹ That there were many, also among the Collegiants, who were highly critical of modern practical philosophy is also obvious from the collection. Van Drieborn had a copy of Barent Joosten Stol and Frans Kuyper's *Den filosofherenden boer ... Handelende van de dwalingen der hedendaagse christenen, filosofhen, cartesianenen en quaakers* (s.l., 1677), printed, according to the imprint, "to open the eyes of the cartesianes and quakers". The reference to the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* on the list is immediately followed by Frans Kuyper's fervently anti-Spinozist *Arcana atheismi revelata* (Rotterdam, 1676), while elsewhere copies are listed of Noel Aubert de Versé's *L'Impie convaincu, ou dissertation contre Spinosa* (Amsterdam, 1684), a collection of other, unidentified French treatises against Spinoza ("Franse tractaten tegen Spinosa"), and the refutation of the *Ethics* by Willem Laurensz van Blyenbergh—a former correspondent of Spinoza—entitled *Wederlegginge van de Ethica of zede-kunst van Benedictus de Spinosa* (Dordrecht, 1682).

Van Drieborn's Library in Perspective

The booklist of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn allows us a rare view into the reading of a Rijnsburg Collegiant around 1700. Especially in the religious and philosophical sphere, the collection is a rich source on heterodox belief and radical and controversial thinking in the Dutch Republic and on the open attitude of Collegiantism towards other convictions and ideas. Although there certainly will have been other collections of this kind in Rijnsburg, so far no information on them has come to light.⁴² In order to put the library into perspective, the collection can therefore best be compared with two other, more or less

41 The first copy of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus* is described as 'Tractatus theologico politicus continens dissertationes aliquot de libertate philosophiae', without any information about the author or year of publication. The second is listed even more briefly, as 'Tractatus theologico-politicus, ab H.T.W.E.O.' The latter edition with the imprint Irenopolis, 1676 and the enigmatic initials 'H.T.W.E.' appears to be extremely rare.

42 It is likely that the above-mentioned Pierre Poiret owned an extensive library; no list or catalogue of it has survived, however. Another Rijnsburg book collection was that of the local Calvinist minister Theophilus Copius (c.1635–1691), which was auctioned off by the Leiden bookseller and auctioneer Johannes du Vivie on 2 April 1691. Two copies of the catalogue are known, but this collection does not lend itself to a meaningful comparison with a Collegiant library like that of Van Drieborn; cf. *Book Sales Catalogues Online* (Leiden: E.J. Brill), vide Copius.

contemporary book collections from elsewhere in the Dutch Republic, the owners of which participated in more or less the same religious and intellectual environment as Van Drieborn.⁴³

The first is that of the Rotterdam surgeon and prominent Mennonite Jacob Ostens (c.1630–1678). Ostens had a somewhat tragic life. His failed idealistic attempts to reunite the various Christian denominations brought him into conflict not only with the orthodox Calvinist establishment, but also with his own Mennonite congregation, while his friendly contacts with Spinoza gave rise to accusations of him being an atheist.⁴⁴ His book collection, of which the 27-page auction catalogue has survived, was substantially larger than that of Van Drieborn—the catalogue issued by the Rotterdam bookseller Isaac Naeranus in 1679 lists more than a thousand titles (besides a human skeleton and a cabinet of curiosities)—which can be explained by the substantial number of texts dealing with his medical profession and his interests in a broad variety of other subjects. But according to Wiep van Bunge, who has analysed the collection, Ostens also was a scholar in his own right; he translated a popular French medical handbook and wrote several theological treatises, while his library shows him to have been well informed about the religious and philosophical currents and controversies of his day.⁴⁵ That Ostens' heart lay with religion is demonstrated by the presence of authors from all denominations, but particularly those with a heterodox conviction, such as the Arminians, Mennonites and Socinians. In this area there are many overlaps with Van Drieborn's collection.

The second library is that of the Amsterdam theologian Johannes Koerbagh (1634–1672). He was the younger brother of the above-mentioned Adriaan Koerbagh, who in 1668 was sentenced in Amsterdam to a ten-year prison term for publishing his radical views on religion and the state. Because of the severe conditions in the Amsterdam *Rasphuis*, where prisoners were subjected to hard forced labour, Adriaan died only a few months later. Johannes escaped this fate

43 The library of Spinoza is omitted from this comparison, as it was much smaller (160 titles) and oriented more towards philosophy. For a reconstruction, based on Spinoza's 1677 estate inventory, see Jacob van Sluis and Tonnis Musschenga, *De boeken van Spinoza* (Groningen: Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit/The Hague: Haags Gemeentearchief, 2009); see also A.C. Klugkist and J. van Sluis (eds.), *Spinoza: Zijn boeken en zijn denken* (Voorschoten: Vereniging Het Spinozahuis, 2010).

44 Wiep van Bunge, 'A Tragic Idealist: Jacob Ostens', *Studia Spinozana*, 4 (1988), pp. 263–279.

45 Wiep van Bunge, 'De bibliotheek van Jacob Ostens: Spinozana en sociniana', *Doopsgezinde bijdragen*, new series, 30 (2004), pp. 125–140. Ostens's library was sold at auction, presumably by the Rotterdam bookseller Isaac Naeranus who also printed the catalogue, in 1679; the auction catalogue has survived in one copy; cf. *Book Sales Catalogues Online*, vide Ostens.

as his suspected complicity in his brother's activities could not be proven, but Adriaan's death was such a blow to him that he withdrew from public life and died three years later.⁴⁶

Johannes had studied philosophy and theology at various Dutch universities in order to become a Calvinist minister, but he forsook this ambition after he and his brother had become involved in Socinian and Spinozist circles in Amsterdam. During his brief life he amassed a library of well over 700 books, possibly also including books which he had inherited from his brother, a collection that was sold after his death in 1673.⁴⁷ The surviving auction catalogue shows Johannes' academic and humanistic background. Most titles are in Latin, to which can be added books in Dutch, French, German, Italian, Greek, Hebrew and even Arabic. Theological books take pride of place with approximately 400 titles, many of them related to Johannes' study for the ministry, including a good number of books against the Catholic church. Collegiant works are notably absent; Socinian texts, on the other hand, are well represented, most notably the impressive eight-volume *Bibliotheca fratrum Polonorum*. This is not surprising in view of Adriaan Koerbagh's statement that Socinianism was the only 'reformed or purified religion'.⁴⁸

Still, this comparison of the book collections of Matthijs van Drieborn, Jacob Ostens and Johannes Koerbagh, however concise it must be, is not very satisfactory, mainly because so little is known about Van Drieborn's education, background and personal convictions. Contrary to Ostens and Koerbagh, he was not a scholar and did not publish anything himself. In fact, it is not even known to what extent he was able to read Latin or was capable of following the tangled theological and philosophical debates of his time. There are, however, indications that the library may have had a broader function than only the individual and private use of its owner. Mention has already been made of the large number of editions of (parts of) the Bible. Why would Van Drieborn have nine editions of the complete Bible in various languages? Why twenty copies of the New Testament, in Greek, Latin, Dutch, and German? Why so many

46 On Johannes and Adriaan Koerbagh, see Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, chapter 10, 'Radicalism and the People: The Brothers Koerbagh', pp. 185–197.

47 Johannes Koerbagh's library was sold at auction by the Amsterdam booksellers Hendrick and Dirk (1) Boom; the auction catalogue, printed by Johannes van Ravesteyn (who had married the Koerbagh brothers' sister Lucia), has survived in one copy (*Book Sales Catalogues Online*, vide Korbag). For an extensive study of the collection, with some cautionary remarks on the reliability of auction catalogues as a primary source, see Cis van Heertum, 'Reading the Career of Johannes Koerbagh: The Auction Catalogue of His Library as a Reflection of His Life', *Lias*, 38:1 (2011), pp. 1–57.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 30, n. 69.

dictionaries and grammars? And why, too, are there multiple copies of quite a few other books in the collection? For example, besides the above-mentioned two copies of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, there are two copies of Geeraert Brandt's *Historie der Reformatie* (Amsterdam, 1671–1674), three of Noel Aubert de Versé's *L'Impie convaincu* (Amsterdam, 1684), two of Henry Hammond's *Praktikale catechismus* (Rotterdam, 1685), two of Lewis Bayly's *De practijcke der godsalicheyt* (many possible editions), five of Simon Episcopius' *xvii. predicatien* (Amsterdam, 1693), and three of Johannes Wtenborgaert's *Onderwysinge in de christelijke religie* (Rotterdam, 1664). Moreover, of one of the Collegiants' most popular spiritual songbooks, the above-mentioned *Lust-hof der zielen*, which was widely used for community singing, no less than four copies are listed. It seems then that Van Drieborn's library was intended to be used by others as well. This suggestion is supported by the fact that in the various rooms in Van Drieborn's house in Rijnsburg there is an abundance of beds, chairs, benches, tables and reading desks, many more than one would expect in the house of a retired elderly couple. Even in the garden shed there were two long tables with accompanying chairs. It is well possible that the De Krogt house, which was no more than a stone's throw away from the Collegiant assembly hall and the *Grote Huis*, also served as a guesthouse *cum* library for those who came to Rijnsburg for study and contemplation.

Whatever the case may be, the death of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn was also the end of his library. Not long after his worldly goods had been inventoried, the book collection was sold at a book sale by the Leiden bookseller Johannes van der Linden in his bookshop on Rapenburg canal, opposite the university. The sale catalogue, regretfully, is not preserved—it would have made for an interesting comparison with the list of books in the inventory, particularly in view of the presence of so many officially prohibited books—nor are we informed about the exact date of the auction, which does not appear to have been advertised in the newspapers, but we do know from the final settlement of the estate in 1716, that the sale had fetched 1,072 guilders and 4 stuivers.⁴⁹ It was the inglorious end of a remarkable collection.

49 ELO, 0700, Inventaris van der archieven van de vrije heerlijkheid Rijnsburg (1503–1978), Archief van het dorpsbestuur, I.B.6.4, Vrijwillige rechtspraak, Akten verleden voor het gerecht van Rijnsburg, Minuten van allerhande instrumenten 1715–1718, 78, nr. 42, ff. 1–43 (17 December 1716) Separation of the estate of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn. The reference to the proceeds of the auction on f. 12v. The total value of the property was valued at 32,188 guilders, 12 *stuivers* and 15 *penningen*.

Sharing Books in Eighteenth-Century Languedoc: The Library of Jean-François Séguier

Laurence Brockliss

Private Libraries as Public Goods

Active membership of the Republic of Letters depended on access to printed books. Whether a citizen of the Republic was a philologist, an antiquarian or an experimental philosopher, he or she—for female members of the virtual state were not unknown—needed to be abreast of what work had been done in the past and was being done in the present in their chosen field, if they were to make an original contribution themselves. Before the eighteenth century, however, there were very few institutional libraries anywhere in Europe where scholars and scientists could find the specialist books and journals they needed. Even in the eighteenth century such learned libraries tended to be located in capital cities or university towns and were not necessarily easily accessible. They were not always open to every citizen of the Republic who wanted to use them, or, if open, only for a short time each week.¹ The very many provincial scholars and scientists therefore could participate positively in the Republic of Letters only if they had their own well-stocked and carefully chosen personal library, or, in the case of those whose purse was limited, had access to a large private library in their local or near-by town which contained the specialist publications they sought. While many inhabitants of even small towns after 1750 had access to circulating or subscription libraries, they catered for the wider reading public and seldom held learned works in the vernacular, let alone in Latin, still the *lingua franca* of much of European science and scholarship.² As has long been understood, the Republic of Letters could not

1 For an overview, see Frédéric Barbier. ‘En France: le privé et le public, ou Qu’est-ce qu’une bibliothèque des Lumières?’, in Frédéric Barbier and Andrea De Pasquale (eds.), *Un’Istituzione dei Lumi: la biblioteca. Teoria, gestione e pratiche biblioteconomiche nell’Europa dei Lumi* (Parma: Museo Bodoniano, 2013), pp. 10–28. For a study of the public libraries in one European capital, see Emmanuelle Chapron, ‘*Ad utilità pubblica*’. *Politique des bibliothèques et pratiques du livre à Florence au XVIII^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 2009).

2 For the literature on ‘community’ libraries in the Anglo-American world, see Mark Towsey and Kyle Roberts, ‘Introduction’, in Mark Towsey and Kyle Roberts (eds.), *Before the Public*

have functioned if affluent citizens, or at least some of them, had not been willing to share their personal libraries with others.

Historians have recognised the importance of the early-modern private library as a source for mapping individual and communal *mentalités* since the time of Daniel Mornet.³ But in the last thirty or forty years, interest has grown considerably as the history of the book has become part of the historical mainstream. On the one hand, a number of the largest private collections have been the subject of lengthy studies.⁴ On the other, historians have set out to map the distribution, size and contents of private libraries in a specific region or among a particular social group.⁵ The current ambitious digital project of Alicia Montoya and her colleagues will take this research one stage further and make it possible at a touch of a button to trace the relative popularity of specific works across a large part of Europe.⁶ To date, however, the focus has been largely on the personal library as a collection of books rather than how it was actually used. Above all, with the notable exception of Mark Towsey and his associates, little work has been done on the private library as a community resource, and next to nothing on the way a publishing member of the

Library. Reading, Community and Identity in the Atlantic World, 1650–1850 (Leiden: Brill, 2018). The standard work is David Allan, *A Nation of Readers: The Lending Library in Georgian England* (London: British Library, 2008). For the continued importance of Latin as the language of science, see Floris Verhaart and Laurence Brockliss (eds.), *The Latin Language and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2023).

- 3 Daniel Mornet, 'Les Enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1850)', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 17 (1910), pp. 449–496.
- 4 E.g. Elisabetta Barile and Rosalba Suriano, *Edizione del testo e identificazione degli esemplari possedati dalla Biblioteca universitaria di Padova. Studio introduttivo di G. Ongaro* (Trieste: Edizione Lint, 1983) on Morgagni's library; Dominique Coq, 'Le Paragon du bibliophile français: le duc de Vallière et sa collection', in Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, vol. 2, *Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789* (Paris: Promodis, 1988), pp. 317–329; Yann Sordet, *L'Amour des livres au siècle des lumières: Pierre Adamoli et ses collections* (Paris: École des chartes, 2001); Philippe Hourcade, *La Bibliothèque du duc de Saint-Simon et son catalogue des manuscrits (1693–1756)* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2010).
- 5 E.g. Bernard Lorenz, *Allgemeinbildung und Fachwissen: deutsche Ärzte und ihre Privatbibliotheken* (Herzengorath: Murken-Altrogge, 1992); Paul Raabe, 'Gelehrtenbibliotheken im Zeitalter der Aufklärung', in Werner Arnold and Peter Vodosek (eds.), *Bibliotheken und Aufklärung* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1988), pp. 103–122.
- 6 Alicia C. Montoya, 'Shifting Perspectives and Moving Targets: From Conceptual Perspectives to Bits of Data in the First Year of the MEDIATE project', in Simon Burrows and Glenn Roe (eds.), *Digitizing Enlightenment: Digital Humanities and the Transformation of Eighteenth-Century Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2020), pp. 195–218.

Republic of Letters shared his learned library with other active citizens.⁷ This is not surprising given the bias of the surviving sources. Printed and manuscript catalogues of personal libraries are legion but diaries, notebooks or correspondence revealing how the owners shared their books with family, friends or local scholars are much less common.

This present chapter examines the accessibility of the personal library of Jean-François Séguier (1704–1784), the leading naturalist and antiquarian in the French Midi in the final decades of the *Ancien Régime*. Although little known today, Séguier in his lifetime was a figure of international importance.⁸ A native of Nîmes, a confessionally-divided city, Séguier had been brought up as a Catholic and originally destined for a career in law. In 1732, however, he had met the wealthy Italian antiquarian and naturalist, Francesco Scipione, marchese di Maffei (1675–1755), when the latter passed through the town on his way north to Paris, and he became his companion and secretary.⁹ For the next four years the pair explored the intellectual and cultural delights of the French capital before embarking on a short visit to England and the United Provinces. They then returned to Maffei's hometown of Verona, where Séguier spent the next nineteen years fostering his own reputation as a naturalist through a number of significant publications, especially on botanical bibliography. By the mid-1750s Séguier's name was known to most of Europe's leading naturalists, including the Swede Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778).¹⁰ When his patron died in 1755, Séguier returned to Nîmes. Now independently wealthy, he was able to spend the last twenty-nine years of his life pursuing his own intellectual interests, looked after by a devoted sister. He acted as secretary to the local academy of science and letters. He became the centre of an epistolary network of some 300 correspondents in Languedoc and beyond.¹¹ He bought a house

7 Mark Towsey, *Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and their Readers in Provincial Scotland* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 47–54. See also April G. Shelford, 'Of Mudfish, Harpsichords and Books: Libraries and Community in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica', in Towsey and Roberts, *Before the Public Library*, pp. 73–97; James J. Caudle, 'Affleck Generations: The Libraries of the Boswells of Auchinleck, 1695–1825', in Towsey and Roberts, *Before the Public Library*, pp. 98–122. Shelford uses a diary to good effect to provide a careful analysis of book-sharing among a group of readers on the fringe of the Republic of Letters; Caudle uses the Boswell papers to examine a learned library but has discovered little about its users outside the immediate family.

8 Gabriel Audisio and François Pugnère (eds.), *Jean-François Séguier: un Nîmois dans l'Europe des Lumières* (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 2005).

9 Presumably Maffei had come to Nîmes to see the Roman antiquities.

10 The pair corresponded between 1745 and 1761, see <http://linnaeus.ci8.net/Letters/letter_list.php> (under Séguier to Linnaeus and Linnaeus to Séguier).

11 Daniel Roche, 'Correspondance et voyage au XVIII^e siècle : le réseau de sociabilités d'un académicien provincial', in Daniel Roche, *Les Républicains des lettres : gens de culture et Lumières au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), pp. 263–280. The correspondence

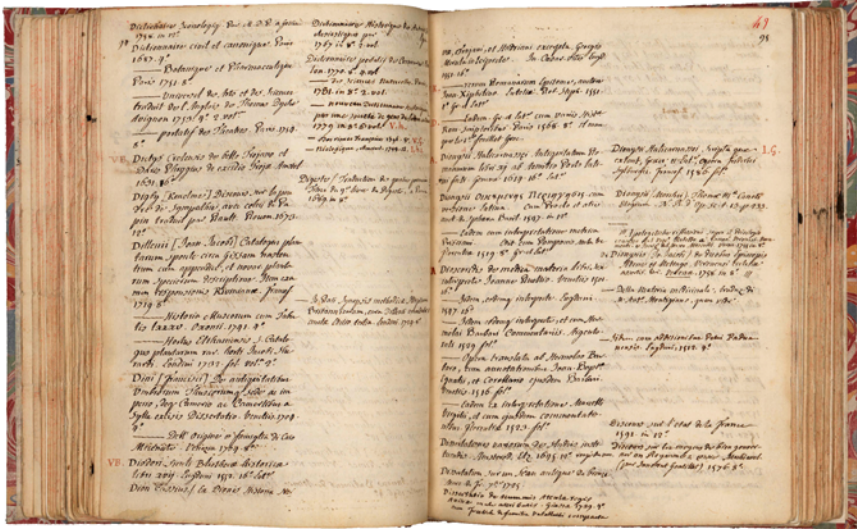


FIGURE 4.1 The library catalogue of J.F. Séguier, opened at the page recording Dillenius's *Historia Muscorum* (1741). The catalogue is organised alphabetically rather than by genres. The right-hand side of the page was kept blank to allow Séguier to insert new acquisitions

and garden where he could display his growing collection of antiquities and exotic plants to a constant stream of local and foreign visitors.¹² And he built up his library (see figure 4.1 page 101).

According to the manuscript catalogue Séguier left on his death, this library contained 6,951 titles.¹³ It was not the largest contemporary library in Languedoc. When Jean-Baptiste-Marie Picquet, marquis de Méjanès (1729–1786) died a few years after the Nîmois at Arles he boasted a collection of 80,000 books.¹⁴ But Séguier's was definitely the largest in the region put

for the most part exists in the Nîmes Bibliothèque Municipale. It contains 3–4,000 letters. They are gradually being published online by the Comité international Séguier: <<https://www.seguier.org/correspondance/correspondance.aspx>> (2,000 letters to date).

12 He entertained 1,402 visitors between 1773 and 1783: see Emmanuelle Chapron, *L'Europe à Nîmes: les carnets de Jean-François Séguier (1732–1783)* (Avignon: Éditions A. Barthélemy, 2008), an introduction to and transcription of his visitors' book.

13 Nîmes, Bibliothèque Municipale (hereafter BM), MS 285, 'Catalogue des livres de J. François Séguier en 1760 et années suivantes'. For an analysis, see Elio Mosele, *Un accademico francese del settecento e la sua biblioteca (Jean-François Séguier 1703–1784)* (Verona: Libreria universitaria editrice, 1981), ch. 3. The catalogue was arranged alphabetically with the right-hand side of each page kept blank to record later additions to the library (see Figure 4.1).

14 Xavier Lavagne, 'Le Marquis de Méjanès et ses livres', in Jolly (ed.), *Les Bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime, 1530–1789*, pp. 257–259.

together by a bibliophile or an *érudit* who was not a member of the titled nobility. Indeed, hardly any active citizens of the Republic of Letters in the south of France had libraries that contained more than 3,000 separate works and one notable botanist, the Dauphinois curé Dominique Chaix (d. 1799) owned only 50.¹⁵ Séguier's library was also resolutely professional. Some 4,000 of the titles reflected his particular intellectual interests and were works on botany, pharmacy, chemistry, agriculture and history and antiquities. The rest were largely classical texts and religious works. The library contained no works of eighteenth-century French literature, except the poems of J.-B. Rousseau, and virtually nothing by the *philosophes* beyond Voltaire's *Henriade* and *Le Siècle de Louis XIV* and Montesquieu's *Grandeur des romains*.

From Séguier's surviving correspondence, it is clear that the Nîmois was happy to give less fortunate *érudits* in the Rhône valley and beyond access to the riches in his library. Moreover, he not only allowed them to consult his books *in situ* but also to borrow them and peruse them at leisure. He published next to nothing himself in the last decades of his life and seems to have seen his role as an elder statesman of the Republic to be to promote the research of his juniors.¹⁶ The next section of this chapter examines the use that one ambitious young citizen of the Republic of Letters was able to make of Séguier's generosity in the final years of the Nîmois' life. The third section explores Séguier's lending policy more broadly and illuminates the difficulties he encountered in lending books at a distance in an age of relatively poor communications. The fact that he continued to do so despite many trials and tribulations is a testament to his desire to oil the wheels of local scholarship and science. The fourth and final section offers—albeit limited—evidence for the ubiquity of the practice of sharing books in eighteenth-century Languedoc. It concludes by posing but not solving the question of whether the practice became redundant in the years following the French Revolution.

A Citizen in Need

At some time in the summer of 1772 a parvenu member of the Republic of Letters of Montpellier paid a visit to a fellow citizen in the neighbouring city

15 Laurence Brockliss, *Calvet's Web. Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 293–297.

16 His one significant publication after he returned to Nîmes was his *Dissertation sur l'ancienne inscription de la maison-carrée de Nîmes* (Paris: N.M. Tilliard, 1759), where he successfully decoded from the rivet holes the inscription on the pediment of the city's Roman temple.

of Nîmes, some fifty kilometres away. The inhabitant of Montpellier was a physician called Pierre-Joseph Amoreux (1741–1824) who had decided a few years before to abandon the practice of medicine and devote his life to natural history and agronomy. His father, Guillaume (1714–1790), was one of the leading naturalists in Languedoc, and thanks to paternal influence Pierre-Joseph had been elected a member of the Montpellier Société royale des sciences as early as 1763.¹⁷ In the interim, though, he had done little that would suggest he would become an important figure in the Republic of Letters in turn. Apart from a couple of minor contributions to the *Journal de médecine, chirurgie et pharmacie*, his only claim to fame were two short books on veterinary medicine published anonymously in 1771 and 1772 at the behest of the mayor of Montpellier, Jean-Antoine Cambacérès (1715–1801), who wanted to establish a veterinary school in the town.¹⁸ The Nîmois on whom Amoreux called, on the other hand, was a citizen of a very different kind. As has been already established, Jean-François Séguier was an elder statesman of the Republic with a large and accessible library.

There is no way of knowing when exactly Amoreux and Séguier met in the summer of 1772 or how long the meeting lasted. The visit is recorded only in a letter the former wrote to the latter on 17 October, sometime after his return to Montpellier.¹⁹ Nor is it possible to say whether the visit was pre-arranged or Amoreux arrived unannounced having travelled to Nîmes to see his sister, a nun in a convent in the city, or for other reasons.²⁰ But two things are certain. First, Amoreux and Séguier were already known to one another. Amoreux *père* had been in contact with Séguier even before the latter returned to France. In anticipation of his return, Guillaume had written to Séguier's brother in Nîmes, the abbé Joseph Maximilien (1716–1776), enquiring if Jean-François, once he had repatriated his natural-history collection, might be willing to exchange doubles of the fossil specimens he had collected in Italy.²¹ Thereafter the two naturalists kept in touch at least sporadically and by the spring of 1772, if not before, Pierre-Joseph had also been drawn into the Nîmois' correspondence

17 For his life and works, see Laurence Brockliss (ed.), *From Provincial Savant to Parisian Naturalist: The Recollections of Pierre-Joseph Amoreux (1741–1824)* (Oxford: Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment, 2017).

18 Brockliss, *Provincial Savant*, p. 151. A veterinary school had been founded a few years before at Lyon. The mayor was the father of Napoleon's minister.

19 Nîmes, BM, MS 136, f. 63.

20 Magdeleine Amoreux (d. 1815) was a member of the teaching order of the Soeurs de l'Enfant-Jésus.

21 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), MS Nouvelles acquisitions françaises (hereafter NAF) 6573, ff. 53r–54v: Séguier to Amoreux *père*, 13 Dec. 1755.

web and was assisting him in his bibliographical research. A letter written by Pierre-Joseph to Séguier on 17 April 1772 reveals that he had been trawling the Montpellier book shops hunting, among other things, for the *Traité de l'exploitation des mines* by Antoine Grimoald Monnet (1734–1817).²² Secondly, whatever else Pierre-Joseph and Séguier talked about during Amoreux's visit, the conversation must have touched on Amoreux's recent publications on veterinary medicine and his future plans. In the letter of 17 October the young naturalist thanked the Nîmois profusely for the benefits he had garnered from "your instructive conversations" and those that would accrue in the future "if I had the liberty to rummage in your rich library".²³ Séguier was thanked too for various bibliographical tips and the present of a German bookseller's catalogue which contained a number of works Amoreux was unaware of. In return Amoreux forwarded copies of his own printed works which "you have appeared to want from me".²⁴ Three days later Séguier replied thanking Amoreux for his follow-up missive and the gifts of his works to date, especially for the volumes on veterinary medicine which he found extremely informative.²⁵ He also recalled a promise he had made the young naturalist "to give you the list of some dissertations and small works which deal with the veterinary art and that I have in my library. I collected them in Italy when I translated the Dijon physician, Raudot's *Dissertation sur la maladie des bestiaux*".²⁶ The recollection made sense only if Séguier had informed Amoreux during his visit that he himself had developed a precocious enthusiasm for veterinary medicine while in Italy and had built up a good collection of books on the subject that the young naturalist might want to learn more about.

Amoreux's interest in learning what Séguier had in his library on veterinary medicine was understandable. Amoreux at this stage had no collection of books of his own: he still lived in the parental home. Admittedly, he had access to a number of local libraries. Montpellier was one of the leading medical centres in Europe, and there were many physicians in the city, including his

22 Nîmes, BM, MS 136, f. 61.

23 "[V]os instructives conversations"; "[S]i j'avois la liberté de fouiller dans votre riche bibliothèque".

24 "[V]ous m'avez paru desirer".

25 Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 112–113.

26 "[D]e vous donner la liste de quelques dissertations et petits ouvrages qui ont traité a la veterinaire et que j'ai dans mon cabinet de livres. Je les ramassai lorque je fis en Italie une traduction de la *Dissertation sur la maladie des bestiaux* par M. Raudot medecin de Dijon." In 1748 Séguier had published an Italian translation of Pierre Raudot's *Dissertation sur la maladie épidémique des bestiaux* (Dijon: François Desventes, 1745).

own father, with sizeable personal libraries.²⁷ Moreover, from the inauguration of the city's first public medical library in 1768, he and his father had been the librarians.²⁸ But, that said, veterinary medicine was a new branch of the art—hence Cambacérès's anxiety that a school should be established in the country's premier medical city—and it was highly unlikely that Guillaume or any of the family's medical friends had many books on the subject. The first edition of Pierre-Joseph's veterinary works must have been based on slim pickings. Séguier's large library might contain untold riches. It can be imagined that Amoureux waited impatiently for the letter of 20 October and perused eagerly the list of twenty pamphlets and books in Latin, Italian and French it contained. He must have been even more delighted when he learnt that Séguier was not just sending him a catalogue. "I have all the works on the list I give to you and am happy to lend them to you when they may be of use."²⁹ Indeed, he would have been willing to give Amoureux a copy of his own translation of Raudot. Unfortunately, he only had one copy left, though it might be possible to get hold of the one he had sent off some time before to another local citizen of the Republic of Letters, the abbé Pierre-Augustin Boissier de Sauvages (1710–1795).³⁰

Amoureux availed himself of Séguier's generous offer in a letter of 18 December. "You offer me them [the books] with such good heart that I don't hesitate to ask you to send them to me." He promised they would come to no harm. "Don't worry about getting your books back. I am your slave and am too well aware of how much they cost not to be careful about their preservation."³¹ In a reply ten days later Séguier announced he had complied with the request

27 Laurence Brockliss, 'Medical Education and Centres of Medical Excellence in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Towards an Identification', in Ole Peter Grell, Andrew Cunningham and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds.), *Centres of Medical Excellence? Medical Travel and Education in Europe, 1500–1789* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 17–46; Hélène Berlan, *Faire sa médecine au XVIII^e siècle. Recrutement et devenir professionnel des étudiants montpelliérains (1707–1789)* (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2013).

28 The library was situated in the city's Hôtel-Dieu Saint-Eloy and contained the medical books of the professor Henri Haguénot (1687–1775): Brockliss, *Amoureux*, p. 149. According to the catalogue, it comprised only 472 titles: Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier, H550.

29 "J'ai tous les ouvrages dont je vous donne ici la liste, que je vous prêterai bien volontiers lorsqu'ils pourront vous être utiles."

30 Another naturalist and brother of the Montpellier medical professor, François Boissier de Sauvages (1706–1767), who is remembered as the father of nosology.

31 "Vous me les offrés avec tant de cordialité que je n'hésite point à vous prier de me les envoyer tous." "Ne soyez nullement en peine sur l'expatriation de vos livres, j'en suis esclave et sçais assés ce qu'ils coustent pour veiller à leur conservation." BM Nîmes MS 136, f. 69.

and the books were on their way.³² The loan was to be the first of many. Two years later Amoreux finally decided how he was going to make a name for himself in the wider Republic of Letters: he would join the ranks of those participating in the annual prize-essay competitions sponsored by Europe's growing number of academies of science, arts and letters.³³ For the next sixteen years until the French Revolution largely put a stop to the activities of the country's learned societies, Amoreux entered at least two or three contests a year, answering mainly questions on botany, agronomy and hygiene and frequently meeting with success. He was crowned the winner or named the runner-up on eleven occasions.³⁴ As his approach was usually bibliographic—he sought to impress the judges by his extensive knowledge of the secondary literature on any topic—he continually turned to Séguier for help. Séguier, until his death in 1784, was always ready to oblige.

The very first prize essay that Amoreux wrote was in response to the question set by the Dijon Academy for 1775: "What are the advantages that morals have drawn from public exercises and games among the different peoples and in the different times they have been in use?"³⁵ Having made up his mind to try his luck when the contest was announced the year before, Amoreux wrote to Séguier asking him what books he possessed on the subject.³⁶ Séguier immediately replied offering his assistance.³⁷ The Nîmois confessed his library was not well-stocked in that regard. "The only books I have on public entertainments are those that deal with the question whether such spectacles and the modern theatre are permitted to Christians."³⁸ He particularly lacked Meursius's book on the *orchestra* which Amoreux had specifically enquired about and that he

32 Paris, BnF, NAF 6571, ff. 114–117: Séguier to Amoreux 28 Dec 1772.

33 Jeremy L. Caradonna, *The Enlightenment in Practice: academic prize contests and intellectual culture, 1670–1794* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012). On the growth of the learned academies, see James E. McClellan III, *Science Reorganised: scientific societies in the eighteenth century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), and Daniel Roche, *Le Siècle des Lumières en province: académies et académiciens provinciaux, 1680–1789* (2 vols., Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1978).

34 1784 was his *annus mirabilis*. For a discussion of his endeavours, see Brockliss, *Provincial Savant*, pp. 54–64. His successes and failures can be followed year by year in his autobiography: *ibid.*, pp. 149–179, *passim*. For a list of his entries, see Montpellier, BM, MS 90.

35 "Quels sont les avantages que les moeurs ont retiré des exercices et des jeux publics, chez les différens peuples et dans les différens temps où ils ont été en usage?"

36 Nîmes, BM, MS 136, f. 74r: Amoreux to Séguier, 27 April 1774. He did not say why he wanted the information.

37 Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, f. 138: Séguier to Amoreux, 10 May 1774.

38 "Je n'ai pas d'autres ouvrages sur les spectacles publics que ceux qui traitent la question si les spectacles, le Theatre moderne, est permis aux Chretiens."

had failed to find anywhere in Nîmes.³⁹ Still he was happy to forward what books he had, including the recent *De arte gymnastica nova* of Boerner, which he was sure Amoreux would be pleased to have to hand.⁴⁰ Just as he was finishing the letter, he also remembered that he had Boulenger's work on the theatre, so added that to the packet.⁴¹ Amoreux was over the moon with Séguier's generosity, as he would be on many future occasions. If only he were fortunate enough to live in the same town as his benefactor so that he could mine the resources of Séguier's mind and library at the drop of a hat.

By the outbreak of the French Revolution Amoreux was a well-known figure not just in the French but in the European Republic of Letters. His successful prize essays which were subsequently printed found their way all over the continent.⁴² Séguier's library played an essential part in his rise to fame. Without the resources to go off to Paris and pursue his bibliographical researches in the King's library or the other large collections open to the public in the capital, Amoreux would never have had the success he did if he had not had access to Séguier's books. To be sure, Séguier's generosity was tempered with self-interest. In return for lending Amoreux what he needed, Séguier expected the naturalist to act as his agent in Montpellier and continue performing the petty services he was already engaged in on the Nîmois' behalf in 1772. But on balance, there was no doubt which of the two got the better part of the deal.⁴³

Lending Books: Problems and Hazards

Amoreux was not the only member of the Republic of Letters in the Midi to benefit from Séguier's willingness for his private library to be used as a public resource. From Séguier's voluminous correspondence, it is clear that his large collection was an informal circulating library.⁴⁴ Many, even of his most precious

39 Johannes Meursius, *Orchestra sive de saltationibus veterum* (Lyon: Godefridus Basson, 1618). USTC 1011569.

40 Friedrich Boerner (1721–1763), dissertation, Helmstedt 1748.

41 Jules-César Boulenger, *De Theatro ludisque scenicis libri duo* (Troyes: P. Chevillot, 1603). USTC 6802119.

42 For copies in British Libraries, search the union catalogue Library Hub Discover, available online at <<https://discover.libraryhub.jisc.ac.uk/>> *sub nomine*.

43 See Laurence Brockliss, 'Déséquilibre mais mutuellement profitable. La correspondance entre Jean-François Séguier et Pierre-Joseph Amoreux', in Emmanuelle Chapron and François Pugnère (eds.), *Écriture épistolaire et production des savoirs au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Garnier, 2019), pp. 203–221.

44 This section relies heavily but not exclusively on the Amoreux-Séguier correspondence. It is particularly rich because we have both sides.

books, were frequently on the move. In Montpellier alone there were at least a further five naturalists who benefited from his kindness: Amoreux's father, Guillaume; the explorer and zoologist Jean-Guillaume Bruguière (1740–1798); the ornithologist Louis-Henri Pascal de Saint-Félix, baron de Saint-Faugères;⁴⁵ a naturalist physician called Roussel;⁴⁶ and two of Séguier's long-term correspondents, the Linnaean botanists Pierre Cusson (1727–1783) and Antoine Gouan (1733–1821).⁴⁷ It is evident too from the correspondence that Séguier was lending out his books long before he offered his services to Pierre-Joseph. The first book he is known to have lent Gouan, for instance, was in 1760, when he sent the then novice naturalist his copy of Gronovius's extremely important *Museum Ichthyologicum*, which had only been published six years before.⁴⁸

For Séguier to keep even a modest proportion of his collection in circulation at any one time was a complex logistical exercise. It was not a simple case of sending a desired volume off in the post and the beneficiary returning it by the same route. There was a state-run postal service for letters in eighteenth-century France but not for parcels. Small packages could be entrusted to private carters who carried loads between local towns but their services were irregular and insecure. The favoured method used by both Séguier and those who borrowed his books was to wait until a reliable third party could be found who was going in the right direction and was willing to act as a postman. The books that Séguier sent to Amoreux were often passed initially to the latter's sister who looked after them until a member of her order or someone working on its behalf could take them to Montpellier. The same route was used for returning the books. But Séguier would use any method to hand. In March 1774 he entrusted a parcel for Amoreux to the care of a Swiss officer named Escher who was travelling to Montpellier from Nîmes. Two months later he sent the books on physical education via a Montpellier apothecary called Madame Peyre who was returning home.⁴⁹ Recourse to such ad hoc arrangements meant that books could not always be sent off quickly or took a long time to

45 Librarian of the Montpellier academy, 1779–1793.

46 He was the son of Jacques-Jérémie Roussel de Rocquencourt (1712–1776), a financier and creator of the gardens of La Celle-Saint Cloud at Marly outside Paris.

47 Gouan was the foremost Linnaean in France in the second half of the eighteenth century with a European reputation: see Pascal Duris, *La Linné et la France (1780–1850)* (Geneva: Droz, 1993), *passim* (esp. ch. 3).

48 London, British Library (hereafter BL), Additional (hereafter Add.) MS 22935, ff. 268–269: Séguier to Gouan, 18 June 1760. Laurens Theodoor Gronovius (1730–1777), *Museum ichthyologicum* (Leiden: T. Haak, 1754–1756). The work described 200 species of fish. 152 of Gouan's letters to Séguier survive.

49 Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 134–135 and 138: Séguier to Amoreux, 1 March and 10 May 1774. Mme Peyre was presumably the wife of the apothecary Antoine-Pierre Peyre (1721–1795) who became a member of the Montpellier academy.

reach their destination. When Séguier was sending books further afield than Montpellier they could take weeks and sometimes months to reach their destination. Another naturalist who benefited from Séguier's largesse was the abbé Pierre-André Pourret (1754–1818) who lived in Narbonne, about 130 kilometres from Nîmes.⁵⁰ Getting a book to him took forethought and planning on both sides, as a letter written by Séguier to Amoureux in late 1775 revealed.

I am sending you a parcel wrapped in an oil cloth. Please be good enough to take off the oil cloth and give the contents to the physician René the Younger. Ask him to have it forwarded to Narbonne to the abbé Pourret, a beneficed clergyman in that town. René has agreed to take it in and look after it until he finds an opportunity to send it on. There is a cousin of the clergyman who will soon come to Montpellier to take his doctor's degree in medicine. This cousin is known to René and he could be entrusted with the parcel so it doesn't get lost en route.⁵¹

A lot of the time Séguier cannot have known where his books actually were and how soon they might be returned. The problem was compounded by the fact that some borrowers kept hold of them for a long time, none more so than the Montpellier botanist Pierre Cusson, who was a serial offender. In May 1775 Amoureux had received an earlier letter from Séguier seeking his assistance in retrieving a number of books that Cusson had retained for more than three years and was ignoring requests to return.⁵² "I don't know anyone more negligent than he is in returning books lent to him."⁵³ The books in question included several valuable folios, among which were two volumes of Ray's *Historia plantarum* (London, 1686–1704).⁵⁴ Séguier wanted them back and counted on Amoureux's friendship with the Montpellier Linnaean to do the trick: "As his

50 After the Revolution, Pourret moved to Madrid where he began an exhaustive study of Spanish flora: see Louis Galibert, *Biographie de Pierre-André Pourret né à Narbonne en 1754, mort à Santiago de Galice en 1818* (Narbonne: Emmanuel Caillard, 1856).

51 "Je vous envoie un paquet de toile cirée, aiés la bonté d'en ôter la toile cirée et de le faire remettre à M. René le Cadet Doct. en médecine en le priant de vouloir bien le faire passer à Narbonne à M. l'abbé Pourret, Bénéficier dans cette ville, qui me marque qu'il voudra bien le recevoir et en avoir soin jusqu'à ce qu'il trouve quelque occasion de l'envoyer à sa destination. Il y a un cousin de ce Bénéficier qui doit venir bientôt à Montpellier pour s'y faire docteur en médecine; ce cousin est connu de M. René et il pourrait s'en charger afin qu'il ne s'égarât pas en route." BM Montpellier (médiathèque Emile Zola), MS 384, pièce 6: Séguier to Amoureux, 8 Nov. 1775. I owe the transcription of this letter to François Pugnère.

52 Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 148–149: 12 May 1775.

53 "Je ne connois pas de personnes qui soient plus negligent que lui a renvoyer les livres qu'on lui prete."

54 John Ray (1627–1705): a leading seventeenth-century botanical taxonomist.

pupil you have the licence to reproach him about it.”⁵⁵ Amoureux did as he was asked but was only partially successful. In June he reported the return of three of the books that Séguier sought. “Notre paresseux docteur” [Our lazy doctor] had asked that he be allowed to keep the others a little longer.⁵⁶ The recovered books were back with their owner by 4 July.⁵⁷ When the others were restored cannot be traced. Nonetheless, Séguier continued to lend books to Cusson on request. Only a few months later he allowed Cusson to borrow his copy of Burman’s *Decades des plantes africaines*.⁵⁸ Cusson, however, made no effort to return it quickly and show he had turned over a new leaf. To Séguier’s exasperation it was still in his hands in January 1776 when he had had the work for five months. This was too much, he complained to Amoureux. At his age when time was pressing, he had to have access to his own books “when I want to consult them and make use of them.”⁵⁹ Amoureux was again asked to force the issue and had successfully prised the Burman from Cusson’s hands by the end of the May. The two-volume work had been left at his family home on the morning of the 29th. Even then all was not well. The Burman had been returned without a wrapper which was presumably not how he had received it from Séguier and Amoureux could not guarantee when it would reach Nîmes.

I have a trustworthy carrier who leaves tomorrow but I’m not sure if the person in question will want to take the parcel. I will note this on the back of this letter if it’s not possible. At the very least I am certain the carrier will take the letter plus a small package and letter that Bruguière has asked me to pass on to you three days ago.⁶⁰

55 “Comme son disciple vous aves la permission de lui en faire des reproches.” As a medical student at Montpellier, Amoureux had been given private lessons by Cusson: Brockliss, *Provincial Savant*, pp. 128 and 132–133.

56 Nîmes, BM, MS 136, f. 83r: Amoureux to Séguier, 12 June 1775.

57 Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 151–152: Séguier to Amoureux, 4 July 1775.

58 Johannes Burman (1706–1779), *Rariorum Africanarum plantarum decas* (Amsterdam: H. Boussière, 1738–1739). Burman was an expert on the plants of the Dutch Cape Colony. The work must have been lent in August at the latest. In early September Séguier visited Cusson at Nîmes and saw the book in his house: NAF 6571, ff. 153–154: Séguier to Amoureux, 4 Sept. 1775.

59 “[S]i je veux les consulter et m’en servir.”

60 “J’ai une commodité très sûre qui part demain mais je suis incertain si elle voudra se charger de ce paquet, ce que je marquerai au dos de la lettre si cela ne se peut, mais je doute nullement qu’on veuille bien se charger de ma lettre et d’un petit paquet que m’a remis pour vous Monsieur Bruguière il y a trois jours et une lettre avec.” Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 155–158 and 161–164: Séguier to Amoureux, 9 Nov. and 25 Nov 1775 and 6 Jan. 1776 and 10 April 1776; Nîmes, BM, MS 306, f. 92r: Amoureux to Séguier, 29 May 1776.

There were occasions too when Séguier feared he had lost one of his precious books for good. In 1781 he was particularly exercised by the fate of his copy of Dillenius's *Historia Muscorum*. Johann Jacob Dillenius (1684–1747) was a German botanist who became the first Sherardian professor of botany at Oxford and was acknowledged as Europe's primary authority on mosses and the so-called lower plants. His work on the subject, published at Oxford in 1741 by the university press, contained 576 pages of Latin text and 85 plates, all drawn and engraved by the author. It was expensive—it cost a guinea (or about 26 French *livres*); rare—only 250 copies were published; and judged one of the most beautiful works of natural history of the eighteenth century.⁶¹ A translation of the work into English was printed in London in 1768 but it was the first edition that naturalists coveted and that Séguier owned.⁶² (See Figure 4.1) He had probably acquired the book directly from England through the services of friends he had made during his short visit to the country with Maffei in 1736, and it is very likely that no other naturalist in Languedoc owned a copy.⁶³ Certainly it was in great demand and often out of his library. In 1768 it was borrowed by the Montpellier naturalist Roussel.⁶⁴ In 1777 it was sought by Pourret.⁶⁵ And in March 1781 it was dispatched to Pierre-Joseph Amoreux with instructions that it be returned only through the safest channels.

My dear sir, Sunday last I sent your father the 1741 quarto edition of Dillenius's *Historia Muscorum*. This is an extremely precious book which is very dear to me, and I begged him to tell you how pleased I was to lend it to you just like all my other books. ... When you send back the Dillenius, only entrust it to people who are absolutely reliable and will take perfect care of it.⁶⁶

61 To explore this work see <<https://herbaria.plants.ox.ac.uk/bol/historiamuscorum>> (accessed 5 June 2019).

62 Nîmes, BM, MS 285, f. 48v (library catalogue). He also sought to obtain the English translation but does not seem to have succeeded: see Nîmes, BM, MS 312, ff. 148–149; Piestre and Cormon (Lyon booksellers) to Séguier, 22 Nov. 1783. I owe this reference to François Pugnère.

63 Sadly the only part of Séguier's correspondence with England that survives are the letters he wrote to John Strange in London from 1768 to 1772. Strange was definitely buying books on his behalf. See London, BL, Egerton MS 1981, ff. 33–47. John Strange (1732–1799) was a geologist and archaeologist.

64 London, BL, Add. MS 22935, f. 284: Séguier to Gouan, 22 Oct. 1768.

65 Paris, BnF, NAF 6569, ff. 70–71: Pourret to Séguier, 14 Oct. 1777.

66 "Mon cher Monsieur, je remis dimanche dernier à Monsieur votre père le volume de l'*historia muscorum* Dillenii, Oxonii, 1741 4°, livre extrêmement précieux dont je fais un cas infini et je le priaï de vous dire que je me faisais un plaisir de vous le prêter, de même que

It was in the Amoureux household at Montpellier that the book was seen by another naturalist, the abbé Jean-Jacques Duvernoy (1709–1805), who was paying a visit to the town. The abbé was at that date a little-known figure in the Republic of Letters in the Midi who lived with the marquis de Fourquevaux on the aristocrat's estates outside Toulouse and was employed as his botanical factotum. Using the fact that he hailed from Montpellier and knew Amoureux *père*, he had struck up a correspondence with the son in 1774 and used him as a conduit to furnish the library and plant collection of his noble master. Duvernoy expected rapid service. In May 1775 the marquis wanted a number of works by Linnaeus and Pierre-Joseph was given his marching orders.

[W]ith luck you will find some of them at Montpellier. Others you will kindly have sent to us from Stockholm, Holland or Strasbourg via Lyon, and they must always be attractive editions. ... If you can't find everything we would expect to be at Montpellier, please be good enough to purchase what you can at once rather than waiting. We prefer stitched books, if there's a choice. It should be easy enough to get what isn't to be found at Montpellier from elsewhere: you are in a land of plenty. We are in a real hurry for these books. Knowing your readiness to oblige your friends and fulfil their requests quickly, I hope we will receive the first package within a fortnight.⁶⁷

Not surprisingly, Pierre-Joseph soon tired of the peremptory tone and the correspondence appears to have ground to a halt after a couple of years.⁶⁸ But Duvernoy must have maintained occasional contact with the Amoureux family thereafter or his presence in their home in the spring of 1781 is inexplicable.

tous les autres livres que je possède ... Lorsque vous renverrez le Dillenius, ne le confiez qu'à des personnes extrêmement sûres et qui en aient tous les soins possibles." Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, f. 221r; Séguier to Pierre-Joseph Amoureux, 17 March 1781. For its return, see Nîmes, BM, MS 306, f. 122r; Amoureux to Séguier, 21 May 1781.

67 "[V]ous en trouverez heureusement une partie à Montpellier. L'autre, il faudra avoir la bonté de nous la faire venir de Stockolm, Hollande ou Strasbourg par la voye de Lyon, mais que ce soit toujours de jolies editions. ... Si vous ne reussissez pas à trouver le tout à Montpellier, ayez s'il vous plait la bonté de prendre en attendant et tout de suite tout ce qui s'y rencontra; nous preferions ces ouvrages brochés s'il etoit permis de choisir [;] et pour ceux qui n'y seront pas, il vous sera aise de les faire venir d'ailleurs: vous êtes en pays de ressources pour cela. Nous sommes extremement pressés à cet egard, et persuadé comme je le suis de votre zele et de votre exactitude à obliger vos amis, j'espere que nous recevrons le 1^{er} envoy au moins dans la quinzaine." Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6570, ff. 135r–36v; Duvernoy to Amoureux, 21 July 1775.

68 There are no extant letters between the two from March 1776 to July 1783.

Amoureux also still felt kindly enough towards the importunate abbé to act as a conduit when Duvernoy wrote to Séguier in June seeking the Nîmois' advice on some cryptogam specimens that he had collected.⁶⁹ Two months later Duvernoy turned up on Séguier's doorstep and asked if he could take the Dillenius with him while he hunted for fossils in the Vigan, today on the southern edge of the Cévennes national park. Despite his being at best a casual acquaintance, Séguier agreed and the abbé went off on his excursion carrying the precious volume.⁷⁰ By November, however, he regretted his decision and wrote to Pierre-Joseph in a panic.

On 13 September last I had a visit from your acquaintance the abbé Du Vernoy. He said he was off to the Vigan to stay with Madame de Régneric and from there to go walking in the local mountains, such as the Esperou and the Aigoual, looking for mosses and cryptogams. While at Montpellier he had seen Dillenius's *Historia Muscorum* when I sent it to you. He importuned me to let him take it with him on his expedition which was to last three months. I couldn't refuse. He promised to pass through here on his return and give me the book back. A few days after he had left, I was told that he had the intention of going to Paris as soon as he had finished his expedition. I wouldn't like the Dillenius, which you know means a great deal to me, to go so very far away. So I'm asking you, just between the two of us, to tell me if I can completely rely on his word and if there is any risk to him having the book. Calm my fears and tell me clearly how I must go about finding this man of whom I have no news. I await your earliest reply by return of post so that I can write to Madame de Régneric in the Vigan, who is a relative, in order to have some information.⁷¹

69 Nîmes, BM, MS 94, f. 83: Duvernoy to Séguier, 6 July 1781 (Duvernoy's thanks for Séguier's reply: the original letter no longer exists). Available online at <<https://www.seguier.org/1544/>> (accessed 10 June 2019).

70 Chapron, *L'Europe à Nîmes*, pp. 103 and 144 (notes).

71 "Je vis ici le 13e 7bre dernier Mr l'abbé Du Vernoy que vous connoïés, qui s'en aloit, me dit-il, au Vigan chès Me de Régneric, et de là pour parcourir les montagnes des environs, telles que l'Esperou et l'Aigoual pour y chercher des mousses et les plantes cryptogamiques. Il avoit vu à Montpellier le *Dillenius Historia Muscorum* lorsque je vous l'envoyai. Il me le demanda avec embressement pour s'en servir dans sa tournée qui devoit etre environ trois mois. Je ne puis me refuser de lui le confier. Il me promit de repasser ici a son retour, et de me le rendre alors. Peu de jours apres qu'il fut parti, on me dit qu'il avoit desseïn de s'en aller à Paris apres avoir fini sa tournée. Je ne voudrois pas que le Dillenius, qui comme vous savvés me tient extremement a cœur, s'eloignat si fort de moi. Ainsi je vous prie de me dire de vous à moi, si je puis me fier entierement a ses promesses, et si cet ouvrage ne risque rien entre ses mains. Calmés mon inquietude et dites moi clairement

In the event, Duvernoy returned the book and the pair kept in touch for the next few years until Séguier died. But it is not difficult to feel the angst that the ageing naturalist had felt for a couple of months while the book's fortunes were unclear. Nor can this have been the only time that his generosity led to heartache.

Exception or the Rule

Enough has been said to show that Séguier's large library was a significant resource for his fellow naturalists and antiquarians in Languedoc. What remains to be established is whether his readiness to allow others, not just to access but to borrow his books, often for long periods of time, was commonplace in the eighteenth-century Republic of Letters in the Midi or *sui generis*. As a social practice, it made particularly good sense in Languedoc in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. The region boasted several subscription libraries where members could read newspapers and find the latest novels.⁷² But there were no public research libraries where scholars could peruse the books that they lacked in their own collections. Throughout the Midi as a whole, apart from the medical library at Montpellier mentioned above, the sole public library which existed at that date as a research tool was at Carpentras on the other side of the Rhône where one had been established by Bishop Malachie d'Inguibert (1683–1757) in 1745 out of his own extensive collection.⁷³ The eighteenth-century learned academies in Languedoc—at Arles, Nîmes, Montpellier, Béziers, Montauban and Toulouse—would have had their own libraries and presumably allowed access to those who were not members, but they were not necessarily well stocked or easy to reach for

comment je dois m'y prendre pour retrouver ce Mr dont je n'ai aucune nouvelle. J'attends votre réponse au plutôt par le courrier pour en écrire par le Vigan à Made de Régneric ma parente afin d'en avoir quelque renseignement." Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 225r–226v: Séguier to Amoureux, 4 Nov. 1781. For Amoureux's reply on 12 Nov, Nîmes, BM, MS 306 f. 125r.

72 They were usually run by printer booksellers. Subscribers would pay the bookseller an annual fee to read journals and books *in situ*. They could not be borrowed.

73 Henri Dubled, 'La Bibliothèque Inguibertine de Carpentras', *Revue française d'histoire du livre*, 5 (1973), pp. 35–85. Séguier corresponded regularly with its librarian, the abbé Joseph-Dominique Fabre de Saint-Véran (1733–1812). The library contained the correspondence of the great Peiresc. Initially it had 25,000 volumes and double that by 1810. A public library had been set up at Aix-en-Provence in 1705 but it had all but disappeared by 1750: Jean Stouff, 'Les bibliothèques publiques d'Aix-en-Provence au XVIII^e siècle', *Annales du Midi*, 239 (2002), pp. 293–317.

those not living in the town.⁷⁴ The two universities at Montpellier and Toulouse and most of the larger secondary schools in the area, known as the *collèges de plein exercice*, which taught philosophy as well as the Latin and Greek humanities, would also have had some sort of library, but they would seldom have had a good collection of up-to-date works in experimental philosophy and natural history, except where one of the teachers was an active member of the Republic of Letters.⁷⁵ This would have been equally true of the handful of large monastic libraries. Unless citizens of the Republic in Languedoc passed their books around, many scholars with a limited budget and an inability to travel far beyond their home, let alone to Paris, would have found progress in their research constantly impeded by lack of information. Many citizens were relatively immobile due to infirmity, age or professional commitments: most were lawyers, medics or priests who could only infrequently leave their clients or flock in the lurch.⁷⁶ Sharing books, furthermore, would have allowed citizens of the Republic to rationalise their book-buying and concentrate on building up a collection that reflected their specialist interests of the moment. Otherwise they would all have had to be generalists, buying books that covered the gamut of human knowledge in case they suddenly needed to immerse themselves in another genre. But if book-sharing appears logical, it does not necessarily mean that it was widely practised. Books are aesthetic as well as functional objects, and scholars, especially those who had built a library from scratch, might have been very reluctant to let their 'children' out of their sight, whatever the demands of civic duty.

74 The library of the Montpellier academy was almost certainly the best equipped. It was predominantly a science library for the academy, unlike the others in provincial France, did not include the arts and belles-lettres in its remit. It had a collection of 2,500 to 3,000 volumes by the end of the eighteenth century. Available online at <<https://www.ac-sciences-lettres-montpellier.fr/sources/index.php?page=Bibliotheque>> (accessed 5 June 2019).

75 For brief notices on the individual colleges, see Marie-Madeleine Compère and Dominique Julia, *Les Collèges français 16e–18e siècles. Répertoire 1—France du Midi* (Paris: Institut national de recherche pédagogique/Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1984): alphabetically listed. The notices occasionally give information about the libraries. Several members of the Republic of Letters in Languedoc were schoolmasters, notably the electrical philosopher, the abbé Pierre-Nicolas Bertholon (1741–1800), who taught at the Doctrinaires' college at Béziers and was one of Séguier's correspondents.

76 Amoureux was fortunate in that he was able to give up medical practice at an early age and concentrate on his intellectual interests. He on the other hand was very much an arm-chair naturalist and seldom travelled far from Montpellier in between a visit to Paris in the mid-1760s and the French Revolution, even though his duties as a librarian were not demanding.

As was earlier noted, the largest private library in Languedoc at this date was owned by the marquis de Méjanès. How widely he lent his books is impossible to say but Séguier, with whom he corresponded frequently, was definitely able to borrow whatever he liked. Méjanès also kept the Nîmois abreast of new acquisitions that Séguier might like to see, as in January 1771 when he announced the arrival of Scheuchzer's work on fishes. "He and Willoughby are the best authors on that part of natural history. If you want the work, I will lend it to you willingly."⁷⁷ Probably the second largest book collection in the region, on the other hand, was less accessible. This was the creation of Charles Baschi, marquis d'Aubais (1686–1777) who inhabited a chateau four leagues to the north of Nîmes. He had a collection of some 25,000 volumes and unlike Méjanès was an active scholar.⁷⁸ He was a specialist in genealogy and French history and a member of the Nîmes academy. D'Aubais never allowed scholars to borrow his books but only permitted them to come and consult them *in situ*. In March 1773 Séguier spent a fortnight at the chateau. A year earlier, Amoureux, just starting out in his career as a publishing naturalist, had gone there with an Italian called Raniery, while researching his second pamphlet on veterinary medicine.⁷⁹ The marquis, moreover, was often away and the chateau was a lonely place for a scholar to be cooped up in, while the library was not easy to use. Amoureux called it "a vast rabbit-warren. You need to know where a book is buried ever to find it."⁸⁰

Most of Séguier's correspondents in the Midi, of course, had libraries which were much more modest than his own, but they seem to have been as public-spirited as Méjanès. One example is Gouan who from time to time lent books to Séguier as well as borrowed from him. On 23 March 1762 he was asked to

77 "Lui et Willoughby sont les meilleurs auteurs sur cette partie de l'histoire naturelle. Si vous voulez cet ouvrage, je vous le ferai prêter bien volontiers." Nîmes, BM, MS 145, f. 120: Méjanès to Séguier, 10 Jan. 1771. Available online at <<https://www.seguier.org/2128/>> (last accessed 6 June 2019). Presumably Johann Jakob Scheuchzer (1672–1733), *Piscium quærelæ et vindiciæ* (Zurich: Gessner, 1708). Francis Willoughby (1635–1672): his work on fishes (1686) was finished by Ray.

78 London, BL, Egerton 1981, f. 47: Séguier to Strange, Jan. 1772.

79 Paris, BnF, MS NAF 6571, ff. 118–119: Séguier to Amoureux, 8 March 1773; Nîmes, BM, MS 136, f. 61r: Amoureux to Séguier, 13 April 1772; Brockliss, *Provincial Savant*, p. 153 (autobiography).

80 Nîmes, BM, MS 306, f. 73r: Amoureux to Séguier 2 Mar 1774. "[U]ne vaste garenne. Il faut connoître le gîte d'un livre pour l'y trouver." For D'Aubais's peregrinations earlier in life see the autobiography of one of his servants: *Pierre Prion scribe*, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Orest Ranum (eds.) (Paris: Gallimard-Juillard, 1985). Séguier knew the marquis well but only one letter survives between them: Nîmes, BM, MS 139, ff. 8–9, D'Aubais to Séguier, 30 Mar 1769. Available online at <<https://www.seguier.org/2234/>> (last accessed 6 June 2019).

send to Nîmes a volume of Haller's *Bibliotheca medica*, on 8 September 1769 the latest edition of Linnaeus's work on earths and fossils.⁸¹ Another example is the former army officer Guillaume-Emmanuel-Joseph Guilhem de Clermont-Lodève, the Baron de Sainte-Croix (1746–1808), who was one of the Midi's leading Hellenists and in 1772 won the annual essay prize set by the Paris Académie des inscriptions for his study of Alexander the Great. Based at his chateau at Mormoiron near Carpentras, he was a relatively isolated figure in the Republic of Letters until he moved to Paris after the Revolution, and he was heavily dependent on the generosity of his intellectual friends in pursuing his researches into Greek mythology and history.⁸² But when he was able he willingly lent from his own collection. In the summer of 1769 another one of Séguier's close correspondents, the Avignon physician and antiquarian Esprit Calvet (1728–1810), received the gift of a Greek marble bearing an inscription about the exploits of the Olympian athlete Orrippus. On the basis of what he had to hand about Greek epigraphs, Calvet was convinced that this was a hitherto unrecorded and very early inscription which, once published, would put his name on the map.⁸³ He was aware, however, that the epigraph might already have been printed in works he did not own, so he immediately wrote to his friends seeking their assistance in taking his research further. Séguier inevitably was ready to lend the Avignonnais all the books in his library which might prove useful.⁸⁴ But so too was Sainte-Croix with whom Calvet had only recently struck up a correspondence. He was sorry that he did not have copies of most of the works that Calvet would need, but he sent off the two he possessed: the Thucydides Scholiast and an anthology of Greek epigrams published by the sixteenth-century printer Henri Estienne (1531–1598).⁸⁵

There was nothing exceptional then in Séguier's generosity, though the size and richness of his library must have meant that his books circulated more frequently than those of his friends. In the Midi at least, book-sharing for a

81 London, BL, Add. MS 22935, ff. 272 and 298. Presumably Haller's *Bibliotheca botanica* (Zurich: Orell, Gessner and Fuessli, 1771–1772), the first part of the *Bibliotheca medica* to be published, and Linnaeus's *Systema naturae*, vol. 3 (Stockholm: Laurentius Salvius, 1768).

82 Maurice Larrouis, 'Le Baron de Sainte-Croix: Un comtadin injustement oublié (1746–1809)', *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, 7th series, 3 (1982), pp. 211–223. The size of his chateau library is unknown: it was destroyed when the chateau was pillaged during the Revolution.

83 For the inscription and its history, see Brockliss, *Calvet*, pp. 317–321.

84 Nîmes, BM, MS 140, ff. 116–118: Calvet to Séguier, [?] June and 4 July 1769; Avignon, BM, MS 2364, ff. 162–164 and 168: Séguier to Calvet, 28 June, 25 July, 23 Aug. 1769.

85 Avignon, BM, Avignon MS 2367, ff. 241 and 243: Sainte-Croix to Calvet, 20 and 29 June 1769. Understandably the baron called on Calvet for aid in return when he began preparing his essay on Alexander: *ibid.*, f. 254: Sainte-Croix to Calvet, 12 Oct. 1770.

member of the Republic of Letters was more than a theoretical obligation: it was a day-to-day reality and given the absence of public scholarly libraries essential. As a result, it would be dangerous to erect an account of the intellectual formation of Séguier and his friends simply on the contents of their library, even when this is based on a personal catalogue and not a post-mortem sales inventory. Séguier's library, we have seen, suggested he had no interest in the Enlightenment of the *philosophes* or the scurrilous literature made famous by Robert Darnton. But this would be a premature conclusion to draw. A resident of Nîmes and member of the local academy who makes a frequent appearance in Séguier's correspondence is the Huguenot physician and naturalist Pierre II Baux (1708–1790) with whom he was close friends from at least early adulthood. Baux's personal library catalogue reveals a man with very different philosophical tastes. He owned numerous works by Voltaire and Rousseau, La Mettrie's *Histoire naturelle de l'âme* (1745), Diderot's *Pensées philosophiques* (1746) and Helvetius's *De l'esprit* (1768). He also possessed an array of infamous underground titles, such as *La Religieuse en chemise ou Vénus dans la cloître*, supposedly published in London in 1740.⁸⁶ Séguier could have borrowed these works from his friend at any time he chose. But since they were neighbours living in the same town the books they exchanged can never be known. Baux's correspondence with Séguier exists only for the period that the latter was away from his hometown as Maffei's companion and secretary.⁸⁷

Conversely, though this needs to be properly investigated, book-sharing as an ethical imperative and an essential underpinning of scholarly and scientific research in the Midi arguably lost much of its significance from the turn of the nineteenth century with the establishment of a fast-expanding network of public provincial libraries. The first were envisaged, if not actually opened, in the mid-1780s as Séguier and his correspondents started to die off. On their demise, most of their libraries were dispersed by their heirs, as D'Aubais's had been by his daughter, the marquise d'Urre, in 1777.⁸⁸ But two members of the Republic of the Letters in the Midi in the second half of the eighteenth century were good citizens to the end and left their books for the use of the public. The first to do so was Séguier himself. His patron Maffei had arranged for a public library to be created at Verona from his own collection after his death. Séguier followed suit and entrusted his books to the Nîmes academy in 1784 with the

86 Nîmes, BM, MS 449, 'Catalogue de ma bibliothèque' (c.1770). The catalogue contains 1,712 titles arranged thematically.

87 Samuel Cordier and François Pugnère (eds.), *Jean-François Séguier, Pierre Baux Lettres 1733–1756* (Avignon: Éditions A. Barthélemy, 2006).

88 Séguier bought some of the books. On the sale of D'Aubais's library, see Nîmes, BM, MS 136, ff. 96–102 *passim*: Amoureux to Séguier, letters 2 Oct. 1777 to 6 Jan. 1778.

instruction they should do the same. Two years later Méjanès copied his example and bequeathed his huge library to the estates of Provence with the proviso it should be maintained at Aix as a public resource. He also left a legacy of 5,000 *livres* to sustain the collection.⁸⁹ Other members of the circle would have probably followed in their footsteps, had not the French Revolution intervened and made such individual initiatives redundant: throughout France, municipal libraries were created in the 1790s out of the books purloined by the state from the secularised monasteries, the confiscated property of émigrés, and the dissolved universities, colleges and learned academies.⁹⁰ Thereafter the civic-minded could simply leave their books to a local *bibliothèque municipale*.⁹¹ In the event, only Calvet, among the other intellectuals mentioned in this chapter, specifically founded a public library under his will when he died in 1810, and he had planned to do so from at least 1788.⁹²

These new municipal libraries potentially opened up the life of the mind to much larger numbers of people than had been the case in the eighteenth century when access to books depended on wealth, letters of recommendation and uncertain communications. In the long term, in the French Midi, they made possible the florescence of a vibrant research school into Occitan and Provençal history and culture.⁹³ In the short term, they cannot have immediately displaced the older tradition of book-sharing between individuals. Many of the new public libraries were poorly furnished with the works antiquarians, naturalists and experimental philosophers wanted to read; their holdings were only slowly catalogued; and the books could not be borrowed. For those who did not live in a departmental *chef-lieu* using their resources still meant travelling many miles and a heavy investment in time, if nothing else, before the railway age. To what extent the ethic of open access and mutual exchange still held good in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, remains to be explored. All the attention to date, in France at least, has been on the eighteenth century. The research practices of provincial intellectuals after 1800 remains largely a closed book. Certainly, individual *hommes de science*

89 Jean-Marc Châtelain, *Un cabinet d'amateur à la fin du xviii^e siècle: le marquis de Méjanès bibliophile* (Aix-en-Provence: Cité du livre, 2006). As a result, the library was moved to the other side of the Rhône. It was not opened until 1810.

90 In September 1793 the Convention closed down all France's institutions of education and learning prior to the creation of a completely new system which slowly evolved over the next twenty years.

91 As Pierre-Joseph Amoreux did in 1824.

92 Brockliss, *Calvet*, pp. 63–68 and 387–389.

93 For an introduction, see Robert Fox, *The Savant and the State. Science and Cultural Politics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012).

still opened their collections to outsiders in the Napoleonic era. When the elderly but now financially independent Pierre-Joseph Amoreux visited Paris on several occasions in the 1800s and 1810s he spent as much time consulting books in the large personal library of the veterinarian, Jean-Baptiste Huzard (1753–1838), as he did in the Bibliothèque impériale and other institutional libraries in the capital.⁹⁴ But Amoreux's friendship with Huzard had been sealed many decades before. Whether the generation of scientists and scholars who grew up during the Revolution were as generous with their books as their predecessors remains to be discovered.

94 Brockliss, *Provincial Savant*, p. 291, *passim*. Huzard was a member of the new Paris Institut. Amoreux's economic fortunes improved after the death of his father. Another member of the *Ancien Régime* Republic of Letters whose personal library remained open to outside readers at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the mathematician and Revolutionary Gilbert Romme (1740–1795): see Philippe Bourdin, 'La postérité de la bibliothèque Romme: le prêt privé dans les milieu "néojacobins" provinciaux', in Philippe Bourdin and Jean-Luc Chappey (eds.), *Réseaux et sociabilité littéraires en Révolution* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2007), pp. 143–190.

Private Libraries and the Second-Hand Book Trade in Early Modern Academia

The Case of Leuven University 1425–1797

Pierre Delsaerd

In the early years of the eighteenth century, a member of the Council of Brabant made known his annoyance about a number of abuses in the Brabant book business. He had noticed that in this central region of the Southern Low Countries, offensive books, slanderous prints and indecent lyrics were circulating on a large scale. In his report, the author attributed this mainly to the lack of a uniform, unambiguous regulation that would apply throughout the Duchy of Brabant. Instead, there were separate rules and traditions in each city where publishing and bookselling activities of some importance took place. While the situation in Brussels was not so bad, in Antwerp, the book trade was dominated by the Saint Luke's Guild, which consisted mainly of artists. The directors of this guild were not capable of imposing rules on the book trade, let alone enforce them. However, according to the report, the worst state of affairs was in Leuven, where the university had not limited itself to the control of academic publications, but had also appropriated the right to allow or prohibit the printing and distribution of other works. It had even banned the royal censors from visiting Leuven's bookshops and printing offices, with the local printers and booksellers swearing an oath to the Rector, not the Chancellor of Brabant.¹

The councillor's litany of complaints reminds us—if this is necessary—that the early modern book business was far from uniform, whether in Europe or in the Low Countries, and not even in the relatively small region of Brabant. The book trade always functioned in a given context of interacting powers, economic possibilities, social relations, legal regulations, and cultural and religious dynamics. A recent volume entitled *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe: Beyond Production, Circulation, and Consumption*, has emphasised once again the importance of taking into account the broad material, societal

1 The anonymous report of eight folios is held in Brussels, State Archives, *Great Council of Mechelen*, 205/9. Cf. Pierre Delsaerd (ed.), *Abuysen ende ongeregelheden. Een onbekend rapport over het boekbedrijf in Brabant rond 1700* (Wildert: De Carbolineum Pers, 2002).

and geographic contexts to fully understand the history of the book.² This rather straightforward view obviously also applies to the study of private libraries and the second-hand book trade, more specifically in an academic environment. It is generally accepted that universities in early modern Europe had their own cultural, legal and institutional status, and that they were often among the earliest centres of typographical activity. Therefore, it seems reasonable to examine the impact that academia may have had on private book ownership and on the development of bookselling techniques. Taking the old University of Leuven as a test case—between its establishment in 1425 and its closing in 1797—it will be argued that some of the features of Leuven private libraries and the second-hand book trade were typical of this particular university town in the Southern Low Countries. While it can be expected that some of these characteristics also apply to other places, this will be limited to academic environments. This contribution, therefore, is also to be interpreted as a call for additional research into the particularities of these phenomena in other academic settings.

The subjects addressed will include the question of how the private libraries of Leuven professors related to the provision of library services by the university and its colleges, and how the academic context encouraged the development of a thriving second-hand book trade. Building on these observations, it will be easier to understand why Leuven booksellers introduced auctions early in the sixteenth century and had already adopted printed auction catalogues in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the account books of a particular Leuven bookseller who worked in the second half of the eighteenth century will allow us to question the value of printed auction catalogues as sources for the reconstruction of private libraries. Finally, we will endeavour to explain why eighteenth-century Leuven private libraries, contrary to what might be expected, tended to be surprisingly small.

The Old University of Leuven, 1425–1797

In order to find answers to these questions, it may be useful to briefly recall a few elements of the history of Leuven university. It was founded by Pope Martin v in 1425, on the initiative of the Duke of Brabant and of Leuven's town council,

2 Daniel Bellingradt and Jeroen Salman, 'Books and Book History in Motion: Materiality, Sociality and Spatiality', in Daniel Bellingradt, Paul Nelles and Jeroen Salman (eds.), *Books in Motion in Early Modern Europe. Beyond Production, Circulation, and Consumption* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 1–11.

in conjunction with the Chapter of St Peter's Church. The original papal bull authorised the university to organise four faculties: the Arts, Civil Law, Canon Law and Medicine. In 1432, a Faculty of Theology was added, thus completing the construction of Leuven's *Studium Generale*. Henceforth, it held a monopoly on higher education in the Low Countries until 1562, when a papal bull confirmed King Philip II's initiative to create a university in Douai, then still part of the Low Countries.

Leuven's monopoly, however, was challenged more seriously in 1575, when William of Orange founded Leiden University in a context of fierce Calvinist competition. Douai fell to France in 1668; and from then on, Leuven remained the only centre of higher education in the Southern Low Countries under Habsburg rule. The university enjoyed a set of legal and fiscal privileges that gave it the character of a small republic within the town of Leuven and indeed within the Habsburg Low Countries. The Rector and his Council exercised jurisdiction over the *suppositi*: the registered members of the academic community, who enjoyed significant privileges once they had paid an enrolment fee, proved to be fluent in Latin, and had taken the oath of obedience to the university statutes. This *Ancien Régime* institution, however, was abolished in 1797, some years after the annexation of the Southern Low Countries by the French Republic. Only in 1816 did academic activities resume in Leuven, when the Dutch king William I founded state universities in Ghent, Liège and Leuven, in addition to Leiden, Utrecht and Groningen in the northern part of his kingdom.³

Institutional Library Services

Life at Leuven University was organised in a very decentralised way. As mentioned above, five faculties determined the domains taught: a basic curriculum in the Arts (philosophy, mathematics and the natural sciences) was supplemented by programmes in Medicine, Civil Law, Canon Law and Theology. Education was provided in residential colleges that were spread across the town, and it is at this very local level that library services were offered during the first two centuries. Most of the colleges had their own libraries, which were usually rather small collections that were intended first and foremost for their teaching staff and for advanced students, with the latter sometimes entrusted

3 Emiel Lamberts and Jan Roegiers, *Leuven University, 1425–1985* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990).

with control of the library's holdings.⁴ Only a few colleges had the means to be more ambitious in this respect; they gradually developed into full-fledged faculty libraries. The College of the Holy Spirit, for example, housed a significant number of theology students and an important library, which became the leading theological resource for the entire academic community. In the same way, the library of St Ivo's College functioned as a specialised law library.

A *central* university library was created in 1636. At first, it was intended to complement the existing college libraries, focusing primarily on genres that were not collected systematically elsewhere, such as forbidden (Protestant) books, rare books (especially incunabula) and volumes that were too expensive for the acquisition budgets of individual institutions. This central library was located in the University Hall, at the heart of academic life. From the start, its collection very much depended on donations (as did those of the college libraries), which explains why the original focus on forbidden, rare and precious books could not be maintained. Some proactive academic librarians only found ways to finance a more expansive acquisitions policy in the second half of the eighteenth century. They also succeeded in cataloguing the holdings, thus meeting the growing research needs of the academic community. At that time, however, the dissolution of the university was already approaching. During most of the institution's existence, the lack of consistent and up-to-date institutional library collections forced every individual professor and student to buy the majority of his study and reading material for himself. This was the reality behind a phrase by the Leuven professor, Erycius Puteanus, published in the central library's first catalogue of 1639: "Inter professores suam quisque possidet bibliothecam, et aestimat"—Every professor has his own library, and esteems it (see figure 5.1 page 125).⁵

4 This was the case, for example, for Arras College: cf. Pierre Delsaerd, 'Arras College Library Leuven: the academic habitat of the Anjou Bible for three centuries', in Lieve Watteuw and Jan Van der Stock (eds.), *The Anjou Bible: a royal manuscript revealed, Naples 1340* (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), pp. 139–145.

5 Christian Coppens, Mark Derez and Jan Roegiers (eds.), *Leuven University Library, 1425–2000. Sapientia aedificavit sibi domum* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005); Jan Roegiers, 'The first Leuven University Library rules (1636 and 1655)', in Chris Coppens *et al.* (eds.), *E Codicibus Impressisque. Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege* (3 vols., Leuven: Peeters, 2004), III, pp. 545–554. Erycius Puteanus's citation in his introduction to *Auspicia Bibliothecae Publicae Lovaniensis. Accedit catalogus librorum primae collectionis, à curatoribus ejusdem bibliothecae editus* (Leuven: Everardus de Witte, 1639), pp. 33–34 (USTC 1510060).

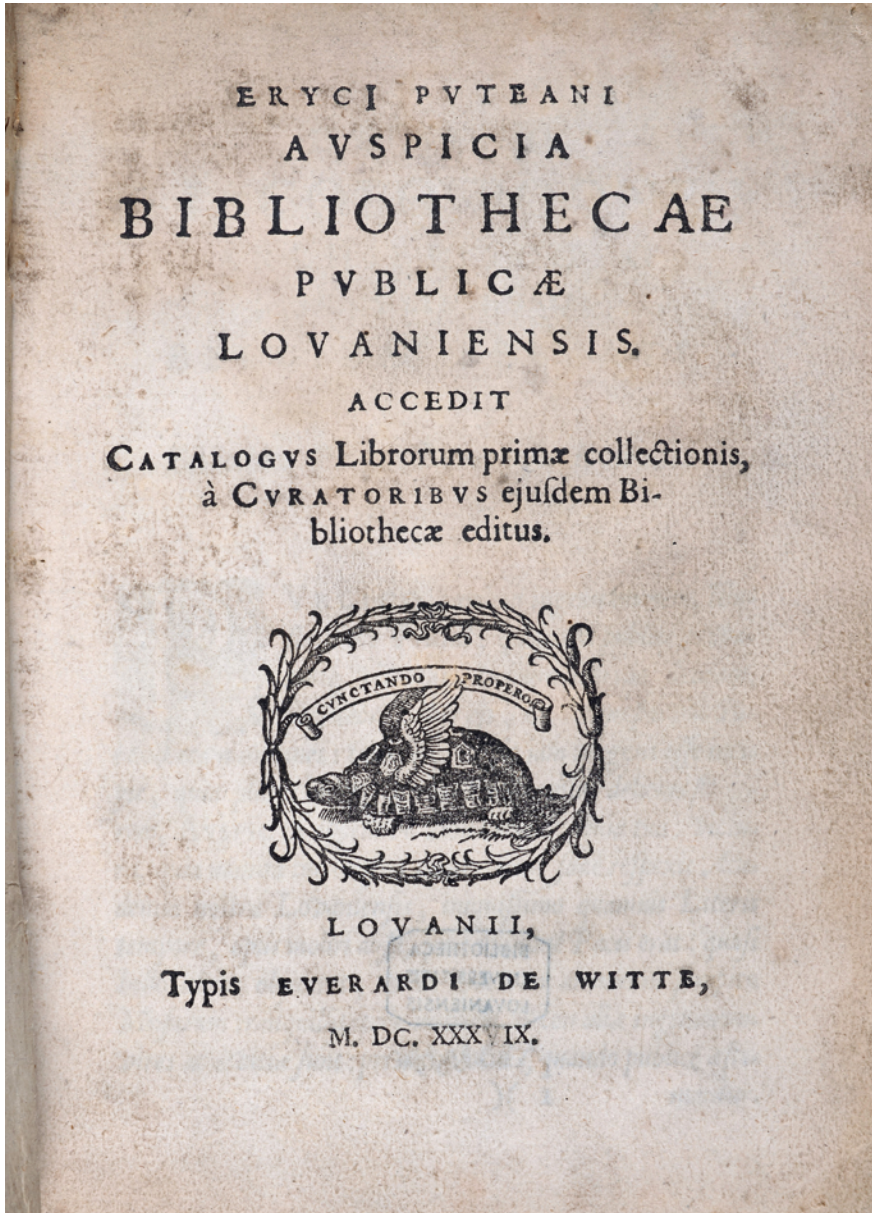


FIGURE 5.1 Title page of *Auspicia bibliothecae pvblicæ Lovaniensis. Accedit catalogvs librorum primæ collectionis* (Leuven: Everardus de Witte, 1639): the first printed catalogue of Leuven's Central University Library, by its librarian Valerius Andreas, and with an introductory essay by Erycius Puteanus [KU Leuven Libraries, Special Collections, CaaA1279] (USTC 1510060)

The Organisation of the Second-Hand Book Trade

The long absence of quality library services during most of the university's existence does not imply that it was not concerned about the provision of knowledge to its professors and students. As a matter of fact, the academic authorities developed a rather effective policy regarding the book trade, which took shape from the very start. Issued shortly after 1425, the first university statutes included a separate chapter entitled *De officio librarii*, which stipulated, among other things, that all prospective *librarii* (traders in manuscripts) had to take an oath of obedience to the Rector. Subsequent statutes and regulations extended these requirements to all Leuven-based printers, booksellers and bookbinders. Their official position as *suppositi* (with all the conditions attached to this) assured them of an independent position vis-à-vis the local and regional authorities. They owed compliance only to the university regulations and to the authority of the Rector. Of no less importance were the fiscal privileges to which they were entitled. Like the other *suppositi*, they were guaranteed free movement of person and goods, and were exempt from all royal, regional and municipal taxes.

As a result of its autonomous position, the university was able to develop a set of very specific regulations for the book industry in 1644, which were updated and extended no less than four times until 1750.⁶ Interestingly, one chapter of these regulations was always reserved for the second-hand book trade, more precisely for book auctions. Until then, the Leuven booksellers had enjoyed a great deal of freedom in organising auctions, with the university statutes of 1565 only stipulating that they had to content themselves with a commission of 5% at the seller's expense. However, things changed in 1644, when it was decided: (1) that only sworn booksellers were entitled to sell books at auction; (2) that every auction had to be approved by the Rector; (3) that the auctioneer had to draw up a catalogue, which could only be distributed upon approval by the Rector, the university's librarian and another high official; (4) that 'old' books from the auctioneer's bookshop (books that had remained unsold on the shelves) could be auctioned together with bequeathed second-hand books;

6 Jan Roegiers, 'De reglementering van het boekbedrijf aan de oude universiteit Leuven', in Ludo Simons *et al.* (eds.), *Het oude en het nieuwe boek. De oude en de nieuwe bibliotheek. Liber amicorum H.D.L. Vervliet* (Kapellen: Pelckmans, 1988), pp. 75–88; Pierre Delsaerd, 'Les règlements sur la production et la vente des livres, promulgués par l'ancienne université de Louvain. Édition critique', *Lias*, 17 (1990), pp. 63–89; Pierre Delsaerd, 'Printers and printing policy at Leuven university, 15th–18th centuries', in Marieke van Delft *et al.* (eds.), *New Perspectives in Book History: Contributions from the Low Countries* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2006), pp. 49–64.

and (5) that the regulations required the auctioneer to cede a substantial part of his fee to the university.

Second-hand books were clearly of central importance to the dissemination of knowledge in the academic context, and auctions were considered the most effective technique to find new readers for second-hand books. The thriving auction market was encouraged by the presence of a large student population in Leuven, who needed books at affordable prices as a basic commodity, as well as early career academics, who did not always have the financial means to buy brand new books to prepare their courses or to sustain their scholarly work. Even senior academics regularly bid for books that were no longer available in regular bookshops.

However, there is more to say about the success of book auctions in this particular context. University professors in Leuven were usually unmarried—only professors in Canon Law and Medicine were not subject to the obligation of celibacy, which was generally enforced until the end of the eighteenth century.⁷ At the end of their lives, they often bequeathed part or all of their possessions to their college or to the university in general, with the aim of creating study grants that were usually associated with a specific college or faculty. In their wills, they appointed one or two executors who were responsible for the sale of their belongings—including their books—in order to finance the grants. From the large number of preserved files concerning these grants and their financing by the sale of books, we can deduce that, in Leuven, auctions were considered the most convenient way to transform bequeathed books into cash. Moreover, the reports of the University Council show that book auctions were already a well-established commercial technique in the mid-sixteenth century. Indeed, the *Acta Universitatis* of 29 November 1559 mentions the Council's decision to ensure a monopoly on book auctions, involving only two Leuven booksellers. However, due to general protest against this measure, it was withdrawn and the Council decided to restore the former practices: "Manendum est in *antiqua* libertate" (We have decided to maintain the *old* freedom).⁸ The earliest mention of a Leuven book auction that can be linked to a specific name, dates from 1557; it refers to the auction of the books owned by Petrus Nannius (d. 1557), a professor at the Leuven *Collegium trilingue*.⁹

7 Emiel Lamberts and Jan Roegiers, *De Universiteit te Leuven 1425–1985* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers, 1988), p. 124.

8 Pierre Delsaerdt, *Suam quisque bibliothecam. Boekhandel en particulier boekenbezit aan de oude Leuvense universiteit, 16de–18de eeuw* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2001), pp. 150–151.

9 This information relies on one particular copy of Hippocrates' *Epidemion Liber Sextus*, Basle: apvd Io. Bebelivm et Mich. Isingrinivm, 1537 (USTC 603127), with the mention "Empt[us]

In summary, on the supply side, auctions were popular as a means to dispose of small or larger collections of books. Booksellers were eager to organise auctions because they earned them easy money. Indeed, the auctioneers received a double reward that was proportional to the sales figures, being paid both by the executors and the buyers of the books. On the demand side, there was always a public of students and professors looking for cheaper ways to acquire books for their personal libraries. Moreover, Leuven book auctions also attracted buyers from outside the university, such as Leuven citizens, civil servants from nearby Brussels and Mechelen, and representatives of the many large abbeys and monasteries in the Duchy of Brabant.¹⁰

Printed Auction Catalogues

Numerous documents related to the creation of study grants show that book auctions taking place in Leuven in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were announced by means of handwritten catalogues, which were pasted *ad valvas*, at the doors, of St Peter's Church, like all other announcements of an academic nature. Sometimes an additional copy of the list was affixed at the town hall. *Printed* lists did not emerge until later.¹¹

The appearance of printed auction catalogues is generally considered to be a key moment in the history of the book trade. It is most probable that auction catalogues were a Dutch invention: the first private library to have been auctioned from a printed catalogue was the collection owned by Philip of Marnix of Saint-Aldegonde (1540–1598). The majority of his books were auctioned at

8 st[uueris] Lovanij in auctione Na[n]nij Lectoris publici 1557" on its title page; it has recently been acquired by KU Leuven University Libraries, Special Collections, Res. 7B1310. On this copy, cf. Graham Pollard, Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800 Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: The Roxburghe Club, 1965), p. 216; Bert van Selm, *Een menighe treffelijcke boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987), p. 14; and above all, Xander Feys, 'A Hippocrates for eight stivers: On Petrus Nannius' library and the earliest-known Leuven book auction (1557)', *De Gulden Passer*, 98:1 (2020), pp. 239–258. I am greatly indebted to Xander Feys, who sent me a transcription of the handwritten note on the title page, and who had noticed in time that the copy was to be sold in November 2019.

10 See, e.g. the enumeration of the clients attending one of the major seventeenth-century auctions: that of the Leuven professor, Libertus Fromondus (1587–1653), listed in the account books of the bookseller Georgius Lipsius, in Delsaerd, *Suum quisque bibliothecam*, pp. 655–770.

11 Delsaerd, *Suum quisque bibliothecam*, pp. 161–162.

Leiden, in the Dutch Republic, in July 1599. Printed book auction catalogues followed soon after in other Dutch towns.¹² However, it took several decades before auction catalogues were printed outside the Dutch Republic. The first printed book auction catalogue that appeared abroad was published in Brussels in 1614. It was prepared for the auction of the library of Duke Charles III of Croÿ, a member of an important aristocratic family.¹³ However, it seems to have remained an exception, for as far as we know with certainty, the experiment was next repeated only in the mid-1630s, when several catalogues were printed for auctions that took place in Leuven.

Recent research into the provenance of the only surviving copy of the Croÿ auction catalogue of 1614 has demonstrated that two private libraries of Leuven scholars were auctioned from printed catalogues in the first decades of the seventeenth century, although no copies of these seem to have survived. They were used to selling the libraries of Leuven academics, George of Austria Jr (d. Brussels 1619; catalogue published in Leuven, s.a.) and Petrus Castellanus (1585–1632; catalogue published in Leuven, 1634); both references were hitherto unknown.¹⁴ However, the first Leuven auction catalogues that have been preserved date from 1636, with the three surviving brochures bound together in one pamphlet binding at the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels. These brochures describe libraries owned by two deceased jurists and one theologian, in addition to a series of books coming from the estates of several anonymous deceased persons (see figure 5.2 page 130).¹⁵

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- 12 Gerhard J. Brouwer (ed.), *Catalogue of the Library of Philips van Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde, Sold by Auction (July 6th), Leiden, Christophorus Guyot, 1599* (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1964); Van Selm, *Een menigthe treffelijcke boecken*, pp. 22–38.
- 13 Edward Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croy, Duc d'Aerschot (1614)', *Bulletin du bibliophile belge*, IX (1852), pp. 380–393 and 436–451; Christian Coppens, 'A Post-Mortem Inventory Turned Into a Sales Catalogue: a Screening of the Auction Catalogue of the Library of Charles Duke of Croy, Brussels 1614', *Quaerendo*, 38 (2008), pp. 359–380; Pierre Delsaerd and Yann Sordet (eds.), *Lectures princières & commerce du livre. La bibliothèque de Charles III de Croÿ et sa mise en vente (1614)* (2 vols., Paris: Fondation d'Arenberg, Société des bibliophiles français, Éditions des Cendres, 2017).
- 14 Pierre Delsaerd, 'The Auction Catalogue of Charles III of Croÿ's Library (Brussels 1614): An Object-Oriented Approach', in Arthur der Weduwen, Graeme Kemp and Andrew Pettegree (eds.), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 61–86. On George of Austria and his donation of part of his library to the Leuven Collegium Trilingue, cf. Gilbert Tournoy, 'De boekenschenking van Joris van Oostenrijk aan het Leuvense Collegium Trilingue', *De Gulden Passer*, 96 (2018), pp. 283–295.
- 15 More about these auction catalogues can be found in Delsaerd, *Suam quisque bibliothecam*, pp. 161–173, and in a facsimile edition of the earliest one: Pierre Delsaerd (ed.), *Catalogus librorum ex domibus mortuariis. De eerste gedrukte Leuvense boekveilingcatalogus* (Wildert: De Carbolineum Pers, 1995).

leave nothing to the imagination, with 437 people deceased in 1635 and 391 in 1636.¹⁶ It is thus an acceptable hypothesis that the plague increased the number of private libraries left by the deceased, and that, consequently, the Leuven booksellers decided to sell unusually large numbers of books using printed catalogues. This relatively new marketing technique allowed for large-scale advertising and enabled prospective buyers to prepare for the auctions in a more effective way, without having to see the books on show in the bookshops or in the homes of the deceased.

Auction Catalogues and the Reconstruction of Private Libraries

As mentioned above, the regulations that the university drew up for the Leuven book trade from 1644 to 1750 always included a separate chapter on book auctions. Booksellers were expected to ask for special approval from the academic authorities for each auction. They had to present a catalogue of the books on sale, and volumes that were not included in these lists could not be sold. The 1750 edition of the regulations added that the booksellers were required to keep an exact account of their auctions, and to present their account books to the university collector so that he could check if the required taxes had been paid to the university.

This regulation probably explains why one of the most active auctioneers in eighteenth-century Leuven, Joannes Franciscus van Overbeke (1727–1810), kept his accounts in such a detailed way. Eight of the fifteen volumes that he originally compiled, covering the years 1762 to 1796, have been preserved, all of which are impressive.¹⁷ Van Overbeke cut each of his auction catalogues into pieces and pasted these into registers. He recorded the price fetched for each lot and the name of the buyer. What is even more important is that he added the exact provenance of each lot (see figure 5.3 page 132).

Apparently, the books that were presented in the catalogue as coming from the library of one academic, whose name and titles were recorded in detail on the title page, actually had very diverse origins: the academic named on the title page was of course one source, but there was also a long list of other professors, students, private persons and other booksellers who approached

16 Delsaerd, *Suum quisque bibliothecam*, p. 166.

17 According to the number of catalogues found in his accounts, Van Overbeke held at least 62 auctions from 1757 to 1796. Seven volumes of his account books, covering the years from 1762 to 1793, are kept in Leuven, University Archives; the eighth volume, which covers the years 1793 to 1796, is in Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, cat. nr. VI 87.378 B L.P.

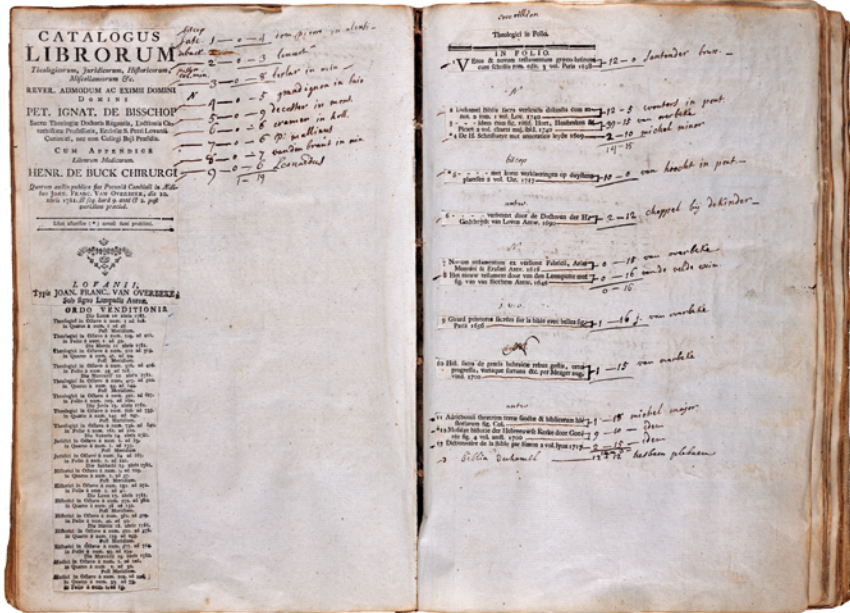


FIGURE 5.3 Annotated fragments of the auction catalogue of Petrus Ignatius de Bisschop, professor at Leuven's Faculty of Theology, and of the surgeon Henricus de Buck (Leuven: Joannes Franciscus van Overbeke, 1781), as found in the fourth volume of Van Overbeke's accounts [Leuven, University Archives, Archives of Jan Frans van Overbeke, 4]

the auctioneer to have their second-hand books sold under a false identity. The fact that this practice was common throughout Van Overbeke's career is proof that it was a successful commercial strategy. Moreover, this was also the case elsewhere in the Low Countries, and especially in the Dutch Republic, in that other university city, Leiden, where, in 1636, the city council and the university issued an ordinance stipulating that booksellers were not allowed to combine their own books with the books of private libraries (in contrast to Leuven, where this practice was authorised). Notwithstanding this, as early as the seventeenth century, there were repeated complaints about booksellers combining their own stocks of books with second-hand books from private individuals.¹⁸

Nonetheless, these accounts also bring to light that Van Overbeke's original, uncut catalogues are not reliable sources at all for anyone wanting to use them

18 Hannie van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen. Veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999), pp. 185-189.

to reconstruct eighteenth-century scholarly libraries. Two case studies allow us to demonstrate this in quantitative terms: the auction catalogue presenting the collections of the jurist Guilielmus Leunckens and the parish priest Joannes Goetseels (1773), and that prepared for the auction of the library of the theologian Petrus Ignatius de Bisschop (1781). Van Overbeke's account books reveal that only 22.3% and 26%, respectively, of the books mentioned in the 'naked' catalogues had actually been part of the private library of the owners named on the title pages.¹⁹ There is only one conclusion, and it has the character of a severe warning. If we want to use printed auction catalogues as a source for the reconstruction of private libraries—at least libraries from Leuven, but possibly also from elsewhere, as the Leiden case demonstrates—we definitely need additional archival evidence, such as probate inventories, or indeed account books of the auctioneers. If such evidence is not available, these auction catalogues can be considered to only reveal which second-hand books were circulating on the market at any given moment.

The Size of the Leuven Private Libraries

On the basis of Van Overbeke's account books, I have done research on the size and contents of twelve libraries of Leuven academics that were auctioned between 1763 and 1794. The academics involved were affiliated with the faculties of Theology, Medicine, Canon Law and Civil Law; one of them did not teach but was the head of one of Leuven's university colleges.²⁰ This quantitative analysis reveals some striking features. Firstly, the size of the libraries was much smaller than expected: the median number for the random sample is no more than 410 titles, with the smallest collection consisting of only 78 titles, and the two largest collections including no more than 993 and 1,147 titles, respectively. Secondly, there appears to be no evolution whatsoever in the size of the libraries sold: private libraries that were sold in the years following the French Revolution were not necessarily larger than those sold in the 1760s, some 30 years earlier.

Moreover, a comparison with the private libraries of Leuven academics that were listed in probate inventories or auctioned in the sixteenth and

19 Delsaerd, *Suum quisque bibliothecam*, pp. 207–221, 321–323.

20 The libraries involved were owned by Henricus Antonius Poringo (auctioned in 1763), Franciscus Michiels (1764), Petrus Boets (1764), Guilielmus Leunckens (1773), Stephanus Dominicus de Laittres (1774), Joannes Josephus Guyaux (1774), Christianus Franciscus Terswaek (1783), Gerardus Deckers (1783), Joannes Josephus Polet (1783), Josephus Curé (1793), Joannes Josephus Michaux (1794) and Eugenius Franciscus Beyens (1794).

seventeenth centuries shows that late eighteenth-century libraries were not significantly larger than their earlier counterparts, but rather the contrary. For example, when the Leuven theologian, Henricus Crockaert (c.1535–1581), died at 46 in 1581, he owned 216 books. Another theologian, Libertus Fromondus (1587–1653), left a library of 806 titles, which was sold in December 1653. In addition, when we look at the—very rare—seventeenth-century Leuven auction catalogues that have been preserved, we find fairly impressive numbers: the catalogue of the library left by the erudite polygraph Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583–1649) lists 1,778 titles; that describing the library of the professor of medicine Vopiscus Fortunatus Plempius (1601–1671) has 1,074 items; and the auction catalogue of the lawyer Henricus Loyens (1607–1686) lists more than 8,000 titles.²¹ However, once again, the accounts of these auctioneers have not been preserved, so we do not know how many items actually came from the libraries of these academics.

Several rather trivial factors must be taken into account when attempting to understand these phenomena. Firstly, of course, not every Leuven academic had the same budget at his disposal. There was quite some variety in the revenues of the teaching staff, and some of the professors combined their appointment within a faculty with a function on a board of directors, or with the management of one of the colleges.²² Secondly, not everyone reached an advanced age, and it is no coincidence that the largest library auctioned by Van Overbeke was that owned by a theologian who reached the age of 90, Joannes Josephus Guyaux (1684–1774). At the end of his life, he owned a library with 1,147 titles. Last but not least, we must take into account the very prosaic factor of the housing accommodation of the Leuven professors. Only very rarely did they reside in a private home; most of them lived in a room or in a couple of rooms in a college. Moreover, they would move from one college to another when this was relevant to their academic career or their income. Every move

21 A unique copy of the Vernulaeus catalogue (1649) is held in Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium, VH 22.938 (Sammelband). There is also a facsimile edition: Pierre Delsaerd (ed.), *De bibliotheek van Nicolaus Vernulaeus. Een facsimile van de boekveilingcatalogus uit 1649* (Wildert: De Carbolineum Pers, 2005). A unique copy of the Plempius catalogue (1672) is held in Paris, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de médecine. One of two known copies of the Loyens catalogue (1687) is held in Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, BC Sammelband 6 (6), the other is found in Budapest, Széchényi Library, 821.665. Cf. Delsaerd, *Suam quisque bibliothecam*, pp. 174–175, 233–255, 257–295.

22 Jan Roegiers, 'Professorencarrière aan de oude Universiteit Leuven (1425–1797)', in Aloïs Jans et al. (eds.), *Liber amicorum Dr. J. Scheerder. Tijdingen uit Leuven over de Spaanse Nederlanden, de Leuvense universiteit en Historiografie* (Leuven: Vereniging Historici Lovanienses, 1987), pp. 227–239.

entailed a critical appraisal of their book collections: What would be kept? What was less useful and could be discarded? Not only does this repeated appraisal explain the relatively small size of most of the libraries, it also illustrates the rather constant flux of books, for which new readers were sought, and hence the importance accorded by the university to the local second-hand book trade.

The Importance of Context

An analysis of the broad context in which the book business at Leuven university operated has proved fruitful. The specific living conditions of academics and the usually limited space they had available restricted the number of books they had on their shelves, and they regularly discarded volumes that had lost their relevance. At the end of their lives, they only rarely had direct descendants who could take over their library. Numerous collections were sold by executors according to the testamentary arrangements of the deceased, with the aim of financing scholarships. These transactions took place in the university town itself, where sales were ensured thanks to the large number of students and lecturers. The Leuven booksellers benefited from this, enjoying a comfortable status and essentially forming part of the same community as the students and professors.

As private libraries grew in size, they started to sell books by auction, at the latest in the first half of the sixteenth century. An audience of interested customers would gather in one room at an agreed time, and this maximised the chances of a good return. In the 1630s, when external circumstances led to the local market being flooded with books by deceased *suppositi*, the booksellers—possibly following the example of their Dutch colleagues, or possibly inspired by a Brussels precedent—introduced printed catalogues aiming to make the auctions better known and to organise them in a more efficient way. This auction system was encouraged and regulated by the University Council, which taxed the results of the sales.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, possibly also in earlier years, auctions offered other private individuals the opportunity to have their books sold anonymously alongside the volumes bequeathed by locally renowned professors; a guarantee of better sales results. This practice of integrating books of diverse origins—often small packages brought by a large number of private persons—demonstrates the creativity of booksellers. It may also have been inspired by the need to compile an auction catalogue that was sufficiently

voluminous; in the eighteenth century, the average professor's library was often too small to fill a substantial catalogue. This, in turn, may be explained by the growth, in the same period, of the university library sector.

Nevertheless, the practice of systematically including books from other sources in the auction catalogues of deceased professors leads to a serious methodological problem: how do we determine whether these commercial brochures are what they claimed to be, that is, a list of all the books that the owner had in his possession at the end of his life? Clearly, any further research that uses auction catalogues as sources to reconstruct the book holdings of early modern readers will first and foremost have to examine how the auctions functioned in the given period and in the given institutional, cultural and economic contexts.

Book Auctions at the Reformed College of Debrecen (1743–1842)

Róbert Oláh

To date, there is no comprehensive study on the history of the second-hand book trade in Hungary. The sporadic studies that provide an overview of the history of the book do not touch upon the subject of selling and purchasing used books. This chapter shows how, in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Hungary, a trade in second-hand books developed outside the context of the professional book trade. Among other things, this development opened up a market of relatively cheap books, affordable to those who did not have the means to buy new books. More particularly, the present study sheds ample light on the role the Reformed College of Debrecen played in supplying its environment with used books from Western Europe.

After a brief presentation of the Reformed College and its library, followed by a rough sketch of the book trade in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Debrecen, I will focus on an understudied phenomenon: the book auctions that took place in the Reformed College of Debrecen between 1743 and 1842. As scarce as the source material may be, it is possible to study these auctions and their impact on the book market through a few eloquent examples. I will start by briefly presenting the College and the circumstances on the local book market. In the main part I will discuss the source material as well as the history and the operation of the book auctions held at the College. In the final paragraph, I will look at the role book auctions and second-hand books played in the local cultural context (see figure 6.1 page 138).

The Reformed College of Debrecen and Its Library

Since there was no Protestant university in the Carpathian Basin, sixteenth-century students of the Augustan and Helvetic confessions coming from this region attended the University of Wittenberg. With the assistance of Philipp Melancthon, the Hungarian students at the university founded in 1555 a society of their own, the *Coetus Ungaricus*. The organisation of the Reformed colleges in Hungary was modelled on the example of this German university.



FIGURE 6.1 The Reformed College of Debrecen before the great fire of 1802

It brought primary, secondary and higher education together in one system; the network of rural schools belonging to the college urged the rising generations to attend the college, thus ensuring a sufficient number of students. The most talented among them went to Western-European universities and built close connections abroad. Hungarian colleges continued to function in this way until the middle of the nineteenth century.¹

Debrecen, the centre of the Transilvian Reformed Church District (TRCD), was the most populous town of the country, with between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants. At the end of the seventeenth century, an average of 123 advanced students and 1,611 primary and secondary school pupils studied at the Reformed College of Debrecen. The pupils originating from the city of Debrecen made up no more than 20% of the total number of students, as students came from all over the Carpathian Basin to the only educational and cultural institution of the town.² The Reformed College performed several tasks that Western-European countries entrusted to special institutions or professions. An example of this is its functioning as a credit organisation. The first Hungarian financial institutions were founded as late as the 1840s, but the Reformed College offered disbursement services as early as the middle of

- 1 András Szabó, *Coetus Ungaricus. A wittenbergi magyar diáktársaság 1555–1613* [*Coetus Ungaricus. The Hungarian Students' Association of Wittenberg 1555–1613*] (Budapest: Balassi, 2017), pp. 17–22.
- 2 Béla Tóth, 'A kollégium története a XVIII. században' [The History of the College in the Eighteenth Century], in József Barcza (ed.), *A Debreceni Református Kollégium története* [*The History of the Reformed College of Debrecen*] (Budapest: MRE Zsinati Irodájának Sajtóosztálya, 1988), p. 136.

the seventeenth century. The financial out-turn of the founding capital was lent out at an interest rate of six percent.³

The *coetus* (the community of the students of Debrecen) bore the responsibility of the College library that was often called *bibliotheca publica* in the eighteenth century. The stock was handled by a librarian chosen from among the students (*bibliothecarius ordinarius*). As a liable officeholder, he supervised the acquisition, the use and lending, and the binding of books. As a result of the continuous acquisition of books, the 2,700-volume collection of 1738 had reached 17,000 volumes by the end of the eighteenth century. Moreover, a significant amount of paintings, minerals and numismatic rarities were also part of the collection. From 1744 onwards, a professor who had received training in bibliography at foreign universities, functioned as head of the library (*bibliothecae praefectus*).⁴

The Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Debrecen

There were different institutions and people behind the book trade of Debrecen. The local printing house, the Reformed College, hawkers, bookbinders and their guild supplied the readership of the town and its surroundings with books.

The first bookshop of Debrecen run by a professional bookseller who was not a bookbinder, opened its doors in 1805.⁵ Until then, the book-loving public depended on other distribution channels, such as the municipal printing office, and local or regional bookbinders, who sold their books at local fairs. The Reformed College of Debrecen was also involved in the selling of books (mainly for the supply of the students).

The publications of the town's printing house, which was founded in 1561, were sold by the city printer, by local bookbinders and also by hawkers.⁶ In order to supply all the goods that were sold at the Debrecen fairs, which

3 István Rác, *Az ország iskolája. A Debreceni Református Kollégium gazdasági erőforrásai* [The School of the Country. Economic Resources of the Reformed College of Debrecen] (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium, 1995), pp. 121–204.

4 Csaba Fekete and Botond G. Szabó, 'A kollégiumi Nagykönyvtár' [The College Library], in Barcza (ed.), *A Debreceni Református Kollégium*, pp. 416–436.

5 The owner was named György Csáthy. See Béla Takács, 'A debreceni könyvkötő művészet' [The Bookbinding Art of Debrecen] (Debrecen: Közgazdasági és Jogi K., 1980), pp. 37–42.

6 From 1723 onwards, the city of Debrecen employed a town printer, who was obliged to take an oath upon admission. The municipal printer was accountable to the town council and his work was supervised by two senators.

took place four times a year and lasted two weeks, more than ten thousand horse-drawn wagons were needed. This was still the case at the beginning of the nineteenth century.⁷ Hawkers offered calendars, hymn-, story- and textbooks for sale, that is to say, cheap books of which a high number could be sold. For example, the probate inventory of the widow of István Csóka, which was drawn up in 1752, mainly lists religious publications and schoolbooks, as well as “one set of shelves”, used by the widow to display her books at the fairs she attended.⁸ Beyond the borders of the town, commission agents, bookbinders who also sold books at fairs, assured the distribution of publications printed in Debrecen. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the network of commission agents covered a region spanning 400 kilometres.⁹

The bookbinders' guild of Debrecen was founded in 1705. Between 1735 and 1799, 22 new masters were admitted, whose names have come down to us. The bookbinders, who had a ‘street’ of their own at the fairs, also traded in books and stationery. They mainly sold the bound copies of works produced by the local printing house, but they also offered used books and sometimes rarities.¹⁰ By the middle of the eighteenth century, the town's printing house provided a significant amount of Protestant books in Hungary. All this meant a significant book turnover; in fact, no less than ten bookbinders worked in the town at the same time.¹¹

Second-hand books could also be obtained at the Reformed College of Debrecen, where one could buy the works of John Locke, Samuel Puffendorf, and Johann Gottlieb Heineccius.¹² Given its need for textbooks and international scholarly works that were hard to come by in Hungary, it was a matter of course that both the student community and the professors of the College engaged in publishing and distributing books. The works of György Martonfalvi Tóth (1635–1681) and Pál Lisznyai Kovács (1630–1695), published by the *coetus* can be mentioned as an example here. The books were printed by the Debrecen

7 Botond G. Szabó, *Kazay Sámuel és a Debreceni Kollégium. Egy könyvgyűjtő patikus élete és gyűjteményének sorsa* [*Sámuel Kazay and the College of Debrecen*] (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerületi Gyűjtemények, 2014), pp. 116–117.

8 Béla Tóth, ‘Debreceni könyvkereskedő a 18. században’ [A bookseller in eighteenth-century Debrecen], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 95 (1979), pp. 187–188.

9 Kálmán Benda and Károly Irinyi, *A négyszáz éves debreceni nyomda* [*The Four-Hundred Year Old Printing Office in Debrecen*] (Budapest: Akadémiai K., 1961), pp. 104–108.

10 Takács, *A debreceni könyvkötő művészet*, pp. 25–30.

11 Ilona Pavercsik, ‘A magyarországi könyvkereskedelem történetének vázlatja 1800-ig’ [A Sketch of the History of Hungarian Book Trade until 1800], in Judit V. Ecsedy (ed.), *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézisajtó korában 1473–1800* [*Printing of Books in Hungary in the Age of Hand-Press between 1473 and 1800*] (Budapest: Balassi, 1999), p. 315.

12 Most of the textbooks used by the students were printed either in Hungary or in Western Europe.

printing house at the expense of the *coetus*. Several eighteenth-century college professors made sure editions of classical texts were published in Debrecen. Editions of works by Greek and Roman authors issued abroad served as a basis for these new editions printed on behalf of the students of the College.¹³ We have library accounts from the beginning of the nineteenth century that systematically list which books were sold each year and in how many copies. They show that besides textbooks, a map collection made by copperplate engravers who were students of the College was available.¹⁴ There is also a mention of “the herbal book of Debrecen” based on Linnaeus’ classification system.¹⁵

It is possible to identify a group of fifteen to twenty people, composed of pastors, professors, town leaders and lay intellectuals, that all played an important role in the Debrecen book scene. Most of them had studied at the College and then spent several years at foreign universities. They could read books in several languages and, after their return, they continued to spend their life among books. The Lord Chief Justice of Debrecen, Márton Domokos (1697–1764), is a good example of this. He studied in Halle and Jena, he spoke Latin, German, French and Italian, and he brought together a significant library. He was also active as a translator and several of his translations appeared in print.¹⁶

The town’s intellectuals relied on each other’s international networks for obtaining foreign publications. They also used merchants frequenting the fairs as intermediaries.¹⁷ The pharmacist Sámuel Kazzay (1711–1797) owned the largest private library in Debrecen. He built a 2,400-volume collection, a size that was considerable, even at a national level. He followed the second-hand book market closely, not only insofar as German books were concerned, but also with regard to books from Dutch- and English-speaking areas. Kazzay’s collection was eventually confiscated by the city council by way of compensation for his accumulated debts and handed over to the College library.¹⁸

Contacts with peregrinating students were also instrumental for Protestant Hungarian aristocrats, members of the College and other intellectuals, for keeping a close eye on the international book market. During the early modern

13 László Makkai, ‘Debrecen iskolájából ország iskolája’ [The school of Debrecen becomes the School of the Country], in Barcza (ed.), *A Debreceni Református Kollégium*, p. 53; and Béla Tóth, *Maróthy György* [*György Maróthy*] (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium, 1994), pp. 150–155.

14 Ézsaiás Budai (ed.), *Oskolai új atlas* [*New Atlas for Schools*] (Debrecen: Debreceni Református Kollégium, 1800).

15 Sámuel Diószegi and Mihály Fazekas, *Magyar fűvészkönyv* [*Hungarian Herbal*] (Debrecen: Csáthy, 1807).

16 Béla Tóth, ‘Debrecen könyvkultúrája a 18. században’ [The Library Culture in Debrecen in the Eighteenth Century], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 97 (1981), pp. 66–67.

17 G. Szabó, *Kazay*, pp. 105–107.

18 G. Szabó, *Kazay*, pp. 113–114.



FIGURE 6.2 The Great Library of the Reformed College of Debrecen
PHOTO BY AUTHOR

period an average of seven Debrecen students left each year for one European university or another. Many of them carried lists of books to buy or received requests by letter.¹⁹ They thus bought books for the College at public auctions, mainly in Vienna, but some of the acquisitions can be traced back to auctions in the Netherlands. In September 1776 for example, ten volumes were purchased at the auction of the books of Leiden University librarian and philologist Abraham Gronovius (1695–1775) (see figure 6.2 page 142).²⁰

Book Auctions at the Reformed College of Debrecen

Sources

As mentioned above, the Debrecen Reformed College itself also organised book auctions. The account books of the library, written by student librarians

19 G. Szabó, *Kazay*, pp. 119–111.

20 See Róbert Oláh, 'Volumes from the Library of Abraham Gronovius in Debrecen', in Margriet Gosker and István Monok (eds.), *Peregrinus sum. Studies in History of Hungarian–Dutch Cultural Relations in Honour of Ferenc Postma on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday* (Budapest–Amsterdam: [s. n.], 2015), pp. 149–160.

of the College between 1749 and 1842, are now kept in the Archives of the Transtibiscan Reformed Church District (TRCD). The data they contain reveal interesting details concerning library management and the growth of the collection. Besides notes on acquisitions and book bindings ordered by the student librarians, these documents keep the memory of numerous auctions because they indicate for each year which books the College bought “in auctione publica” or “in publica licitatione”.²¹ Other documents from the College’s library archive preserved in the archival collections of the TRCD, also facilitate research on the Debrecen book auctions, as do the handwritten notes in several books indicating that they were once bought at an auction in the Reformed College, either by a private person or by a representative of the College.

We have no knowledge of any preserved written contracts testifying that private persons commissioned the Reformed College of Debrecen to auction their books. If such contracts even existed, they were probably oral agreements, as that was common practice at the time.

History of the Auctions

The first book auctions at Debrecen Reformed College took place at the behest of Professor György Maróthi (1715–1744). Maróthi had spent a long time abroad. Between 1731 and 1736 he studied in Zurich, Basel, Bern and Geneva, and in 1737 he went to Groningen. We know from his notes in his books that, during his stay in foreign countries, he grabbed every opportunity to buy books. Like other Hungarian peregrinating students, he also attended several auctions.²² Upon his return to Hungary, the newly appointed professor was asked to arrange and oversee the library of the College. First of all, Maróthi examined the stock and then he started sorting it out. An alphabetical list was made of all discardable items that were still marketable. It mainly comprised outdated theological titles, for instance works by Amesius and Coccejus, as well as philosophical works by Descartes. After these preparations, the first book auction at Debrecen College took place between 15 and 17 August 1743. The book sale brought in the sum of 1160 floreni and 22 denarii, of which 258 floreni were for books bought on credit.

From that time onwards book auctions became a recurrent event at the College, notably thanks to the fact that several Professors had their collections auctioned there: the books of György Maróthi, János Tabajdi Sáská, János Csákvári Varjas and József Lengyel were auctioned in 1745, 1751, 1789 and 1822, respectively.

21 Debrecen, TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g.

22 Tóth, *Maróthi*, pp. 59–85.

To give but a few other telling examples: the books of a certain Moktsai came under the hammer in January 1774; twenty out of 81 items were sold for 20 floreni. The inventory made at the auction is considered a rarity because the buyers' names and the book prices are indicated next to the abbreviated titles of the books. Thus, we do not only know the few volumes that went to the College library, but also the titles of those bought by private persons. The people present could bid on textbooks characteristic for the eighteenth century, theological works by Reformed and Lutheran authors (Bible commentaries and sermons), as well as books on philosophy, history, geography, jurisprudence and politics. The most zealous student buyer was József Péczeli Sr. (1750–1792) who would become the senior of the Debrecen *coetus* some years later. After his studies in Germany, Switzerland and the Dutch Republic, he would adopt the profession of minister. As a man of letters and a scientist he was the editor of the first Hungarian educational journal entitled *Mindenek Gyűjtemény* [*General Collection*] (1789–1792).²³ The name that appeared most frequently after Péczeli's is that of College's *contrascriba*.²⁴ Only two purchases were made on behalf of the College.²⁵

The town doctor István Weszprémi (1723–1799), a former student librarian, compiled the biographical encyclopaedia of doctors in Hungary. His library was auctioned at the College on 26 June 1808, after the death of his widow in the preceding year. The estimated value of the 667 works was 302 floreni and 27 denarii. Besides books in Hungarian, this sale contained mostly medical works and a small collection of theological, historical, judicial and political works printed in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English, French and German languages. His library was also rich in foreign journals. What stands out is the relative 'freshness' of the collection: Weszprémi had owned mainly works published in the eighteenth century.²⁶

In 1842 the books of Professor Ézsaiás Budai (1766–1841) were auctioned.²⁷ According to the report of the student librarian, this must have been the last significant auction at the College. Indeed, the following year Professor József

23 József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* [*Life and Works of Hungarian Writers*], Facsimile (Budapest: Magyar Könyvkiadók és Könyvterjesztők Egyesülete, 1980–1981), pp. 682–688.

24 A *Contrascriba*, or "inspector", in charge of overseeing the school laws, was the leading official of the student body, deputy senior. A *Senior* was head of the student government.

25 TtRE Kézirattára [Manuscript Archive of the College Library of Debrecen], R 913/18.

26 György Diósadi Elekes, 'Weszprémi István könyvtára' [The Library of István Weszprémi], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 66 (1942), pp. 305–307; and Tóth, *Debrecen könyvtári kultúrája* [The Library Culture in Debrecen], p. 75.

27 TtRE Kézirattára [Manuscript Archive of the College Library of Debrecen], R 1635, f. 18v.

Péczely Jr. (1789–1849) noted: “As I have not been able to deal with auctions in the course of my presidency-professorship, no money has come in ‘for the Library’ this year.”²⁸ Because of competing official engagements of the College’s president the auction did not take place in 1843. At this time there are no known sources that reveal whether the series of auctions that started in 1743 continued after 1842.

The Operation of the Auctions

Although no sustained research has been conducted on this topic, we have some data on auctions of private libraries at the Reformed colleges in Sárospatak, Enyed (Aiud, Romania) and Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş, Romania) at our disposal. As in Debrecen, the consigner was either the owner of the books himself or the heirs. In most cases, the auctions were held at the request of widows. Besides those of ecclesiastical persons (pastors and teachers), the sources mention also the names of lay owners. First, the representative of the school was allowed to choose from the books put on auction. A part of the receipts was used to settle the costs (e.g. rent of the room).²⁹ Sometimes it was the owners who wrote their last will and testament, in which they ordered the family members to convert their books, which were easy to sell, into cash to ensure them enough to live on. The private library, that became ‘useless’, was dispersed in this way after the father’s death. Professor István Hatvani (1718–1786) from Debrecen ordered his books to be sold; except for the handbooks his children could make use of, just as the Hungarian Bibles, prayer- and hymn-books necessary for daily faith practice.³⁰

It has to be noted that several details of the organisation of auctions at the Reformed College of Debrecen, as well as the auction process itself remain obscure. The accounts of the first auction in 1743 testify that the students of the College were involved in the auctions and were paid for their work. The *contrascriba* József Dantsházi was in charge of the till and he received 5 Hungarian

28 TtRE Kézirattára [Manuscript Archive of the College Library of Debrecen], R 1635, f. 19v.

29 András Harsányi, ‘A beregi református egyházmegye könyvtára’ [The library of the Bereg Reformed Presbytery], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 65 (1941), p. 266; and Zsigmond Jakó, ‘Az erdélyi magyar antikvár könyvkereskedelem kezdeteiről’ [About the Beginnings of the Hungarian Second-hand Book Trade in Transylvania] in Mihály Balázs and Zsuzsa Font (eds.), *Művelődési törekvések a korai újkorban. Tanulmányok Keserű Bálint tiszteletére* [Cultural Endeavours in the Early Modern Age] (Szeged: JATE Régi Magyar Irodalom Tanszéke, 1997), pp. 219–229; and Mihály Sebestyén, ‘A marosvásárhelyi egykori református kollégium diákkönyvtárosainak számadásai 1765–1800’ [The Accounts of the Librarian Students of the Former Reformed College of Marosvásárhely 1765–1800], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 110 (1994), pp. 362–363.

30 See Tóth, *Debrecen könyvtári kultúrája* [Library Culture in Debrecen], p. 72.

floreni and 10 denarii. Student librarian Ferenc Töltési was compensated with 10 floreni and 20 denarii. Gergely Szentmiklósi, who acted as crier (*praeco*), got 4 floreni and 8 denarii, and the two scribes, István Halasi and Sámuel Némethi had to share the same sum of money. This means that the expenses of the auction amounted to 24 floreni and 46 denarii.³¹

In 1831 we see entries appear concerning an “auction tenth” in the accounts of the student librarians, who replaced the use of Latin in library management with the vernacular. One tenth of the receipts was reserved to cover the cost for the cashier, the crier and the scribes’ salaries. From the 1830s onwards, the tenths were regularly included in the yearly accounts. A surviving receipt from 1833 confirms that nine-tenths of the auction proceeds were transferred to the party on behalf of whom the books were sold.³² The sum of the tenths ranged between 2 or 3 floreni and 40 floreni per auction.³³ In the account books, a note stating “if paid in” often appears next to the sum of the tenths. It is unclear why payment was uncertain, but it appears that the widows or heirs might have deposited it at the cashier’s office of the library at a later date, and sometimes may even not have paid.

From the first few decades of the nineteenth century onwards, the accounts of the student librarians show that the auctions were planned around church feast days.³⁴ For instance, nine auctions took place in Debrecen before Christmas 1832, and five before Pentecost 1833. The sum of the tenth that came in amounted to 9 floreni, from which a remuneration of 30 kreuzers was paid to each student who helped with the auction.³⁵ The profits made by the Reformed College were used to develop the College library. Maróthi suggested for example to use auction proceeds to buy the *Acta Eruditorum Lipsiensia*.³⁶ An average of two or three hundred floreni a year were spent on collection development of the library from the budget during the investigation period, thus, it is worth comparing the former sums of money to the latter ones (see figure 6.3 page 147).³⁷

31 TtRE Kézirattára [Manuscript Archive of the College Library of Debrecen], R 913/5.

32 TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 2. (Nyugta [receipt]).

33 TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 2. (67. Füzet [booklet]).

34 TtRE Kézirattára [Manuscript Archive of the College Library of Debrecen] R 1635, ff. 107–117.

35 TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 2. (68. Füzet, f. 1v).

36 Tóth, *Maróthi*, pp. 219–221.

37 Csaba Fekete and Botond G. Szabó, ‘A kollégium Nagykönyvtára’ [The College Library], in Barcza (ed.), *A Debreceni Református Kollégium [The Reformed College of Debrecen]*, p. 428.

Erogiones.		Summa debitorum
Pro mercede laboris in vendendis libris, ex consensu Professorum.		
D. D. Jof. Dansthazi, Perceptor	- - - -	5.10
D. D. Bibliothecarius, Franc. Foltosi	- - - -	10.20
D. Greg. J. M. D. Lof. praeconi	- - - -	4.08
D. D. Jof. Halasi, et Jan. Nemcsi, scribis	- - - -	4.08
Pro Halasi Grammatico plebanis	- - - -	1.00
		<u>31917</u>

FIGURE 6.3 The expenses of the auction of 1743. TrRE Kézirattára [Manuscript Archive of the College Library of Debrecen], R 913/5

Inventories

In the seventeenth century the practice of organising public auctions of books coming from privately libraries gained wide traction all over Europe and so did the phenomenon of the printed auction catalogue. The first auction catalogue was published in the Dutch Republic in 1599 and altogether 3,800 auction catalogues are known to have been published in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.³⁸ The first printed inventory in Transylvania was the booklist of the Royal Master of the Horse, Dénes Bánffy (1723–1780), whose collection was auctioned in Szeben (Sibiu, Romania) in 1763.³⁹ In most cases, however, only a hand-written list was drawn up. This was the case even for such substantial collections as the library of the Transylvanian councillor and mine inspector Sámuel Köleséri Jr. (1663–1732). He collected a 3,561-volume library that was sold between 1775 and 1776.⁴⁰ Among the publications of the Debrecen printing house there are no printed catalogues before the middle of the nineteenth century, although small prints, administrative and commercial announcements were continuously published during the early modern period.⁴¹

We have knowledge of some Debrecen and Transylvanian inventories from the second half of the eighteenth century, which were compiled either beforehand to inform those interested in the auction or drawn up during the auction for keeping records of the transactions. These were all manuscript lists which

38 Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, 'What was Published in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic?', *Libre. Revue Historique* (2018), pp. 13–14.

39 Jakó, 'Az erdélyi magyar antikvár' [About the Beginnings of the Hungarian], p. 222.

40 Lajos Bertók, 'Ifjabb Köleséri Sámuel könyvhagyatéka' [The Book Legacy of Sámuel Köleséri the Younger], *Könyv és Könyvtár*, 3 (1955), pp. 21–328.

41 Kálmán Benda and Károly Irinyi, *A négyszáz éves debreceni nyomda* [The Four-Hundred-Year-Old Printing House in Debrecen] (Budapest: Akadémiai K., 1961), pp. 321–407.

contained rather little information on the works offered for sale and their former owner. Sometimes only the surname of the latter was recorded.

The Effect of Auctions on the College Library

The professors in charge of the College library used every possible occasion to expand the collection, including placing bids on behalf of the library in the auctions that took place on the premises. The choice of books they bought can tell us a lot about the College. In this paragraph, I will discuss a few examples. Further research is needed to establish if these are representative of broader tendencies.

In the first place, the books purchased from collections that belonged to former professors are worth considering. On 30 July 1745 the books of György Maróthi, who had died the previous year, were put up for auction. The College bought altogether 237 items from his widow, the other books went to private persons and were dispersed.⁴² The books of deceased professors turned up later at auctions held in the Reformed College. People could bid on books from the library of János Tabajdi Sáska (?–1751) in October 1751 and for those from the succession of János Csákvári Varjas (1721–1786) in August 1789. The Reformed College acquired eleven items from the former and eighteen items from the latter.⁴³ In 1822, the Reformed College bought 25 volumes in the auction of the library of Philosophy teacher József Lengyel (1770–1822), who had been driven away because of his Kantianism. Most of the 13 German, 7 Hungarian, 3 French and 2 Latin books acquired were on Theology. Besides these, there were a few from the category ‘Belles-Lettres’ and also special books on agriculture in Hungarian.⁴⁴

On 12 January 1761, the books of Rev. János Püspöki Süllye (1681–1761) from Kisújszállás came under the hammer. Student librarian Sámuel Vecsei and library inspector Professor Miklós Sinai (1730–1808) represented the College at the bidding. They bought at least nine volumes. The notes in the works that have survived in the College library disclose more buyer’s names. István Szathmári Paksi (1719–1791) professor of Theology, then bishop, obtained several volumes from the collection of Püspöki Süllye. Besides Sinai, who possessed a 1,700-volume library himself, the following persons can be identified among the purchasers: Rev. Mihály Nagy from Szentes, the student librarian Vecsei who, like Sinai, also bought books for himself, and József Komáromi, another student from Debrecen.⁴⁵

42 Tóth, *Maróthi*, p. 222.

43 TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD] II. 12. g. 1. (13. Füzet, f. 14r) and TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 1. (39. Füzet, f. 10v).

44 TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 2. (68. Füzet, ff. 9r–9v).

45 Róbert Oláh, ‘Püspöki Süllye János könyvei’ [The Books of János Püspöki Süllye], in István Monok and Judit Nyerges (eds.), *A Mokka-R Egyesület 2007. december 17-i felolvasóülésének*

In the course of 1788 and 1789, the libraries of two men of law went under the hammer. In the auction of the collection of lawyer (“fiscalis”) István Kuthi, the College bought several books for a total of 17 Rhenish forints and 39 denarii. Instead of books in Latin that were typical for purchases at earlier auctions, the books obtained from Kuthi were written mainly in English or French. The College also bid successfully on five items in French from the library of the judge of the Court of Appeal (“assessor”) Pál Berzeviczy and paid no less than 78 Rhenish forints and 40 denarii for them. Works by authors of the Enlightenment entered the College Library at that time: for example, the 28-volume edition of Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s complete works (bought for 37 Rhenish forints), books by Bernard de Fontenelle, Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon and Prosper Marchand and a work entitled *Anti-Rousseau* (Jean-Baptiste Rousseau that is).⁴⁶

Since 1782, due to a decree of the Hungarian Royal Council of Governor-General, an inspector had to look through the books put on auction in order to filter out those that were deemed dangerous for the established order. It was prohibited to sell the books he had marked.⁴⁷ We do not know whether an inspector was present at the auctions organised by the College. The sale of Berzeviczy’s library shows that even works that were in principle prohibited, could be auctioned without difficulty in Debrecen. It must be noted though that the auctioneers tried to avoid problems by describing potentially problematic items in original ways: Rousseau’s works were thus recorded in the inventory under the Latin “title”: “Opera Russavii tomi 28” and not in French like the other works by French authors in the sale.

Sometimes books bought in auctions organised by other colleges eventually got to the library of the College of Debrecen. The 888-volume library of Rev. Péter Bod (1712–1769), the Transylvanian pastor, writer and bibliographer from Magyarigen (Ighiu, Romania), was auctioned on 24 April 1770 in the Reformed College of Enyed (Aiud, Romania).⁴⁸ The College of Enyed was that which was located the shortest distance from the clergy house of the deceased pastor. This must have been the reason why the heirs chose this venue to have the

anyaga [Papers read at the reading session of the Early Printed Books Department of the Hungarian National Common Catalogue on 17 December 2007] (Budapest: Argumentum, 2008), pp. 27–56.

46 TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 1. (38. Füzet, ff. 6r–7r) and TtRE Levéltára [Archive of the TRCD], II. 12. g. 1. (39. Füzet, f. 9r).

47 László Szelestei Nagy, ‘Egy esztergomi köznemes, Somogyi János (+1782) könyvtára’ [The Library of János Somogyi (+1782) Member of a Lesser Nobility of Esztergom], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 119 (2003), p. 106.

48 Éva M. Hubbes, ‘Bod Péter könyvtára és annak maradványai Székelyudvarhelyen’ [‘Peter Bod’s library and its remnants in Székelyudvarhely’], in Gábor Tüskés, István Csörsz Rumen and Béla Hegedűs (eds.), *Bod Péter, a historia litteraria művelője. Tanulmányok* [Péter Bod Scholar of Historia Litteraria. Essays] (Budapest: Universitas, 2004), p. 47.

books auctioned. Besides books by antique authors and works on theology, grammar, medicine, history, geography, philosophy and politics, the collection contained several works of Hungarica. Prior to the sale copies were made of the manuscript auction catalogue and sent to other Reformed colleges that might be interested in purchasing books from the valuable collection. A copy of the book list resembling the one that Béla Radvánszky published in 1884, may have come to Debrecen.⁴⁹ In any case, in recent decades books from Bod's collection not only turned up in Enyed (14),⁵⁰ and Székelyudvarhely (Odorheiu Secuiesc, Romania) (15),⁵¹ but also in Debrecen. The Library of the Reformed College actually holds 81 books from Péter Bod's library. According to the handwritten notes in these surviving copies, Bod bought most of his books in the course of his stay in Leiden as a student (1740–1743).⁵² Several books on his list were printed in the Low Countries (Utrecht, Amsterdam, Leeuwarden, Harderwijk, Groningen, Franeker, Leiden, Antwerp, Brussels, Rotterdam) and even a book in “lingua Belgica”: “Vall de Usu globor[um].”⁵³

The consignment with books from Bod's library, two medium-sized chests, was probably brought to Debrecen by auction participants in April 1770, but they were not catalogued until over half a year later. It was then that the student librarian Miklós Menyhárt inscribed the phrase “Liber Illustris Collegii Reformatorum Debrecinensis,” and a note referring to Péter Bod, in the books. However, it appears that Professors Miklós Sinai and István Szathmári Paksi, who must have been present at the auction in Enyed on behalf of the Debrecen College, together with a librarian student, pilfered from the incoming chests. They took possession of some of the books. These volumes did not make it into the library until later or they did not make it in at all.⁵⁴

49 Béla Radvánszky, ‘Bod Péter könyvtárának jegyzéke’ [The Inventory of Péter Bod's Library], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 9 (1884), pp. 58–86.

50 Zsigmond Vita, ‘Bod Péter könyvei az enyedi Bethlen Könyvtárban’ [Péter Bod's books in the Bethlen Library in Enyed], *Könyvtári Szemle* (1969), p. 131.

51 Hubbes, ‘Bod Péter könyvtára’ [Péter Bod's Library], pp. 47–58.

52 Róbert Oláh, ‘Bod Péter könyvei a Debreceni Református Kollégiumban’ [Péter Bod's Books in the Reformed College of Debrecen], in Botond G. Szabó and Róbert Oláh (eds.), *„Kezembe veszem, olvasom és arról elmélkedem”. Emlékkönyv Fekete Csaba születésének 75. és könyvtárosi működésének 50. évfordulójára* [“I take it in my hand, read it and contemplate on it.” Festschrift for the 75th Birthday of Csaba Fekete and the 50th Anniversary of his Librarianship] (Debrecen: Tiszántúli Református Egyházkerület Nagykönyvtára, 2015), pp. 243–268.

53 Radvánszky, ‘Bod Péter könyvtárának jegyzéke’, p. 64.

54 Lajos Dézsi, ‘Bod Péter könyvtárának sorsa’ [The fate of Péter Bod's library], *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 19 (1895), p. 191.

The Impact of Book Auctions on Local Book Culture

One of the questions that remain to be studied in depth is that of the effect College auctions had on the book market in Debrecen. In 1735, György Maróthi wrote a letter from Bern to Jacob Christoph Beck (1711–1785) in Basel. The two young men had become friends during their studies in Basel and they continued to write to each other until Maróthi's early death in 1744. In his letter Maróthi remarked that he had devoted himself to historical rather than to theological studies during his peregrination. Stating that "at home, there are theological books in abundance", he considered that there would be plenty of time to deal with them after his return to Hungary, but, as far as historical books were concerned, he could only find them and take notes of their contents while he was abroad.⁵⁵ This seems to indicate that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, there was no lack of possibilities to acquire and to read theological books available in Debrecen and especially, at the College, whose main objective was to train future ministers. The wide availability of theological books was partly due to the fact that students returning from foreign universities, where most of them had studied theology, brought along the books they had purchased abroad. To some extent, these—by then somewhat outdated—books ended up later on the Hungarian book market through auctions dispersing the collections of deceased intellectuals.

Another interesting statement can be found in one of Miklós Sinai's letters from 1768. In his opinion, as a result of the frequently held auctions, books could be purchased in Debrecen at such a low price that it would be more expensive to buy them in the flourishing centres of the European book market, such as Amsterdam or Leiden. This demonstrates that local intellectuals were well informed about what was available where and at what price. This was probably mostly thanks to their wide-ranging correspondence networks as well as to the auction catalogues they obtained.⁵⁶ The foreign auction catalogues of private libraries that are still preserved in the College library remind us of the significant role these publications, which, by nature, were rapidly antiquated and weeded out, used to play in the management of the library's collections.⁵⁷

55 Imre Lengyel and Béla Tóth, 'Maróthi György külföldi tanulmányútja. Adatok pályakezdéséhez, könyvtára keletkezéséhez Jacob Christoph Beckkel folytatott levelezéséből' [György Maróthi's study trip. Data on the beginning of his career and his library on the basis of his correspondence with Jacob Christoph Beck], *Könyv és Könyvtár*, 8 (1970), p. 50.

56 Péter Illik (ed.), *Debreceni értelmiségiek levelei Dobai Székely Sámuelhez* [Letters of Intellectuals from Debrecen to Sámuel Dobai Székely] (Piliscsaba: PPKÉ BTK, 2007), p. 103.

57 I identified for instance the catalogues of Prof. Jacobus Perizonius from Leiden (1715), Prof. Theodor Hase from Bremen (1732) and Prof. Petrus Wesseling from Utrecht (1765) at the College library.

Let us finish with an example of the use of the volumes obtained at auctions that illustrates the impact of the presence of a second-hand book in the College library. A copy of Christianus Reineccius' study on the Hebrew language of the Old Testament was purchased by a representative of the College in the sale of Rev. János Barkasi's legacy, in August 1813. Mihály Tóth, a student librarian, catalogued it in September of that year. It was the twenty-first copy of this work in the library and, according to the notes in this popular textbook, at least eleven students of Theology had it in their hands over the course of the subsequent three or four decades.⁵⁸

Conclusion

The book collections auctioned at Debrecen Reformed College between 1743 and 1842, created a permanent supply of books, mainly on theology and humanities, most of which had been published abroad in the previous centuries. Intellectuals in the vicinity and College students could cheaply obtain books for their studies and their work. Despite the fact that, in general, these were not the latest editions of the works in question, this possibility to obtain second-hand copies was considered as a great advantage. And, as we have seen, this way sometimes relatively new books, like those of the authors of the French Enlightenment, became available at the local book market.

The tenth paid by the seller (widow or heirs) who ordered the auction (once the wage of the students participating in the auction had been discounted) provided a steady income for the College. Even if it was not a very significant amount, it was important in the eighteenth century, because of lack of other funding possibilities at the time of the Counter-Reformation. This movement was supported by the Habsburg emperors and it influenced the life of the town and the Reformed Church; various methods were used to make the operation of the Reformed College of Debrecen impossible. At a time when it was prohibited for students to collect donations in the country and for the town council to support the College financially, this institution of great importance for the Hungarian Reformed people could go on operating thanks to relatively small sources of income such as the interests of credits lent out, financial aid from abroad and the income from book auctions.

58 TtRE Nagykönyvtára (College Library of TRCD), Y 522. Christianus Reineccius, *Janua Hebraeae linguae Veteris Testamenti* (Leipzig: sumpt. haered. Lanckisianorum, 1756).

PART 2

Uncovering Private Libraries in Archival Sources



Some Notes on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Library Archives as a Source for the Reconstruction of Private Libraries in Italy and the Vatican City

Giliola Barbero*

If we consider the definition of traditional archives (“collections of documents produced or acquired by private and public institutions during the development of their own activity”), all libraries should keep their own archive.¹ However, over the course of Italian history—which has involved a mix of several administrative centres and strong religious institutions—libraries of different kinds were founded and their archives are now kept in various different legal and administrative conditions. Only five Italian state libraries keep archives dating back to the first half of the eighteenth century, but none of them has an archive older than this.² This is because the oldest Italian libraries are not the state libraries, but the libraries that belonged to the old pre-unification states. These include first of all collections from Italian nobility, such as the

* I am grateful to the organisers of the conference ‘Private libraries and private library inventories, 1665–1830’ for their warm hospitality in Ravenstein and their invitation to collaborate in this publication. The travel costs have been funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant Agreement n° 694476). The research that served as a basis for this chapter was completed in October 2019.

- 1 See Istituto Centrale per gli Archivi (ICAR) online at <<https://icar.cultura.gov.it/home>> (last accessed 27 August 2023).
- 2 Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, *Archivi di biblioteche. Per la storia delle biblioteche pubbliche statali* (Rome: Storia e letteratura, 2002), p. XXXVI. The oldest archives are 1) the archive of the National Central Library in Florence, which houses the archival records of the Magliabechiana Library opened to the public in 1747 (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, *Archivi di biblioteche*, pp. 45–55); 2) the Marucelliana Library, also in Florence, which was founded in 1702 and in 1869 became a state library (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, *Archivi di biblioteche*, pp. 57–63); 3) the Estense Library in Modena, whose archive dates from 1736 (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, *Archivi di biblioteche*, pp. 11–19); 4) the University Library of Padua, founded by the Republic of Venice in 1629, whose library rules can be found in the oldest section of the archive (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, *Archivi di biblioteche*, pp. 139–153); 5) and the Marciana National Library in Venice, whose archive dates back to the first half of the eighteenth century (Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, *Archivi di biblioteche*, pp. 57–63).

Este family's library. The Este collection was located in the Duchy of Modena and Reggio since the fourteenth century and, as was the destiny of other noble families' library collections, its contents were confiscated by the Italian state after unification. Furthermore, some city libraries founded centuries ago survived as archived collections proper, such as the Gambalunghiana Library in Rimini, founded in 1619. Last but not least, we can rely on the archives of numerous long-lasting religious libraries. These include the Capitolare Library in Verona, the Malatestiana Library in Cesena—founded by Malatesta Novello and the Franciscans during the fifteenth century and now belonging to the municipality—, and the Ambrosiana Library, established at the beginning of the seventeenth century by the Archbishop of Milan as an independent institution. Several of these early modern libraries' archives are now mixed with the archival collections of the institutions that owned these libraries. For example, the historical documents of the Este family's library are kept in the archive of the Duchy of Modena and Reggio. The archives of Rome's Vallicelliana and Angelica libraries were partially confiscated by the Italian state and are now divided between the State Archive of Rome and the archives of the religious orders that founded them, the Oratorian Fathers and the Augustinian Fathers. The oldest sources on the history of the Marciana National Library are kept in Venice's State Archives among the documents of the Serenissima Republic of Venice.

Within this context, the distinctiveness of the Vatican Library—which is not Italian, of course, but which nevertheless holds many book collections and private libraries that offer material pertaining to Italian culture—lies both in the antiquity and in the continuity of its documentation. What follows offers a source overview of sometimes little known or unnoticed Italian research into library archives, introducing the reader to the history of five collections: the Vatican Library, the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, the Roman Vallicelliana and Angelica libraries and the Venetian Marciana library. A short presentation of these examples illustrates how the study of library archives as a chief source for the history of (institutionalised) book collections has the potential of adding a new dimension to the Italian historiography of the early modern book, which for several decades focused on the world of the printing press, censorship and the early modern book trade.

The Vatican Library Archive

The Vatican Library archive has always been and still is an appendix to the Prefect's office but it houses the documentation produced by all sections of

the institution over the centuries.³ It therefore contains a great many sources necessary for reconstructing many historical and library-related aspects of the Vatican Library, including its functioning and services, its employees and librarians, its financial administration, and also the acquisitions of private libraries. These kinds of sources enable scholars to study the administrative, economic, and cultural activities of the old library.

Jeanne Bignami Odier was the first scholar to systematically make use of the Vatican Library archive when writing her work on *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI*, published in 1973.⁴ More than two decades later, Christine M. Grafinger published the list of book loans made by the Vatican between 1563 and 1700, as well as some articles based on the library archive records.⁵ The Vatican Library archive inventory is arguably the most important work that has been carried out on the archive, and despite still being in progress and having not yet been published, some of its contents can be guessed at by reading several chapters of the four monumental volumes that make up the *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (The History of the Vatican Library). The first volume was published in 2010, and in 2016 the series reached its fourth volume, devoted to the Enlightenment period, while one more, on the nineteenth century, is due for release soon.⁶ The second and the third volumes document, among other things, the history of the private collections that entered the Vatican Library during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

3 Christine M. Grafinger, 'Uffici della Prefettura. Archivio', in Francesco D'Aiuto and Paolo Vian (eds.), *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana*, vol. II (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011), pp. 911–916.

4 Jeanne Bignami Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1973). Both Leonard Boyle and Grafinger herself acknowledged Bignami Odier's intuition about the importance of these papers for the history of the Vatican Library and its collections: Leonard E. Boyle, 'Prefazione', in Christine M. Grafinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997), p. VII; Grafinger, 'Uffici della prefettura. Archivio', in Francesca D'Aiuto and Paolo Vian (eds.), *Guida ai fondi manoscritti, numismatici, a stampa della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2011), p. 913.

5 Christine M. Grafinger, *Die Ausleihe vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke (1563–1700)* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993); *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1997); *Die Ausleihe vatikanischer Handschriften und Druckwerke 18. Jahrhundert. Teil 1: Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002).

6 *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010–). Vol. I: Antonio Manfredi (ed.), *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e Rinascimento: (1447–1534)* (2010); vol. II: Massimo Ceresa (ed.), *La Biblioteca Vaticana tra Riforma cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535–1590)* (2012); vol. III: Claudia Montuschi (ed.), *La Vaticana nel Seicento (1590–1700): una biblioteca di biblioteche* (2014); vol. IV: Barbara Jatta (ed.), *La Biblioteca Vaticana e le arti nel secolo dei Lumi (1700–1797)* (2016).

To do this, they draw upon two main kinds of sources: old catalogues and inventories that describe the Vatican and its acquired private collections (mostly kept in the main manuscript collection, Fondo Vaticano latino), and the records of the library archive, labelled with the shelf mark 'Arch. Bibl.' followed by a number. International scholars should take these volumes into account, even if they are not written in English, because they demonstrate—among other things—the extent to which early modern library archives can be used, and how interesting they are in describing the movements, the evaluations, and sometimes the splitting and dispersal of private collections. In what follows, I will discuss some documents that serve as an example of this. To the conclusions of the existing studies on most of these documents I will add my own considerations.

Among the documents inventoried and studied in the Vatican Library are the cost records that testify to the acquisition of books, their prices, and the prices paid for their bindings. These records allow us to learn more about the relationship between the library and the city's economy, and its day-by-day evolution that depended on the purchase of books found on the book market. One of these registers is ms. Vat. lat. 3965, a compact volume (230 × 162 mm) kept in the main manuscript collection, which details the library's expenses from 1548 to 1555.⁷ A very similar record is the first part of the miscellaneous volume Arch. Bibl. 30, whose physical characteristics (56 folios, 220 × 160 mm) are completely different from those of the other parts, demonstrating that it was originally an independent volume. Expenses from September 1572 to January 1601 are recorded in it. These include purchases of books made in several bookshops in Rome, notably those run by Domenico Basa, Brianzo Brianzi, Marco da Montegiordano, Venturino Tramezzino, Bastiano della Pace, Scipione Paganini, and Bartolomeo Grassi. The two manuscripts also list expenses for book bindings and book restoration, payments for sheets of paper and parchment to be written on or used in the library, and for wooden shelves to store books.⁸ The manuscripts even detail how much was paid to

7 The manuscript was published by Léon Dorez under the title of 'Le registre des dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555', in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), pp. 142–185; Giacomo Cardinali, 'Legature di "Mastro Luigi" per la Biblioteca Vaticana (con un catalogo di alcuni suoi ferri)', in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 23 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2017), pp. 119–144 and *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, *passim*.

8 Massimo Ceresa, 'Acquisizioni e ordinamento degli stampati nel corso del Cinquecento', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, pp. 91–104. Some of these booksellers are cited in Marina Venier, 'Topografia della tipografia (o meglio del libro) a Roma nel XVI secolo', in Cristina Dondi, Andreina Rita, Adalbert Roth and Marina Venier (eds.), *La stampa a Roma nella città dei papi e in Europa* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016),

transfer Aldo Manuzio the Younger's private collection to the Vatican Library (2 scudi and 20 baiocchi, the currency used in Rome at the time).⁹ This huge wealth of information makes it clear that further research and reflection on these sources is necessary if we want to describe the main aspects of the economic history of the printed books and the manuscripts. Evaluating the influence that libraries had within the book trade, the prices that these institutions could pay for books, as well as calculating the relationship between the prices of books and the prices of their bindings are all tasks that need to be carried out in the near future.

But in addition to the expenses registers, other kinds of archival documents typical of libraries have also already been drawn upon in the volumes devoted to the history of the Vatican Library. They will be drawn upon again in the future when it comes to continuing the reconstruction of the history of private libraries that have been incorporated into the papal collection.

Other examples of such archival documents include the manuscripts Arch. Bibl. 11 and Arch. Bibl. 15a and 15b, which all contain lists of purchased books, payment receipts, and other kinds of sources. They feature different handwritings, are written on different kinds of paper, vary in size, and are dated or datable to various times. For example, the beginning of Arch. Bibl. 11 features several lists of books used by Cardinal Agostino Trivulzio (1485–1548): *Index registorum habitorum ab heredibus bonae memoriae cardinalis Trivultii factus die 2 Iulii 1548 in la guardarobba di Nostra Signoria* (ff. 1r–3r); *Index aliorum librorum manu scriptorum* (ff. 4r–5v); *Libri stampati e Greci* (f. 6r); *Libri del cardinale Trivultio quali erano della libreria* (f. 7v); and *Libri ex A. Trivultio copia*

pp. 197–215; Gian Ludovico Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai a Roma nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: documenti inediti* (Rome: Palombi, 1980).

9 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Bibl. 30, f. 51r: “A 6 di novembre 1598 fu fatto un mandato di scuti sei di moneta a pagarsi a me Marino Raynaldi custode della Bibliotheca Vaticana di N. S. per fare portare in detta Bibliotheca li libri della libreria di Aldo Manutio” [On 6 November 1598 a payment for the amount of 6 scudi, in coins, was ordered to be paid to me Marino Raynaldi, keeper of the Vatican Library of Our Lord, to have the books of Aldo Manuzio's collection moved to said library] and on the following folio “Die sexta Novembris 1598 Per un mandato camerale spedito da Lutio Calderino di scuti sei per far portare li libri d'Aldo Manutio in Bibliotheca Vaticana per ordine del bibliotecario. S. 6.” [On 6 November 1598. For a payment order of 6 scudi issued by Lutio Calderino to have Aldo Manuzio's books moved to the Vatican Library, by order of the librarian. Scudi 6] and “Ho speso io Marino Ranaldi per fare portare in le stantie della Bibliotheca Vaticana di N. S. casse 65 dalla libreria del Manutio S. 2.30” [I, Marino Rainaldi, have spent 2.30 soldi to move 65 chests of books from Manuzio's library to the Vatican Library]. On Aldo Manuzio the Younger's private collection see Alfredo Serrai, *La biblioteca di Aldo Manuzio il Giovane* (Milan: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2007).

(ff. 7r–8v).¹⁰ A list of books that belonged to Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542) is also included: *Indice de libri che erano del cardinale Brundusino 1550* (ff. 9r–12r).¹¹

Lists and evaluation lists detailing Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto's private book collection are also bound together here. On ff. 140r and 147r appear two copies of the same *Relatione che messer Domenico Basa mercante de libri in Roma fa a suo giuditio e conscientia della libreria che fu del cardinal Sirleto bonae memoriae*. Domenico Basa, who was Paolo Manuzio's collaborator and manager of the Stamperia del Popolo Romano from 1567 to 1584, valued the 32 chests of Latin printed books, 5 chests of Greek printed books, 473 Greek manuscripts, 728 Latin manuscripts on different subjects, 667 manuscripts on theology, and 96 manuscripts written in other languages, at 7,575 ducats. However, Basa also explicitly noted that: "un libraro il quale compera per radoppiare lo potrebbe pagar otto mila scudi. Et un principe ad haverne buon mercato dodeci mila" [a bookseller buying to resell at double the price could pay 8,000 scudi. And a prince, if the deal is good, 12,000]. On f. 141r appears a document entitled *Quel che messer Giorgio Ferrari e messer Girolamo Frontini in Roma riferiscono della libreria del cardinal Sirleto bonae memoriae*, in which Giorgio Ferrari and Girolamo Frontini declare that "un principe la può pagare quindici mila scudi. Un libraro—dice il Frontino—diece ..." [a prince could pay 15,000 scudi. A bookseller—Frontino said—10,000].¹² These price evaluations are evidence of an interesting and modern aspect of the book trade. They demonstrate that private libraries could be priced differently depending on the market to which they were being sold. This confirms that in the early modern period book prices were representative of the value books had in a particular context and for specific buyers, rather than having an objective value that was entirely dependent on production costs. Another evaluation that features in the manuscript Arch. Bibl. 11 concerns whether it was worth making copies from Sirleto's Greek manuscripts:

10 Pierre Petitmengin, 'I manoscritti latini della Vaticana. Uso, acquisizioni, classificazioni', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, pp. 51, 82 n. 71; Christine M. Grafinger, 'Servizi al pubblico e personale', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, pp. 220, 234 n. 31.

11 Pierre Petitmengin, 'I manoscritti latini della Vaticana', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, pp. 66, 186 n. 189; Léon Dorez, 'Nouvelles recherches sur la bibliothèque du cardinal Girolamo Aleandro', *Revue des bibliothèques*, 7 (1897), pp. 298–302.

12 Santo Lucà, 'Guglielmo Sirleto e la Vaticana', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, pp. 145–188; Franco Pignatti, 'Cesare Baronio e la Vaticana', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, vol. 11, pp. 193, 212–213 n. 9–10.

If obtaining the original Greek manuscripts listed below is not possible, making a copy of all of them would be very expensive, because each of them contains several texts by different authors, and in order to identify which are wanted, many works that are not needed would have to be copied. If a Latin author has already been translated and published: 1) the translated and published ones are not to be copied ...; 2) the New Testament, Saint Paul's Epistles and other similar works too are not to be copied, because the oldest copies are preferable.¹³

These considerations show on which basis a collection could be expanded by ordering manuscript copies of those already present in the library. The decision depended on elements both inherent and extrinsic to the collection: the originals' rareness and accessibility, but also the cost of copying specific items.

The Ambrosiana Library Archive

Turning to another famous Catholic library, a distinguishing feature of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan is its historical continuity, coupled with its legal and financial independence. It was founded by the Archbishop of Milan, Federico Borromeo, and officially opened to the public in 1607 as an independent institution. This ensured that the archive was kept inside the library itself. Known as the Archivio dei Conservatori, it contains the archival records produced by the board of administrators, which was established by Federico Borromeo together with the *Collegio dei dottori*, the team of Catholic priests devoted to studying and researching.¹⁴ The Archivio dei Conservatori takes up several shelves in the library, and has always been well known inside the institution, but its use in cultural research is relatively recent. An article which extensively cites many of its records was published in 2005 by Cesare Pasini, who detailed the history of Federico Borromeo's private acquisitions, which

13 "Se non si possono havere li originali delli libri greci come sta notato nella lista [nei fogli seguenti], sarebbe gran spesa a farne copia, perché in un libro son diverse opere et diversi autori et si copierebbono di quelli che non si cercano; però è necessario che avisino quel che particolarmente desiderano et di quelli non importerebbe havere gli originali. Se un autore latino si trova tradotto et stampato: 1) di quelli che si trovan tradotti et stampati latini non mi par sia necessario a far spesa di farli copiare ...; 2) li testamenti nuovi o epistole di s. Paolo et simili cose non serveno le copie sole di questi, si desideran gli esemplari più antichi che si possono havere." (Arch. Bibl. 11, f. 127r-v.)

14 Francesco Bentivoglio (ed.), *Costituzioni del Collegio e della Biblioteca Ambrosiana* (Milan: Tipografia pontificia ed arcivescovile San Giuseppe, 1933).

entered the Ambrosiana after his death.¹⁵ Additionally, in the Ambrosiana's public reading room, Marco Panizza's *Catalogo dell'Archivio dei Conservatori*, an inventory in PDF format, is now available for scholars.¹⁶ Comprising 1244 pages, this inventory merits careful reading. It describes for example a collection of payment receipts (called 'confessi' in old Italian) produced in Federico Borromeo's house in Rome, where he lived from 1586 to 1595. Some of these receipts confirm the purchase of the famous multilingual (or polyglot) *Biblia sacra* published by Christophe Plantin between 1570 and 1573 (8 volumes, in folio). Federico Borromeo bought a copy of it while in Rome and in fact in April 1588 the book binder Hermanio de Hermani testified that he had received 10 scudi for the binding of the 8 volumes,¹⁷ while in the following October the bookseller Curzio Marcelli was paid 66 scudi for the edition itself.¹⁸ The copy bought by Federico Borromeo is still kept in the Ambrosiana Library with shelf mark S. N. A. VI 18–25, and is bound in red leather over pasteboard, decorated with Borromeo's coat of arms. Moreover, the edition is listed in the catalogue of Federico Borromeo's private library in the section *Sacra Scrittura—Rubrica B*: "Biblia regia Hebraice Chaldaice Graece et Latine cum appendicibus A fol. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8" (ms. Ambrosiano E 20 suss., f. 3r), and in one of the oldest historical catalogues of the Ambrosiana.¹⁹ There, one of the three copies catalogued has the same old shelf mark that is present on the guard leaf of the only surviving Ambrosiana copy S. N. A. VI 18: "Biblia regia Hebraice, Graece, Latine, Chaldaicae, Syriace quoad testamentum novum, volumi 8, Antwerp. 1572" (ms. Ambrosiano Z 37 inf., f. 91r).

The combination of archival documents (in this case the 'confessi') with old catalogues and the surviving books enables us to understand in detail how Federico Borromeo's private book collection was put together. In addition, this method also allows us to ascertain the prices of the books he obtained from the booksellers in Rome.

15 Cesare Pasini, 'Le acquisizioni librerie del cardinale Federico Borromeo e il nascere dell'Ambrosiana', in Franco Buzzi and Roberta Ferro (eds.), *Federico Borromeo fondatore della Biblioteca Ambrosiana. Atti delle giornate di studio 25–27 novembre 2004, Studia borromaica*, 19 (2005), pp. 461–490.

16 Mario Panizza, *Catalogo dell'Archivio dei Conservatori* (Milan: Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1998–2012).

17 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Archivio dei Conservatori, Cartella 10 n° 26; Pasini, 'Le acquisizioni librerie del cardinale Federico Borromeo', p. 487 and n. 121.

18 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Archivio dei Conservatori, Cartella 10 n° 23; Pasini, 'Le acquisizioni librerie del cardinale Federico Borromeo', pp. 485–486 n. 114; on Curzio Marcelli, the 'libraio al Pellegrino' (bookseller in Via del Pellegrino in Rome), see Masetti Zannini, *Stampatori e librai a Roma*, p. 94.

19 Massimo Rodella, 'Federico Borromeo collezionista di manoscritti: un primo percorso', *Studia Borromaica*, 15 (2001), pp. 201–213.

The Vallicelliana and the Angelica Library Archives

The history of the archives of two other Catholic religious libraries, those of the Vallicelliana Library and the Angelica Library in Rome, is different. Both these libraries were founded at the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century, not as independent institutions but, instead, within a religious order, respectively the Congregation of the Oratory and the Augustinians. During the nineteenth century they were both affected by the suppressions of religious orders and as a result their archives were divided between the State Archive of Rome, their orders' administration (the Archive of the Congregation of the Oratory and the Archives of the Augustinian General Curia) and the libraries themselves. In 1873–1874, these became property of the Italian state, although their names did not change.

Let us examine more closely the state of the studies on the archive produced by the Vallicelliana Library. This book collection developed little by little in the last quarter of the sixteenth century to support the Catholic Oratorian priests in their studies at the Chiesa Nuova in the very heart of Rome.

The first private library bequeathed to the Oratory was that belonging to the Portuguese writer Aquiles Estaço, who died in 1581. Later on, the library grew thanks to the personal books of the founder of the Congregation, Filippo Neri, and of numerous other priests, who left their own, sometimes small collections to the Oratory.²⁰ Details on the oldest legacies left to the Vallicelliana can be found in many of the archival records kept at the library and at the State Archive of Rome.²¹

Aquiles Estaço's private library can be reconstructed with the help of an inventory recently found in the same miscellaneous volume that contains his will in the State Archive of Rome.²² This inventory can be compared with the *Statianae Bibliothecae Index*, preserved in ms. Vallicelliano P 186 and datable between Estaço's death in 1581 and 1605, and with its apograph inserted in ms.

20 Elena Pinto, *La biblioteca Vallicelliana in Roma* (Rome: Stab. tip. Leonardo da Vinci, 1932); Giuseppe Finocchiaro, *Vallicelliana segreta e pubblica. Fabiano Giustiniani e l'origine di una biblioteca 'universale'* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2011).

21 Unfortunately, I was not able to get an appointment at the Archive of the Congregation of the Oratory. On this archive see Giovanni Morello and Francesco Dante, 'L'archivio della Congregazione dell'Oratorio di Roma alla Chiesa Nuova', *Ricerche per la storia religiosa di Roma*, 2 (1978), pp. 275–362; Carlo Gasbarri, *L'Oratorio Romano dal Cinquecento al Novecento* (Rome: [s.n.], 1962), pp. 7–11.

22 Roma, Archivio di Stato, R.C.A. Prot. 579, ff. 565r–571r, Nicolaus Compagnus's register, partially published in Pinto, *La biblioteca Vallicelliana*, pp. 111–112; Elisabetta Caldelli, 'Per l'inventario dei libri di Achille Stazio', in Marco Palma and Cinzia Vismara (eds.), *Per Gabriella. Studi in ricordo di Gabriella Braga* (Cassino: Edizioni dell'Università di Cassino, 2013), pp. 1–94.

Vallicelliano P 206 (ff. 1r–37r). Another notable collection which became part of the Vallicelliana is the private library of Cesare Baronio.²³ It is known about from various archival sources: *Inventarium bonorum et singulorum librorum*, dated 2 July 1607 and kept at the State Archive of Rome; a list of books that Baronio left to the Capuchin fathers of his hometown, Sora, preserved in ms. Vallicelliano Q 72; and the list in the above-mentioned ms. Vallicelliano P 206 (ff. 109v–116v).²⁴

This last manuscript, Vallicelliano P 206, has an elegant appearance and was written in around 1640. Several private libraries that belonged to individual priests before passing into the Vallicelliana are listed and described in this volume. Its title, *Benemeritorum de Vallicelliana bibliotheca Congregationis oratorii Romani, eorum scilicet qui suis testamentis relictis libris illam locupletem reddiderunt aeternum posteris monumentum* [Eternal memorial for posterity of the meritorious who served the Vallicelliana Library of the Congregation of the Roman Oratorians, that is of those who through the legacy of their own books enriched that library], testifies to the desire to ensure that the memory of the ancient donations that enriched the Oratorio library lived on.

Completely different from this is ms. Vallicelliano P 204. Like many of the volumes of the Vatican Library archive already discussed, it is a typical archive volume and contains papers of different handwritings and sizes, produced separately. They all relate to the administrative life of the library.

What was the rationale behind these materials remaining in the library instead of being handed over to the State Archive or the Archive of the Congregation of the Oratory? Although reflection on this mixture of archival and literary manuscripts is still required, through the examination of other similar cases, what is striking—in this and in other library archives—is the convergence of the archival evidence and the books still kept in the collections. This means that the economic and administrative history and the cultural history of the libraries coalesced. While this is an undoubtedly obvious convergence, up until today and as far back as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it has only been highlighted in a few contexts, which are little known in international research environments.

Let me give one more specific example. It is known from his will that an Oratorian hagiographer, Antonio Gallonio (1556–1605), left his books to Francesco and Antonio Zazzara, and that, later, those books passed from the Zazzara brothers to the Vallicelliana Library. Just like Aquiles Estaço's private

23 Working with a team of scholars, researchers and translators, Baronio wrote his *Annales* at the main premises of the Oratorio.

24 Giuseppe Finocchiaro (ed.), *I libri di Cesare Baronio in Vallicelliana* (Rome: Biblioteca Vallicelliana. Amici delle biblioteche, 2008).

library, we know about Gallonio's from its inclusion in an *Index librorum* dated 8 July 1605 kept at the State Archive of Rome, as well as from a list preserved in ms. Vallicelliano P 183 (ff. 179r–194v), and from the 'monumentum' already mentioned, ms. Vallicelliano P 206.²⁵ But in addition to these inventories, ms. Vallicelliano P 204 (ff. 50r–53v) details an exchange of four books belonging to the Zazzara brothers, which had previously been in Antonio Gallonio's collection, for thirty-nine Vallicelliana books. The exchange was authorised by Fabiano Giustiniani, a famous Vallicelliana librarian, in December 1605.²⁶ The four great editions offered to the Vallicelliana Library and the thirty-nine editions obtained in exchange are valued in ms. Vallicelliano P 204 in scudi and baiocchi. Each of the two groups of books amounted in total to 47 scudi and 50 baiocchi, making the exchange a perfectly fair one.

How many of these books still survive? Two volumes on the history of England, among those that had originally belonged to Gallonio, are described as follows in ms. Vallicelliano P 204 (f. 50r):

Dui tomi in foglio legati come gl'altri di sopra [sc. in cartapecorina et cartone] dell'histhorie d'Inghilterra, uno intitolato *Anglica, Normanna, Hibernica, Cambrica a veteribus scripta*, Francofurti 1603; l'altro intitolato *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam*, Francofurti 1601, stimati ducati 9–50. [Two separate volumes bound like those cited above [sc. in parchment over pasteboard] of the Histories of England, one entitled *Anglica, Normanna, Hibernica, Cambrica a veteribus scripta*, Francofurti 1603; the second entitled *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam*, Francofurti 1601, valued at 9–50 ducati].²⁷

On the guard leaf of the copy of the *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores* kept in the Vallicelliana Library and currently in use, both an ownership note written by Antonio Gallonio and a purchase note can be read: "Ex libris Antonii Gallonii

25 Giuseppe Finocchiaro, 'Antonio Gallonio letterato e agiografo. Intorno a una biblioteca privata della Riforma cattolica', in Luigi Gulia, Ingo Herklotz and Stefano Zen (eds.), *Società, cultura e vita religiosa in età moderna. Studi in onore di Romeo De Maio* (Sora: Centro di studi Sorani Vincenzo Patriarca, 2009), pp. 101–132. Professor Edoardo Barbieri kindly informed me that Giuseppe Finocchiaro is going to publish a new monograph on Antonio Gallonio.

26 Pinto, *La biblioteca Vallicelliana*, pp. 116–120.

27 *Anglica, Normanna, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta* (Frankfurt: Claude I de Marne & Johann I Aubry Erben, 1603) (USTC 2135819); *Rerum Anglicarum scriptores post Bedam praecipui, ex vetustissimis codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum in lucem editi* (Frankfurt: Andreas Wechel Erben & Claude I de Marne & Johann I Aubry Erben, 1601) (USTC 2134610).

Congregationis oratorii Presbyt. Bibliothecae Congregationis” and “Emptum die 23 octobris 1604. Scudi 4” (bought on 23 October 1604. Scudi 4).²⁸

Also in this case, like in other documents in the Vatican Library and Ambrosiana Library archives, the inventories of private libraries are sometimes accompanied by financial information. That practice is typical of administrative archives and shows that there was a rich trade between booksellers and individuals or institutions, and also between individuals and institutions.

The Marciana Library Archive

Examining the history of the Marciana Library can also help to illustrate the typologies of the early modern Italian library archives and their role in the reconstruction of the history of private libraries. Before becoming a state library, the Marciana was the library of the Republic of Venice, and because of this the documents concerning its administrative history were produced by, and are now kept inside, the archives of the Venetian magistrates. They can be found in particular in the collection of the ‘de supra’ Procurators of St Mark’s, which is now kept in the State Archive in Venice. The ‘de supra’ Procurators were in charge of managing the assets of St Mark’s Basilica, which was not the city’s cathedral but the chapel of the Doge’s Palace. Marino Zorzi’s important work *La libreria di San Marco*, which is the reference publication for the history of Venice’s Marciana Library, draws extensively on this archival collection.²⁹ In the ‘de supra’ Procurators’ collection, for example, the detailed documentation about the legacy given to the Marciana by the famous doctor and scholar Melchior Wieland (Melchior Guilandinus) can be found. Upon his death in 1589, Guilandinus left the institution not only his own books but also 1,000 ducats deposited at the Sacro Monte di Vicenza, as evidenced by the archive records.³⁰

Library archives prove to be of immense value when it comes to tracing the cultural and economic history of our book collections. This article has shown that some early modern library archives in Italy are to be found outside of libraries, while others are still kept in the libraries where they were produced. As I pointed out above, in Italy and in the Vatican City scholars have already made use of these archival resources and have published articles and contributions

28 The shelfmark of the copy preserved in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana is S. Borr. G VII 32; Finocchiaro, ‘Antonio Gallonio’, p. 114.

29 Marino Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi* (Venezia: Arnoldo Mondadori, 1987).

30 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Procuratori di San Marco de supra, Chiesa, Atti, busta 68; Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco*, pp. 182–184.

based on library archive records. The inventory and the in-depth investigation started inside the Vatican Library archive, along with the research conducted by Giuseppe Finocchiaro in the Vallicelliana Library, Marco Panizza's patient and systematic Ambrosiana inventory, and Marino Zorzi's monumental reconstruction of the history of the Marciana, are all important leads to follow. They are like new paths that have been opened up in an ancient forest, and can lead to a wide consideration of libraries and their administrative and cultural history that would have been unimaginable in the past.

Book Ownership in Parma, Italy (1665–1830)

Federica Dallasta

This chapter provides an analytical overview of all private library catalogues from the period 1665–1830 that I have been able to identify in different archival collections in the context of an ongoing long-term research project on private libraries in Parma during the long eighteenth century. The project's ultimate aim is to draw up a social history of reading habits, in which different types of readers are identified through their profession and their social and cultural status.¹

Within the Italian landscape of cultural exchanges and book-ownership over the long eighteenth century, Parma represents an interesting case. Situated at the centre of the peninsula's most affluent area (northern Italy), a town that easily connected to Venice, Bologna and Milan as well as to the wider Mediterranean hub, it offered an excellent meeting place for people and for the transfer of goods, ideas and knowledge. Thus, it might not surprise us that

1 I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Sabina Ghirardi (University of Parma) and Professor Gregory Hanlon (Dalhousie University, Canada) with the translation of a previous version of this text. It is thanks to Professor Hanlon that I began carrying out research in this field twenty years ago.

For earlier publications resulting from this project, see Federica Dallasta, *Al cliente lettore: il commercio e la censura del libro a Parma nell'epoca farnesiana 1545–1731* (Milan: Angeli, 2012); *Eredità di carta: biblioteche private e circolazione libraria nella Parma farnesiana (1545–1731)* (Milan: Angeli, 2010); 'Fra liuti e libri: i Garsi, liutisti parmigiani fra tardo Cinquecento e primo Seicento. Nuove acquisizioni', *Recercare. Rivista per lo studio e la pratica della musica antica*, 23 (2011), pp. 104–129; 'Una biblioteca aggiornata, cosmopolita e proibita: i libri di Stanislao Omati da Borgo San Donnino, medico in Piacenza (1630 c.–1713)', in Paolo Moruzzi (ed.), *Stanislao Omati da Borgo San Donnino e il signor Ipocondriaco. Una disputa medica del Seicento intorno al caso di un paziente illustre* (Fidenza: [s.n.], 2014), pp. 95–239; 'La biblioteca di Alessandro Tagliaferri dottore in utroque e frate cappuccino', *Collectanea franciscana*, 79 (2009), pp. 62–121; 'Incunaboli e cinquecentine della biblioteca Maldotti di Guastalla', in David Salomoni (ed.), *Biblioteca Maldotti: duecento anni di storia, 1817–2017* (Reggio Emilia: Antiche Porte, 2017), pp. 141–206, 371–372; 'Novità sul semplicista Evangelista Quattrami (1527–1608) e sul suo collaboratore Simon Bocchi', in Giuseppe Olmi and Fulvio Simoni (eds.), *Ulisse Aldrovandi. Libri e immagini di storia naturale nella prima età moderna* (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2018), pp. 138–168; *Condanne e carriere: Inquisizione e censura libraria a Parma nel Settecento* (Florence: Clori, 2018).

the population of Parma grew steadily, expanding from approximately 30,000 inhabitants in 1631 to approximately 35,000 in 1700.²

Parma also underwent significant political and cultural changes during the period here considered (1665–1830). Its political history can be summarised as follows: from 1665–1731, the city and the territory surrounding Parma and Piacenza were ruled by the Dukes of the Farnese family; during the following period, until 1749, Parma and Piacenza were under Spanish-Austrian rule; from 1749 to 1802 the Duchies managed to gain back self-government under the Franco-Spanish Bourbon dynasty, which entailed a considerable French presence at the court.³ From 1765, the rule of the Bourbons came under the shadow of France; indeed, the enlightened Frenchman Guillaume Du Tillot ruled as the Duchy's minister from 1759 and in this period French professors teaching all disciplines arrived in Parma, among them Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714–1780).⁴ The Duchies of both Parma and Piacenza remained satellite states of Paris and Madrid until the fall of Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1796 Napoleon introduced several administrative changes, like the suppression of religious orders and the Holy Office or Roman Inquisition, and the confiscation of their possessions by the State. Count Stefano Sanvitale—who owned a large library—was named as the first mayor of Parma.⁵ In 1814 the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla came under Austria's protection, according to the decisions reached by the Congress of Vienna. In 1815, the Vienna Congress handed over the Duchies to Marie Louise of Austria, Napoleon's wife, who ruled until her death in 1847. Marie Louise proved to be an enlightened ruler and she introduced reforms in the domains of education and the arts. Her interventions became especially visible in the life of the court library, which became a rich public library, enlarged by the books of the suppressed convents and monasteries and kept up-to-date thanks to new purchases. Under the government of the duchess Marie Louise, the influence of French culture was

2 Archivio di Stato di Parma, Catasti ed estimi farnesiani e borbonici, bb. 1048 (from 1609) and 1049 (from 1787); Karl Julius von Beloch, *La popolazione d'Italia nei secoli XVI, XVII e XVIII* (Rome: Tipografia eredi Botta, 1888); Karl Julius von Beloch, *Storia della popolazione d'Italia* (Florence: Le lettere, 1994), pp. 343–350: 345; Marzio Achille Romani, *Nella spirale di una crisi: popolazione, mercato e prezzi a Parma tra Cinque e Seicento* (Milan: Giuffrè, 1975), p. 30; Guido Michelini, *La peste del 1630 a Parma e provincia* (Potenza: Università degli Studi della Basilicata, 1994), pp. 95–97.

3 Henri Bédarida, *Parma et la France de 1748 à 1789* (Geneva: Slatkine reprints, 1977).

4 During this period, the revenue and the education systems were reformed. In 1771, Du Tillot fled Parma, as Ferdinando, Duke of Parma and his Duchess, backed by a group of aristocrats, installed a conservative administration, promoting traditional culture and Counter-Reformation values.

5 See below, table 8.1: Stefano Sanvitale, 1838.

still prevailing, together with that of Austria, whose influence had previously begun under the Duchess Maria Amalia of Habsburg, daughter of empress Maria Theresa and emperor Francis I, and who was wife of the Duke of Parma Ferdinando of Bourbon from 1768.⁶

In short, during this long period the Dukes of Parma were vassals to the Pope and the Empire, allies of Spain and, under the Bourbon dynasty, of France. Moreover, Parma functioned as the Duchy's capital; it was the chief seat of the ducal court and it housed a traditional Medieval municipality, a diocesan seat, civil, criminal and religious tribunals, clerical and secular prisons, cultural institutions (schools, a *Collegio* for nobles, a university, an Academy of Fine Arts, theatres, archives), religious institutions (about thirty parishes, convents and monasteries, the Roman Holy Inquisition, hospitals, confraternities, colleges and conservatories), printing workshops (particularly that of the Viotti family), as well as industrial and commercial activities, especially silk manufacturing. The arrival of duchesses from other states (the House of Este; the royal House of Savoy; the Austrian Empire) with their entourage of servants—gardeners, cooks, booksellers, tailors, doctors, etc.—brought a rich array of skills to the city. The dukes moreover enlisted mercenary soldiers in their armies, who came from a very wide array of cultural and geographical origins, often from abroad. For a 'provincial' city, Parma was consequently a fairly cosmopolitan centre in northern Italy.

Private Libraries as a Mirror of Society

The inventories of private book collections found in Parmesan notarial archives, which form the main source for my project, mirror this image of a city, well-integrated into a national and international context. These collections belonged to people from different social classes and categories: merchants, artisans, priests, noblemen, court servants, notaries, women, Italians and foreigners who had settled in Parma for professional reasons. The documents list books and periodicals in different languages: Latin, Italian vernacular, French, Spanish. Such inventories were largely lost in other cities, but Parma's notarial archives are well preserved thanks to the creation of the *Archivio Notarile*

⁶ See below, table 8.1: Sante Rouby, 1834. See also Cesarina Casanova, 'Maria Luigia e i duchi di Borbone. Continuità e contraddizioni nell'ideale del buon governo di Parma', in *Storia di Parma* (Parma: Monte Università Parma, 2008–2020), 10 vols., vol. VI: Nicola Antonetti and Giorgio Vecchio (eds.), *Da Maria Luigia al regno d'Italia*, 2016, pp. 7–39, notably p. 19, where Mireille Oblin's work, *Le vrai visage de Marie-Louise, Impératrice des français, duchesse de Parme, Plaisance et Guastalla* (Paris: Carrefour des lettres, 1974), is quoted.

Distrettuale, created by Duke Ranuccio II (r. 1630–1694). From 1626 onwards, notaries beginning their practice deposited their bundles there. Another part of these documents can be found in the Parma State Archive (*Archivio di Stato*) and in the Diocesan Archive (*Archivio Diocesano*). While, for other countries, the researcher can rely on a considerable number of studies on private libraries in specific cities, such as the colossal work done by Albert Labarre on the private libraries of Amiens, also based on numerous post-mortem inventories, the publications on private libraries in Valladolid and Barcelona, and, for England, those on Cambridge book collections, this is not the case for Italy.⁷ More general and comparative studies on the topic, which have flourished in France since the beginning of the 1980s, are also lacking for the Italian domain.⁸ For this reason, it is difficult if not impossible to situate the outcomes of my research in a wider Italian perspective at this time.⁹

7 Albert Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise du seizième siècle. L'enseignement des inventaires après décès 1503–1575* (Paris-Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1971); Anastasio Rojo Vega, *Ciencia y cultura en Valladolid: estudio de las bibliotecas privadas de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1985); Manuel Peña Díaz, *El laberinto de los libros. Historia cultural de la Barcelona del Quinientos* (Madrid: Pirámide, 1997); Elisabeth S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge inventories. Book lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court probate inventories in the Tudor and Stuart periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). Other relevant French studies are: Michel Marion, *Recherches sur les bibliothèques privées à Paris au milieu du XVIII^e siècle (1750–1759)* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1978); Michel Marion, *Collections et collectionneurs de livres au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 1999); Paul-Marie Grinevald, 'Les bibliothèques à Besançon au XVIII^e siècle', in Louis Trenard (ed.), *Les bibliothèques au XVIII^e siècle* (Bordeaux: Société des bibliophiles de Guyenne, 1989), pp. 211–238; Daniel Droixhe, 'Avocats, chanoines et lectures éclairées à Liège au XVIII^e siècle', in Louis Trenard (ed.), *Les bibliothèques au XVIII^e siècle* (Bordeaux: Société des bibliophiles de Guyenne, 1989), pp. 239–264; Christian Desplat, 'Bibliothèques privées mises sous séquestre dans le département des Basses-Pyrénées pendant la Révolution', in Louis Trenard (ed.), *Les bibliothèques au XVIII^e siècle* (Bordeaux: Société des bibliophiles de Guyenne, 1989), pp. 323–346.

8 Henri-Jean Martin and Roger Chartier (eds.), *Histoire de l'édition française* (Paris: Promodis, 1982–1984), 2 vols. Or the earlier works: Daniel Mornet, 'Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 17 (1910), pp. 449–450; François Furet (ed.), *Livre et société dans la France du XVIII^e siècle* (2 vols. Paris: Mouton & Co, 1965–1970). On this subject, see Lodovica Braidà, 'La storia sociale del libro in Francia dopo *Livre et société*. Gli studi sul Settecento', *Rivista storica italiana*, 101 (1989), pp. 412–467; Claude Jolly (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530–1789* (Paris: Promodis-Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1988).

9 For Italian studies on private libraries—all limited in scope—see Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni, 'La biblioteca di Annibale Mariotti', *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 99 (2002), pp. 95–116; Giancarlo Volpato, 'La biblioteca "classica" di una famiglia nobile veronese in età romantica', in Giancarlo Volpato, *Biblioteche private, biblioteche pubbliche. Dalle biblioteche veronesi un'analisi storico-funzionale* (Manziana-Rome: Vecchiarelli Editore, 2000), pp. 177–199; Carmine Viggiani, 'Biblioteche private chietine

Present research on Parmesan inventories focuses on tracing the places where the books were stored (study, bedroom, or other places around the owner's house) and analysing the inventories' organisational criteria. It also involves studying the institutions responsible for literacy development and education at all levels (elementary, higher and university), without neglecting the catechumen houses, as well as the book trade and its regulations. This is essential for understanding the possibilities and restrictions for the circulation of books in the city, such as the role played by the Roman Inquisition, the import of books from abroad and the relation between Parmesan printers and booksellers and their colleagues in Venice.¹⁰ Moreover, comparing the price of

del Settecento', in *Atti del Convegno di studi 400 anni di stampa a Chieti, Chieti, 15–16 aprile 1997* (L'Aquila-Rome: Japadre, 1998), pp. 261–265; Ester Grandesso Silvestri (ed.), *Guida alle biblioteche della città di Cagliari: le biblioteche pubbliche e private* (Cagliari: La tarantola edizioni, 1998); Marino Zorzi, 'La circolazione del libro a Venezia nel Cinquecento: biblioteche private e pubbliche', *Ateneo Veneto*, 177 (1990), pp. 117–189; Francesco Sabatini, 'Farsi e disfarsi delle biblioteche private in Abruzzo', in Alberto Petrucciani and Paolo Traniello (eds.), *La storia delle biblioteche. Temi, esperienze di ricerca, problemi storiografici* (Rome: Associazione italiana biblioteche, 2003), pp. 99–109; Francesca Maria Crasta (ed.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna e contemporanea: atti del Convegno, Cagliari, 21–23 aprile 2009* (Florence: Le lettere, 2010); Renzo Raghianti and Alessandro Savorelli (eds.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private: strumenti e prospettive di ricerca* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2014).

For an approach similar to the one of this paper : Vittorio Anelli, Luigi Maffini and Patrizia Viglio, *Leggere in provincia: un censimento delle biblioteche private a Piacenza nel Settecento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1986); Maria Grazia Ceccarelli (ed.), *Biblioteca Angelica, Vocis et animarum pinacothecae: cataloghi di biblioteche private dei secoli XVII–XVIII nei fondi dell'Angelica* (Rome: Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1990); Aniello Zamboni, *Biblioteche private di Comacchio, secoli XVI–XIX* (Ferrara: Este, 2009); Andrea De Pasquale, *Notitiae librorum: biblioteche private a Torino tra Rinascimento e Restaurazione* (Savigliano: L'artistica, 2007); Vincenzo Mistretta Di Paola, *Biblioteche private e scuole pubbliche e private in Alcamo nel 500: contributo alla storia della cultura siciliana del secolo XVI* (Alcamo: Tip. Don Bosco, 1967); Vincenzo Trombetta, *Storia e cultura delle biblioteche napoletane: librerie private, istituzioni francesi e borboniche, strutture postunitarie* (Naples: Vivarium, 2002); Accademia dei Concordi di Rovigo (ed.), *Collezioni librerie pubbliche e private: materiali di lavoro: atti della XIII Giornata delle biblioteche del Veneto, 20 ottobre 2011* (Venice: Regione del Veneto, 2012).

On readership in general: Mario Infelise, 'L'utile e il piacevole. Alla ricerca dei lettori italiani del secondo '700', in Maria Gioia Tavoni and Françoise Waquet (eds.), *Gli spazi del libro nell'Europa del XVIII secolo. Atti del convegno di Ravenna (15–16 dicembre 1995)* (Bologna: Patron, 1997), pp. 113–126.

10 About Parma's Inquisition and censorship, see Luca Ceriotti, and Federica Dallasta, *Il posto di Caifa. L'Inquisizione a Parma negli anni dei Farnese* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2008).

books to the price of wheat helps to put the value of this type of object into perspective.¹¹

The outcomes of the first stage of my research, which covers the period until 1730, were as follows: in the course of the seventeenth century the literacy rate increased more and more among Parmesan middle class families, but the familiarity with ancient cultures faded. Books published in Latin were read less and less, while there was an increasing popularity of texts in the vernacular. The prices of books decreased, which meant that even artisans, who were mostly still hesitant readers, could afford books. There was a gradual growth in the quantity of available books and a greater variety in their subject matter. There was also an increase in the number of devotional books as well as in leisure literature. One fact, however, remained the same: most educated people in society were clergymen, both secular and regular clergy. As for female readers, around 1650, the literacy rate of laywomen, that is, those who could write, was very low (less than 5%), while aristocrats and some middle-class women (notaries' wives, for example) turned to spiritual and entertainment books.¹²

Recently, the chronological scope has been extended from 1731 to 1830 and new inventories have been added to my corpus, which now comprises 190 book lists mentioning at least one printed book. The results of a preliminary study of this extended corpus seemed to indicate that the second half of the eighteenth century was marked by a vibrant cultural struggle. When French intellectuals arrived in Parma, a strong debate emerged, especially among the most educated people—the clergy—, opposing 'new' Enlightenment thinkers to those adhering to Jansenism, which was itself a fairly recent French import.

Details on the 190 book lists have been brought together in a table at the end of this chapter (see table 8.1) as a mean of providing a guide to sources and an instrument for further research on these collections. One might explore the regional aspects of book collecting during the given period, as well as propose larger theoretical or methodological questions regarding bibliometrics and the history of book ownership or the value and the circulation of books. In the second part of this chapter, I will briefly address some of these questions before presenting an analytical overview of the corpus itself.

11 During the whole period at stake (1665–1700), the average price of a book was one (1) "lira" and for the same price people could buy bread for a full week.

12 As, at the beginning of my project, the inquiry as to women's literacy and reading behaviour represented an untouched subject for Parma and many other Italian cities, I explored the archives in order to find out which books were read by nuns and laywomen. For an in-depth study on signature as a proof of literacy in Italy, see Daniele Marchesini, *Il bisogno di scrivere: usi della scrittura nell'Italia moderna* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1992).

Notarial Inventories as a Source for the History of Parmesan Book Culture

I focus on handwritten lists of book collections preserved in notarial archives, because they are relatively well represented as a source and far outnumber the printed book lists from the long eighteenth century surviving on the Italian peninsula.¹³ The printed lists represent sale catalogues that circulated among collectors, bibliophiles and intellectuals in general. The presentation of those printed catalogues corresponded to the norms formulated in the lists (today kept at the Vatican Apostolic Library) ordered by the Sacred Congregation of the Index (Index of prohibited books) and written between the last years of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ They include author, title, place and year of printing, printer's name, number of volumes, format and sometimes other information such as the document's condition.

Post-mortem inventories, on the other hand, were compiled to establish an overview of the deceased's goods for the heirs. Books constituted just one of many different kinds of inventoried objects. If the heirs wanted to maintain possession of the deceased's books they could move them to their house, or, if they did not wish to keep them, they could sell them to a bookseller. This is why the titles are sometimes accompanied by a pecuniary estimate and details on the condition of the book: booksellers evaluated these second-hand collections before buying them. In certain cases, the books were estimated when a

13 On publishers' and booksellers' catalogues printed in Italy, see Christian Coppens, 'I cataloghi degli editori e dei librai in Italia (secoli xv–xvi)', *Bibliologia*, 3 (2008), pp. 107–124; Giovanna Granata and Angela Nuovo (eds.), *Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe* (Macerata: EUM, 2018). The Biblioteca Palatina of Parma holds 192 printed book catalogues, but these are French catalogues. Paolo Maria Paciaudi, the director of the library, bought them in Paris between 1757 and 1761, because he was interested in making purchases for the library. See Danio Verdi, 'I cataloghi di vendita di biblioteche private francesi del secolo xviii posseduti dalla Biblioteca Palatina di Parma', *Aurea Parma*, 73 (1989), pp. 117–127. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the instrument of the printed catalogue extended from books to engravings, paintings, medals and various objects.

14 See Rosa Maria Borraccini and Roberto Rusconi (eds.), *Libri, biblioteche e cultura degli Ordini regolari nell'Italia moderna attraverso la documentazione della Congregazione dell'indice* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica Vaticana, 2006). The investigation points out that librarians of the cenobies were provided with these listing criteria, which in effect were followed and, little by little, became a bibliographic listing model in Italy. It should be noted that these criteria, however, were not always followed by notaries and their assistants in the making of inventories and the Sacred Congregation did not formulate these norms for sales catalogues.

bookseller intended to buy them, in other cases in order to evaluate the heritage itself.

The particularities of handwritten private library inventories, which often contain succinct, lacunary or erroneous data, force us to reflect on their use as a source for book history, not only concerning their contents, but also with regard to their material aspects, the nature and state of the inventory or catalogue itself, their provenance and the owner of the listed collection. We catch glimpses of information on people coming from different social classes, and their use of books within their domestic context, but it is not always clear who used them. The inventories in my corpus can shed light on reading habits and the methodological and other questions they give rise to. To assist with this, I drew up an analytical framework, comprising the following elements:

- When and where was the list written down, and by whom? Could the catalogue have been drawn up on the initiative of the owner himself, while he was alive? If it is a manuscript, can the handwriting be identified by comparison to other, autograph, documents by the owner?
- Why was the booklist drawn up? There are several possibilities: to evaluate the inheritance of a deceased person; to seize assets; as part of procedures related to a move or a liquidation; in order to ensure assistance to orphaned minors; as a consequence of the book owner's admission to a friary or a monastery, or for other reasons? My research is mainly focused on post-mortem inventories.
- Can we infer how much time it took to draw up the inventory?
- What care was taken to organise the books in the owner's residence? Does the listing order appear to portray the factual organisation of the books in the owner's place? Is it possible to infer where the books were stored and where or how they were read? For example, were small-format prayer-books kept in bedrooms? Are closets, cases, drawers or shelves expressly mentioned? Are reading glasses or similar objects mentioned in the inventories?
- Can we reconstruct the archival document's storing conditions, which could have impacted its current state? In the case of printed sales catalogues, how many copies were possibly printed at the time and how many remain; where are these copies stored?
- As for the book list itself, how detailed is it? Is it possible to quantify the number of titles, volumes and tomes? Are author, title, bibliographical references (place, printer, year of printing), number of volumes, size or format, commercial value, condition, and the number of pages mentioned? Are these types of information found in one or multiple sections of the inventory? Is it possible to understand the reason of such occasional discrepancy (maybe depending on format, commercial value, etc.)? If a commercial value is recorded, has it been evaluated by a bookseller whose name is reported?

- As far as the contents of the books are concerned, the following questions arise: are all the books listed printed or do we also find manuscript books, notebooks, records or other papers? Which subjects are represented and what are the languages that appear? How many books were translated from other vernacular languages, and which ones? Are there books of wider circulation and usage, such as dictionaries? Is it an up-to-date collection? Which period do editions date from? Which period are the authors from? Is there any indication of ‘rare’ books? Did the owner have a cosmopolite library, open to different cultures? For instance: do we find Jewish books, copies of the Qur’an, Chinese medicine handbooks, etc.? Might a knowledgeable reader spot banned books in the list? Are there books that were factually banned even if the inventory does not state it? Are codes used in order to deceive the Inquisition or censors? Are there marks made by inquisitors? Was the owner given a reading license by the Sacred Congregation of the Index?
- Does the book inventory list other objects, such as musical or scientific instruments, sheet music, curiosities or works of art?

Although the inventories contain basic information on the owners of the book collections described, prosopographical research on the owners largely depends on other sources that can provide information on these persons, such as their profession and social position, nationality, honorary titles, degree of kinship between the owner and their heirs, degree of kinship among the heirs, the area in which they lived, possible authorship of manuscript or printed works, etc. Of course, the book historian, like art historians, will also wonder whether any copies of the books listed are still extant in public or private collections, bearing ownership traces or a distinctive binding, and if they appear in other catalogues or inventories.

Selecting Sources and Drawing Up a Model for Prosopographical Research on Library Owners in Parma

The book lists we collected were found in different types of notarial deeds: post-mortem inventories; *transactiones intervivos*; *donationes intervivos*; guardianships of minors left orphaned; renunciations by those who joined Capuchin convents; and inventories drawn up by the *Ufficio delle confische* (Confiscation Office). The latter was a Farnese institution in charge of managing the properties of high-profile court servants, such as artists and scientists, who lived in houses belonging to the *Camera Ducale* (Ducal Chamber) and who were paid by the Ducal Treasury. After their death, their properties and household goods were dutifully listed and seized by the Ducal Chamber. The same fate could befall the possession by certain types of prisoners and criminals.

Since the project focuses on private libraries, it only takes into consideration inventories of family household possessions and excludes assets owned by monasteries, colleges and religious institutions or by members of the Ducal court.¹⁵ As inventories of bridal dowry lists have been considered elsewhere, they have been excluded from the present corpus.¹⁶ The same goes for inventories of printers, booksellers and stationers who stored either new or second-hand books in their shops or warehouses.¹⁷

The information categories in table 8.1 reflect the research questions that guided my analysis of the selected source material: when was the document compiled? What was the owner's identity and what was his profession or to what social group did he belong? I furthermore identified the type of inventories—post-mortem inventories are the most common—, the number of book titles that are listed, as well as the most recurrent subjects. These criteria were primarily chosen in order to help to apprehend the prosopographical background of the inventories of private book collections in Parma's notarial archives: who were the owners, where did they live (in the town centre or in the outskirts, and in which district), what was their social position, why did they read (for leisure, learning, or religious education), to which branches of knowledge were they most devoted?

Private Book Ownership in Parma

Among the 190 private library owners on my list, a very high rate represents secular clergy: 38 private libraries, equivalent to 20.3% of the total.¹⁸ According

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- 15 On monastic and friars' libraries, see my articles: 'La biblioteca "Adeodato Turchi". Storia inventari e stato attuale', in Federica Dallasta and Benedetta D'Arezzo, *La biblioteca A. Turchi dei Cappuccini di Parma: vicende storiche, incunaboli e cinquecentine* (Parma-Rome: Biblioteca A. Turchi-Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2005), pp. 29–102; 'I libri del convento di S. Maria Maddalena di Parma (Vat. lat. 11326)', in Rosa Marisa Borraccini (ed.), *Dalla notizia librorum degli inventari agli esemplari. Saggi di indagine su libri e biblioteche dai codici Vaticani latini 11266–11326* (Macerata: EUM, 2009), pp. 303–325; 'Certosini censurati: l'inventario della biblioteca di Parma e l'inquisitore (1660). Prima parte', *Teca*, 13–14 (2018), pp. 41–127.
- 16 For the period from 1545 to 1731, I analysed the presence of books in brides' dowries in *Eredità di carta*, pp. 312–356. The only listed and identified book in brides' dowries is the *Ufficio della Madonna*.
- 17 See my *Al cliente lettore*. Among printed documents pertaining to book sales are some issues of the *Gazzetta di Parma*, such as the issue dated 25 April 1769, in which some "libri sciolti" are listed, and the issue dated 7 May 1769, with mention of many medical books.
- 18 See table 8.1: Biretta (1665); Moni (1666); Calestani (1667); Agazzi (1670); Nembrini (1677); Caletti (1679); Coppini (1682); Casanova (1682); Tacconi (1683); Bassani Viola (1685); Frati (1686); Beccanti (1687); Beltraghi (1689); Bardoni (1690); Richini (1692); Saladini (1694);

to the census of the population living within the city walls, priests, monks, friars and nuns made up a large part of the population.¹⁹ Considering that clergymen were the most educated people, it is paramount to link book circulation in Parma to their presence and activity as parish priests, professors at episcopal seminaries, preceptors to the ducal family or other noble families, teachers of different disciplines at Jesuit colleges, court librarians, university professors, civil and canon law advisors (*Doctores utriusque iuris*). Even if the clergy was subject to the political authority of the Duke (bishops were elected with the support of the Duke himself), it in turn had great power within the economic and cultural life in the Duchy. As a matter of fact, subjects of the Dukes of Parma had to respect both lay and religious authorities; the latter being represented by bishops and inquisitors of the Holy Office, who were members of the Dominican Order.

However, clergymen were not the only book owners: noblemen—highborn and newly appointed alike—were well-educated and they could afford expensive books for intellectual entertainment (provided by literature, history, drama, music or art books), for their university education (provided by law, medicine or philosophy books) and for their spiritual edification (provided by hagiographies, missals, meditational texts).²⁰ Their book collections were very often large-sized and stored in specific rooms of their dwellings. This means

Molinelli (1694); Colonna (1695); Cornazzani (1695); Arcioni (1696); Aschieri (1697); Dalla Rosa (1698); Leonardi (1700); Malaspina (1708); Minori (1711); Campanini (1711); Sacchi (1719); Ruberti (1723); Bernardi (1725); Fontana (1725); Dal Monte (1728); Ventura (1748); Pettorelli Lalatta (1762); Cristiani (1766); Vescovi (1770); Mezzi (1782); Capretti (1783); Maldotti (1818).

19 ASPR, Manoscritti di biblioteca, n. 37: Giustiniano Borra, *Diario di Parma 1694–1732*, v. II: 6 April 1698: the chronicle reports 472 male religious regulars in 17 coenobies in the city. The total population in 1700 was around 35,000, so male religious regulars made up around 1.35% of the population.

20 For a historical overview of Parmesan aristocracy's role during the Farnesian rule, see Roberto Sabbadini, *La grazia e l'onore: principe, nobiltà e ordine sociale nei ducati farnesiani* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2001). The selected inventories (see table 8.1) are those belonging to the following aristocrats: Scoffoni (1665); Platone (1672); Simonetta (1677); Manghi (1677); Sanquilico (1679); Bravi Baiardi and Bravi Bergonzi (1680); Carlo Beccaria (1680); Bravi (1680); Zandemaria (1684); Del Bono (1686); Pico Palmia (1690); Ferri (1692); Cantelli (1693); Del Prato (1693); Cerati (1693); Giordani (1694); Rossi (1695); Borra (1695); Rangoni (1696); Smitti (1698); Trionfi (1699); Bernieri (1706); Guastalla (1707); Ceretuli (1708); Balestrieri (1709); Lampugnani (1711); Zanardi (1711); Bergonzi Taccoli Anguissola (1714); Anguissola (1714); Sanvitale (1716, 1742, 1744, 1810, 1828, 1837, 1838); Scacchini (1717); Taccoli (1729); Palmia Pichi Vandoni (1734); Palmia (1739 and 1742); Terrarossa (1753); Bruni (1784).

that in certain cases, the books were not listed together with other household possessions, but that they were described in a separate catalogue.

Over time, the middle class became more and more keen on reading, with a notable preference for books in the vernacular for intellectual amusement.²¹ A different kind of reading appears among the 10 medical doctors (5.3%), 7 apothecaries (3.7%), 3 architects (1.6%), 6 craftsmen (3.2%) and 17 men of law (notaries and other law graduates who played important social roles: 9.1%) who looked for useful treatises to become proficient in their work.²² In addition, 16 women (8.6%, but owning few books), 6 merchants (3.2%), 7 administrators (3.7%), 2 students (1.1%) and 1 lower-class person (0.5%) are found among book owners.²³

Although these inventories are not strictly comparable to the study of book ownership in sixteenth-century Amiens, analysed by Labarre, it is nonetheless instructive to evoke his figures due to the similarities of the two cities in so far as it concerns population and cultural environment. Labarre studied 4,442 post-mortem inventories, 887 of which contained books.²⁴ Among the inventories with books, 16% could be attributed to clergymen; 12.3% to men of law;

21 See table 8.1: Zubelesi (1665); Del Monte (1665); Calcagni (1666); Dondi and Galeotti (1668); Mazza (1670); Costa (1671); Mazzoli (1678); Pirolì (1689); Tagliaferri (1689); Triviloni (1690); Testi (1692); Bedeschi sisters (1692); Rossi (1693); Pontoli (1695); Bigoli (1696); Balestrieri (1697); Bellotti (1703); Pascheri (1711); Pusterla (1718); Iappini (1701–20); Boschetti (1730); Bianchi (1738).

22 See table 8.1. Medical doctors: Vergnani (1666); Santini (1667); Aiani (1676); Candoli (1683); dell'Arca (1687); Ferri (1692); Sacca (1694); Sacco (1718); Pironi (1732); Galli (1786). Apothecaries: Del Monte (1669); Turchi (1689); Biretti (1706); Barbieri (1723); Mazzia (1724); he runs the apothecary's shop of S. Tommaso (1726); Ossimprandi (1729). Architects: Magnani (1673); Barattieri (1680); Boscoli (1701). Craftsmen: Banzola (1676); Rangoni (1679); Zucchi (1694); Zanichelli (1699); Tassi (1709); Viotti (1713). Men of law: Owners of civil and canon law books are: Pinardi (1667); Turchetti (1667); Dondi and Galeotti (1669); Busseti (1692); Ferri (1692); Signifredi (1692); Bolsi (1705); Bernieri (1706); Baistrocchi (1706); Ferri (1710); Formentini (1715); Pezzalli (1716); Bertolotti (1719); Panella (1723); Zunti (1726); Terrossa (1753); Bruni (1784).

23 See table 8.1. Women: Costa (1671); Alessandri (1680); Zandemaria (1684); Bravi Baiardi and Bravi Bergonzi (1680); Pico Palmia (1690); Triviloni (1690); Bedeschi (1692); Bigoli (1696); Trionfi (1699); Biretti (1706); Pascheri (1711); Zanardi (1711); Bergonzi Taccoli Anguissola (1714); Rodesi Scacchini (1717); Boschetti (1730); Palmia Pichi Vandoni (1734). Merchants: Lottici (1681); Criminali (1691); de Beotijis (1702); Mariani (1702); Pasini (1735); Vergiani (1736). Administrators: Guastalla (1681); Righi (1692); Banzola (1700); Maghenzi (1711); Romeo (1714); Velez (1725); Benelani (1801). The students we have identified are referred to as brothers Donnino and Felice Manotti (1679) and as sons of Blondi (1714). The one person of a lower class is Michelini (1682).

24 Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie amiénoise*, pp. 61–104.

0.9% to medical doctors; 0.8% to apothecaries; 2% to barbers and surgeons; 4.3% to noblemen; 29.4% to merchants; 11% to craftsmen and artists; 10.1% to widows; 5.6% to women; 1% to couples; 3.8% to men without any indication of honorary title or occupation; while 0.1% are anonymous.²⁵ We can observe that in the two cities, Parma and Amiens, those who owned the most books belong to the same professional categories.

Even if the task of classifying readers in Parma remains arduous, one perceives an evolution from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward, with, from the middle of the seventeenth century, an increasing number of craftsmen (such as shoemakers, barbers, blacksmiths), notaries' wives and some members of the middle-lower class starting to figure among book owners. From the eighteenth century onwards, this evolution continues: even some shopkeepers possess books, not to mention an ever-growing number of clergymen. It is important to underline that in the eighteenth century, many books and magazines in French or translated from French circulated, because France wielded influence on all aspects of daily life and culture in Parma, more than in any other Italian city, as Henri Bédarida pointed out.²⁶ During the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, the book owners I identified were mostly French administrators and priests. Over the whole period, the highest number of books was owned by noblemen, who were often law or medical students, and by clergymen, who often held a degree in theology or canon law.

The Parmesan book lists display the presence of the following disciplines: ancient culture (philosophy, literature, historiography, classical textbooks of architecture), religion (prayers, liturgical, spiritual and theological texts), law (civil, canonical), literature (medieval and modern literature, music, games), history (historiography, geography, politics, mirrors of princes, cosmography, travelogues, atlases), linguistic (dictionaries, grammars, handbooks of poetry and rhetoric), medical sciences (anatomy, physiology, therapeutics, surgery, pharmacology, veterinary), pure and applied sciences (geometry, mathematics, accounting, astronomy, chemistry, geology, zoology, botany, agronomy and rules of land surveying, physics, mechanics, optics, hydraulics, civil architecture and fortress-craft), occult sciences (magic, alchemy, astrology),

25 For clergymen, see *Ibid.*, pp. 106–112; men of law, pp. 112–118; medical doctors, p. 118; apothecaries, p. 118; barbers and surgeons, p. 118; noblemen, pp. 119–122; merchants, pp. 122–124; craftsmen and artists, pp. 124–126; widows, p. 127; women, p. 127; couples, pp. 127–128; men without indication of title or position, p. 128; anonymous, p. 128.

26 See note 3.

philosophy (medieval and modern), military treatises (the art of duelling, fariery), calendars/almanacs.²⁷

The main book topics are law and religion, with the presence of classical literature, mostly in Latin, decreasing over time, while religious books increased as a consequence of the Counter-Reformation. From the second half of the seventeenth century up to the eighteenth century, the amount of literature for leisure in the vernacular keeps swelling (novels, game books, drama, books of topical interest). When books are classified by language, we are able to see the decline of works in Latin, while the vernacular prevails due to the presence of devotional literature (hagiographies, pilgrimage reports, etc.). However, until the Enlightenment era, Latin continued to be the dominant language in the fields of law, medicine and theology. The researcher of the history of reading and collecting can turn to each inventory specifically for sundry other information on the topics mentioned earlier, such as: the storage places of the books within the houses; the criteria used to list books in the inventories; the valuation of second-hand books by booksellers; the presence of forbidden books or books banned by the Congregation of the Holy Office and the Index of Forbidden Books; the circulation of specific types of works, such as embroidery handbooks or books teaching one how to solve everyday problems (the so-called *libri di secreti*), and the passing of libraries from father to son, as indicated by the fact that certain last names very often recur for many decades.²⁸

Appendix: Overview of 190 Inventories of Private Libraries in Parma, 1665–1830

List of Abbreviations

ANDP	Archivio Notarile Distrettuale—Parma
ASPR	Archivio di Stato—Parma
AVPR	Archivio vescovile—Parma
BPPR	Biblioteca Palatina—Parma
a.	atto [deed]
Arch.	architect
b. (plural: bb.)	busta (buste) [filing box]
c.	carta [leaf]

27 *Ibid.*, p. 157, lists the following disciplines: theology, law, literature, sciences and arts (medicine, philosophy, arts and technologies) and history.

28 Zubelesi (1665); Bolsi (1705); Panella (1723).

- Cav. cavaliere [knight]
 DB descriptio bonorum
 Dott. doctor
 f. Fondo notai di Parma
 ins. *inserti in fondo notai*
 ill. illustre [distinguished person, aristocrat]
 i. p. m. post-mortem inventory
 Mons. monsignore
 Rev. reverendo [priest]
 Sig. signore [Mr]
 Uff. conf. Ufficio confische [Institution of the Farnesian State]
 Vic. vicinia [parish]
 DBI *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (92 vols., Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1960–2018).
 DBP Roberto Lasagni, *Dizionario biografico dei Parmigiani* (4 vols., Parma: PPS, 1999).
 De Pasquale 2009 Andrea De Pasquale, 'I fondi ebraici e orientali della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma', in Idem, *Exoticis linguis: libri ebraici e orientali della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma* (Parma: MUP, 2009), pp. 9–68.
 De Pasquale 2010 Andrea De Pasquale, 'Le raccolte private del XIX secolo della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma', in Andrea De Pasquale (ed.), *Collezioni scelte. Libri rari nelle raccolte private acquisite nel XIX secolo dalla Biblioteca Palatina di Parma* (Parma: MUP, 2010), pp. 9–42.
 Pezzana Federica Dallasta, 'Le biblioteche private nella città e nel territorio di Parma all'epoca del Pezzana (1772–1862)', in Sabina Magrini (ed.), *Cultura emiliana e cultura europea nell'Ottocento: intorno ad Angelo Pezzana* (Rome: Ikonaliber, 2015).
 Condanne e carriere Federica Dallasta, *Condanne e carriere: Inquisizione e censura libraria a Parma nel Settecento* (Florence: Clori, 2018).

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1665.v.07	Giovanni Maria and Francesco Zubelesi from Fontevivo (father and son)	Lower-middle class	3	"Trattato spirituale di Gio Giusto Lanspergi; le Rime di Torquato Tasso; un officiuolo della Beata Vergine vecchio" [A spiritual treatise by Gio Giusto Lanspergi; <i>Rime</i> by Torquato Tasso; a <i>Little Office of Our Lady</i>].	DB	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 40, a. 259
1665.vii.03	Marchese Vincenzo Scoffoni, Vic. of S. Sepolcro	Aristocrat	26	Not specified (c. 94)	i. p. m. by order of Duke Ranuccio II	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 41, a. 82
1665.vii.17	Camillo del Monte in Vigatto	Middle class	5	"Un libro in quinterni d'aritmetica, un catechismo" (An arithmetic book composed of five folded sheets, a catechism).	DB by order of the Duke's criminal and fiscal auditor (adnotatio iuris)	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 2
1665.x.22	Rev. Muzio Biretta in Busseto	Parish priest	107	Law, religion and theology books listed on seven pages of the inventory and placed in a bookcase.	DB by order of the criminal auditor of Busseto	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 18
1666.iv	Rev. Alessio Moni, Vic. of cathedral	Clergyman	157	Possessions left to the "decano e residenti della Steccata" [dean and residents of the Basilica di Santa Maria della Steccata], among which books on religion and	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 8216

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
				law. The list was defined: "Nota delli libri ritrovati tanto nella suddetta casa, quanto di fuori nella casa [ove] habitava detto signor D. Alessio posta nella villa di Vigopò" [Note from the Villa di Vocopò on the books found both inside the above-mentioned house and outside the house [where] lived the above-mentioned signor D. Alessio]: 20 folios, 37 quartos, and 100 in smaller formats (8°, 12° and 16°). Only the folios and quartos are listed.		
1666.VIII.28	Giovanni Battista de Calcaneis (Calcagni), Vic. of S. Uldarico	?	1	A book in-quarto entitled <i>Annuario dei Frati Minori Cappuccini</i>	DB	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 34
1667.IV.24	Rev. Andrea Calestani	Clergyman	130	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, f. 5679
1667.VI.23	Santo Santini, known as Todesco	Charlatan surgeon; he died without a will	7	Medicine	DB	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 67
1667.VIII.18	Sagramoro Pinardi	Notary	?	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9939
1667.VIII.20	Giambattista Turchetti	Notary	?	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9939

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1668.VI.13 (Dondi) e	Bernardo Dondi from Soragna and	Upper-middle class (possibly notaries)	Dondi: 27 titles	Civil and canon law; ancient and modern literature; religion	Deposit by order of the criminal auditor.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 100, cc. 2v–3r (Dondi); cc. 44v–45v (Galeotti)
1668.VI.20 (Galeotti)	Evangelista Galeotti		Galeotti: 42 titles			ANDP, f. 8115
1669.I.30	Giovanni Del Monte	Apothecary	about 10	Pharmacopoeia	Apothecary's shop inventory.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 144
1670.I.24	Giuseppe Faelli, Vic. of S. Andrea		3	Cicero and Sallust's works are listed on c. 3r; further ancient literature and religious works on cc. 10v–11r and c. 14v	DB by order of the criminal auditor of Parma.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 153
1670.V.16	Rev. Bernardo Agazzi, Vic. of S. Bartolomeo	Clergyman	80	Religion and various other subjects (cc. 1r, 1v, 3r, 4r, 4v)	DB by order of the fiscal mayor.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 182
1670.XII.19	Giovanni Mazza in Pizzolese	Upper-middle class	13	An "offitio della Madonna" and other devotional books	DB by order of the criminal auditor of Parma.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 190; with many paintings
1671.VII.03	Giovanni Miliorini, Vic. of S. Gervaso		1	An "offitio della Madonna"	DB by order of the criminal auditor of Parma and the fiscal mayor.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 47, a. 195, cc. 12v and 13r; with paintings
1671.VIII.09	Orsola Costa de Mondotis from Bologna, Vic. of S. Trinità, Borgo Strinato	Middle class	32	Ancient and modern literature, religion	i. p. m.	ASPR, notaries from Borgotaro, imbreu. Notarili, b. 1174
1672.X.07	Ill. Achille Platone (Platoni)	Aristocrat, administrator	100	Law	i. p. m.	

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1673.XI.04	Arch. Carlo Magnani	Architect	Not specified	Architecture	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9978
1675.II.08	Ludovico Salsi	Court servant	8	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9986
1676.II.03	Silvio, Alessandro and Aurelio Aiani brothers, Vic. of S. Siro	Upper class: medical doctors	584	All subjects. Books are mainly kept in a <i>studio</i> (private study).	DB drawn up by the Ducal Chamber.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 48, a. 137
1676.III.26	Giovanni Amita	Middle-upper class	About 200	Law and religion	i. p. m. drawn up by the Ducal Chamber, since Amita had no heirs.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 48, a. 181. It should be noted that the Carmelitani of Santa Maria Bianca inherited these books as a result of a notarial deed drawn up by Ranuccio Pisani on 1678.I.26.
1676.V.06	Antonio Maria Banzola	Carpenter, carver	1	Architecture	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10848
1676.XII.01	Agostino Odopranti	Florentine man at Duchess Margherita de' Medici service	4	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10199
1677.VII.28	Conte Francesco Simonetta	Aristocrat	70	Miscellaneous (architecture, history, literature)	Count's possessions are assigned to the Ducal Chamber, but both his mother and his wife claim dotal credits.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 45, a. 94: books are mentioned from c. 33 ^r to c. 41 ^v
1677.XII.11	Ill. Alessandro Manghi	Aristocrat	3	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9153
1677.VII.22	Mons. Carlo Nembrini	Bishop of Parma	100	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10340

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1678.VI.10	Angelo Giuseppe Mazzoli	Upper-middle class	5	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10344
1679.X.16	The brothers Donnino and Felice Manotti, sons of Paolo Camillo and Orsolina, Vic. of S. Marzolino	Students	32	Religion, entertainment, literature, architecture (books are mentioned in different parts of the inventory, with detailed information about titles)	Criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 63; with "Iambicchi da stilare" [alembics].
1679.II.06	Angelo Micheli, in Borgo San Donnino	"Dominus", but he runs a shop in his house	4	Law	Criminal auditor (Micheli is a convict)	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 27
1679.X.27	Michelangelo Rangoni known as Ficarelli, Vic. of S. Paolo	Organ and musical instruments maker	52 and 200 music books	Exact sciences, applied sciences, religion	Criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 70. He owns a lot of musical instruments (<i>chitariglie</i> , claviorgans, accordions).
1679.XI.07	Ill. Antonio Maria Sanquileo	Aristocrat	25	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12181
1679.II.11	Rev. Giovanni Battista Caletti	Clergyman	118	Canon law, theology	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10848
1679. V.18	Giovanni Andrea Bacchini, Vic. of S. Trinità	"Signifer" [military officer]	39	Religion, school subjects, "una carta universale del mondo" [a universal map of the world]	Criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 45
1680.III.18	Contessa Virginia Bravi Baiardi and Marchesa Lucrezia Bravi Bergonzi sisters	Countess and Marchioness	75 + 66	History, ancient and modern literature, religion	Sharing of inheritance	ANDP, f. 7171; paintings
1680.II.08	Ill. Giuseppe Barattieri	Architect	20	Architecture	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 7171

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1680.VI.23	Pietro Antonio Barbieri, Vic. of S. Silvestro	Tenant in a nun's house	5	Religion and miscellaneous	Criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 84
1680.VIII.21	Anna de Alessandri	Widow of a notary	1	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 7172
1680.IX.19	Ill. Carlo Beccaria	Aristocrat	85	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9010
1680.VII.07	Conte Artaserse Bravi	Aristocrat	140	Literature	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 7171
1681.IV.14	Camillo Vitali a Busseto	"Dominus"	23	Books are found in different parts of the inventory; there is also a remarkable inventory of manuscript reports.	Criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 107
1681.VII.21	Mastro Domenico Battioni, Vic. of S. Cecilia, died in June 1675.	Barber	1	Architecture	i. p. m.; he left his possessions to the Ospedale della Misericordia	ANDP, f. 10525, a. 104
1681.VIII.18	"Eccellentissimo signor" Pietro Lottici	Merchant	Not specified	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10061
1681.XII.11	Francesco Guastalla, Vic. of S. Paolo	City treasurer at the "offitio dell'Abbondanza"	85	Literature, philosophy; "un paro d'ochiali con sua cassarola nuova" [a pair of spectacles with their new case]	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10370
1682.III.24	Michele Michelini	Lower class	6	"Un ufficio della Madonna; tre libri in ottavo di divotione; un altro di medicamenti; un'altro intitolato Specchio della vita humana" [<i>An Ufficio della Madonna</i> ; three devotional books	Criminal auditor (he fired an arquebus shot)	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 123

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference	
1682.XI.19	Rev. Paolo Camillo Coppini	Clergyman	23	in-octavo; one about medicines; another entitled <i>Specchio della vita humana</i>]	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9542	
1682.XII.24	Rev. Domenico Casanova, Vic. of S. Gervasio e Protasio	Clergyman	Not specified	Devotion, canon law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9011	
1682.XII.27	"Capitano" Flavio Ambrosini, Villa di Besignara (in Basilicanova?)	"Capitano" (captain)	1	"Una scantia di pioppa con sopra diversi libri d'istoria, e di Sacra Scrittura" [a poplar shelf with several history books and bibles]	Criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 143	
1683.II.05	Rev. Vitale de Tacconi	Clergyman	2	<i>Consolatione de Penitenti del Padre fra Bartolomeo d'Angeli</i>	Liturgy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10527
1683.IX.27	Dott. Giovanni Antonio Candoli	Medical doctor	73	Philosophy	i. p. m.	ASPR, Notai di Borgotaro, f. 887	
1684.VIII.13	Carlo and Beatrice Zandemaria, husband and wife, Vic. of S. Siro	Upper-middle class	20 and other unspecified titles	Religion; there are also glasses ("un paro d'ochiali, uno legato in osso bianco, et l'altro paro in argento falso" [a pair of glasses in white bone frames and another one in fake silver frames])	Ducal Chamber	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 51, a. 175	
1685.XII.14	Rev. Orazio Bassani Viola	Clergyman, musician	1	Religion: S. Augustine's <i>Confessions</i>	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 7173	
1686.V.18	Ill. Dott. Bartolomeo Del Bono	Aristocrat, jurist	410	Law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11371	

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1686.VI.21	Rev. Domenico Frati	Clergyman	7	Religion, law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10527
1687.III.03	Francesco Piazza	?	?	Not specified: "libri diversi estimati lire 1 e 10 soldi"	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10992
1687.VII.22	Rev. Giovanni Beccanti, Vic. of S. Tommaso	Clergyman	5	Liturgy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11372
1687.VIII.28	Giacomo dell'Arca	Medical doctor	8	Medicine and pharmacopoeia	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12715, aa. 316 e 317
1689.III.03	Giuseppe Pirolì, Vic. of S. Alessandro	Middle class	35	Literature	DB by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 49, a. 50 (books are mentioned halfway through the document). Paintings are mentioned as well.
1689.II.12	Ottavio Turchi, Vic. of S. Tommaso	"Dominus"; apothecary's shop with books.	15	Medicine and pharmacopoeia	DB by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 49, a. 47. Paintings are mentioned as well.
1689.VI.01	Flaminio Tagliaferri	Upper-middle class	200	Literature, philosophy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12735
1689.V.03	Rev. Giovanni Beltraghi	Clergyman	About 10	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10993
1690 circa	Giulia Pico Palmia	Aristocrat	1	Devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 177
1690.XI.14	Rev. Giovanni Bardoni, Vic. of S. Cecilia	Clergyman	84 in a separate list	Canon law, theology	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 102
1690.XII.30	Paola Triviloni	Middle class	2	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, ins., f. 9459
1691.XI.08	Pietro Antonio and Giovanni Battista Criminali	Merchants	2	Devotion	Furniture inventory	ASPR, ins., f. 274
1692.II.21	Enrico Righi	Officer of Colorno	79	67 titles of law, 12 titles of literature	i. p. m. with list of books to be sold	ANDP, f. 12518

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1692.V.09 (date of archive recording)	Nicolò Busseti	Diocesan notary, jurist	318	Law. Books are grouped by (1) format and (2) genre (<i>lecturae, allegationes, consilia, tractatus, decisiones</i>). From the <i>studio</i> : two old missals	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins. 73; with paintings. Other document: in the same row, dating back to 1692.X.8 (Busseti's possessions given to architect Domenico Valmagini).
1692.III.01	Barbara and Margherita Bedeschi, sisters	Middle class	2	Devotion	Division of assets	ANDP, f. 10067
1692.III.30	Rev. Carlo Giuseppe Richini	Clergyman	15	Religion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9460
1692.III.31	Ill. Nicola Ferri	Aristocrat, jurist	220	Law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9460 See item Giuseppe Ferri, 1692
1692.V.24	Paolo Testi	Middle class	“una scantiata” [little shelves]	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11373
1692.V.31	Dott. Francesco Maria Signifredi, in Castrignano	Jurist	30	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, <i>inserti</i> f. 76, n. 7
1692.IX.16	Dott. Giuseppe Ferri	Medical doctor	306	Medicine, law, philosophy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11288
1693.VI.06	Sebastiano Rossi, Vic. of S. Benedetto (Borgo delle Colonne)	Middle class: he had a shop in Piazza Grande on “strada maestra”	30	Not specified. In a walnut case: “libri diversi ordinarii, e piccoli, tra buoni, e rotti in tutto n. 30” [several common, small books among those in good condition, and damaged ones, 30 in total].	i. p. m.: he left underage sons	ANDP, f. 10068
1693.VI.27	Conte Antonio Cantelli	Aristocrat	98	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10068

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1693.IX.20	Conte Ferdinando Del Prato	Aristocrat	1	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12355
1693.X.03	Conte Marcello Cerati, Vic. of S. Cristina, in "strada maestra"	Aristocrat	8	Not specified	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 76, n. 31, with paintings
1694.VII.24	Paolo Zucchi, Vic. of S. Maria Borgo Taschieri	Tanner and furrier with a shop	12	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 76, n. 39 with paintings
1694.VIII.30	Dott. Lodovico Sacca	Medical doctor	Total value: 150 lire	Philosophy, medicine	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10993
1694.IX.10	Ill. Bartolomeo Giordani	Aristocrat, "tenente" [lieutenant]	35	Ancient literature, canon law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12712
1694.IX.13	Mons. Tommaso Saladini	Bishop of Parma	11	Canon law	i. p. m.	AVPR, Vescovo Saladini, scaff. B, s.1, c. 1
1694.X.01	Rev. Giovanni Maria Molinelli	Clergyman	1	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9461
1695	Ill. Francesco Rossi, Vic. of S. Tommaso	Aristocrat	About 420	Philosophy, duelling, literature, history, religion "Una scanzia da libri di pioppa vecchia"; "Nota o sia inventario de libri in foglio": 44 <i>in folio</i> , 337 <i>in quarto reale</i> ("Tutti li sodetti libri sono legati alla francese con rabeschi d'oro"); 20 "legati alla russica", "5 libretti di sonate", "Giornale de' letterati", manuscripts	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11873; with a lot of paintings; carpenter's tools; manuscript reports.
1695.IX.03	"Signor" Fortunato Pontoli	Upper-middle class	0	"Una scanzia di pioppa vecchia per libri" [old bookcase made from poplar]	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11873; with many paintings, a guitar

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1695.X.01	Rev. Agostino Colonna, archpriest of Ramoscello	Clergyman	90	"Una scanzia con il suo piede per ponervi li libri" [bookcase] and a separate list of books	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins. f. 37
1695.X.16	Conte Ferrante Borra, Vic. of S. Tommaso	Aristocrat	122	History, law, theology, ancient literature, grammar	Adnotatio bonorum by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 49, a. 136 and Uff. conf., b. 24, a. 42 The second document might be a supplement to the first. Paintings are mentioned as well.
1695.X.25	Rev. Ranuccio Cornazzani	Clergyman	1	Devotion	Sharing of goods	ANDP, f. 9015
1696.II.24	Dott. Rev. Curzio Arcioni	Canon, jurist, chancellor	300	Law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12355
1696.IV.16	Alessandro Bigoli and Anna Barbieri, husband and wife	Middle class	35	Literature, devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9015
1696.VII.06	Marchese Guido Rangoni	Aristocrat	740	Drama	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12713, a. 92
1697.IX.25	Domenico Maria Balestrieri	Upper-middle class	202	Law; very detailed separate inventory	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 184
1697.X.23	Rev. Giovanni Aschieri	Clergyman	60	Theology	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12713
1698.VII.08	Bartolomeo Smitti	Aristocrat	1	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9463
1698.IX.05	Mons. Giulio Dalla Rosa	Clergyman	170	Law	Assets inventory	ASPR, ins., f. 120
1699.I.24	Trionfi sisters	Aristocrat	2	Devotion	Guardianship	ANDP, f. 12365
1699.VII.03	Pellegrino Zanichelli	Carpenter	?	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9463
1700.XI.09	Rev. Francesco Maria Leonardi	Clergyman	6	Liturgy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9464

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1700.XI.19	Cav. Francesco Banzola	Ducal administrator	2	Liturgy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9464
1701.III.21	Arch. Giovanni Simone Boscoli	Lieutenant of the Ducal artillery, architect	375	Architecture	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9464
1702.XI.03	"Magnifico" Michele de Beotijs	Merchant	1	Devotion	Inventory of household assets	ANDP, f. 12950
1702.XII.23	Lazzaro Mariani di Bedonia	Dealer?	6	Devotion	Inventory of household assets	ASPR, Notai di Borgotaro, f. 1317
1703.VI.26	Paolo Bellotti, in Fontanellato	Middle class	32	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins. 316
1704.V.02	Genesio Caldarini	"Decurione" [municipal magistrate]	4	Religion, literature	Adnotatio bonorum by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. Conf., b. 56, a. 68
1705.II.16 (inventory of books dated 1702.IV.01)	Dott. Pietro Maria Bolsi	Jurist	310	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins. 123, a. 259 See Agostino Panella (1723)
1706.IV.23	Conte Galeazzo Bernieri	Aristocrat	200	Law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 9466
1706.V.28	Paolo Baistrocchi	Jurist	19	Law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 11782
1706.XI.29	Clara Biretti	Widow of apothecary	11	Pharmacopoeia	Apothecary's shop assets	ANDP, f. 12358
1707.III.30	Conte Giovanni Francesco Guastalla	Aristocrat	85	Miscellaneous	House book-keeping	ASPR, ins., f. 8
1707.XI.29 and 1707.XII.13	Giovanni Battista Castelli	?	?	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12359
1708.I.15	Rev. Vincenzo Stanislao Malaspina	Aristocrat, clergyman	1	Devotion	House inventory	ASPR, ins. f. 8

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1708.V.02	"Capitano tenente" Cesare Ceretuli, Vic. of S. Paolo	Aristocrat	15	Not specified	List drawn up by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 56, a. 103
1709.III.21	Francesco Tassi, Vic. of S. Gervaso	Goldsmith	About 130	Vernacular books: literature, entertainment	List drawn up by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 56, a. 113
1709.XII.18	Ill. Genesio Balestrieri	Aristocrat	2	Liturgy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10073
1710.I.02	Gaetano Ferri	Jurist	40	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 8
1710.IX.05	"Capitano" Antonio Aurighi, Vic. of S. Basilide	Upper class	Not specified	Small shelf with books ("Una scanzia piccola da libri con diversi libri, che servivano al sign.r Antonio per la scuola" [A small book case with several books sig.r Antonio used in school])	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 10073, aa. 885 and 891
1711.X.25	Marchese Orazio II Lampugnani	Aristocrat (marquis)	310	Literature, religion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 184
1711.V.07	Rev. Giacomo Antonio Minori	Clergyman	2	Philosophy, devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 26
1711.VI.1	Contessa Fulvia Zanardi	Aristocrat	4	Religion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 13248
1711.VI.22	Alessandro and Barbara Pascheri, husband and wife, Vic. of S. Benedetto (Borgo delle Colonne)	Middle class	11 and other small books	Religion, literature (also in Latin)	List drawn up by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 56
1711.VII.20	Rev. Bartolomeo Campanini	Clergyman	3	Devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 1
1711.X.18	"Cavalier" Giuseppe Maghenzi	Archivist of the Ducal archive	350	Law	Annotation of returned books	ASPR, ins., f. 76

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1713	Dott. Stanislao Omati, in Borgo San Donnino	Medical doctor	717	Books are listed in a separate inventory. The main subjects are: medicine, pharmacopoeia, chemistry, astrology, witchcraft, astronomy, literature, religion, history, farming, drama, current affairs	i. p. m.	Private archive. Bibl.: Dallasta, 'Una biblioteca aggiornata', pp. 95–239.
1713	Seth Viotti	From a family of a printers	412	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, Epistolario scelto, b. 17, fasc. 26
1714.I.30	Contessa Diana Bergonzi Taccoli Anguissola	Aristocrat	8	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12716
1714.III.12	Conte Giovanni Anguissola	Aristocrat, general	96	Not specified	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 101
1714.VI.16	Andrea Savi, in Torricella	?	7	Books are kept in the house lent by Count Nicolò Terzi from Sissa	List drawn up by order of the criminal auditor	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 56
1714.VIII.20	"Monsù" (Monsieur) Filippo Romeo	French court servant?	16	Not specified	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 13248
1714.IX.01	Sons of "Signor" Blondi	?	13	School subjects	Guardianship	ANDP, f. 14107
1715.V.05	Lorenzo Formentini	Notary	20	Law	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12716
1715.I.09	Francesco Caminati	?	1	Religion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 68
1716.VII.04	Giovanni Batta Secchi	?	41	Mathematics, spirituality	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 114
1716.X.12	Ill. Giuseppe Pezzalli	Jurist	1565	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 101
1716.X.07	Conte Carlo Sanvitale	Aristocrat, member of court	1020	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12363
1717.III.20	Ill. Giulia Rodesi Scacchini	Aristocrat	220 and more	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12547

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1718.II.22	"Alfiere" Ranuccio Pusterla	Middle class	?	Devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 68
Post 1718	Prof. Pompeo Sacco	Medical doctor, university professor	1844	Law, medicine, miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins. 182
1719.IV.24	Dott. Alessandro Bertolotti	Jurist	310	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 6
1719.V.27	Rev. Giovanni Battista Sacchi	Clergyman	13	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 9
1721.V.02	Giovanni Giordani	?	20 and more	Devotion	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12060
1723.V.10	Dott. Agostino Panella	Jurist	170	Law	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 70. See also Dott. Pietro Maria Bolsi (1702)
1723.V.23	Rev. Pietro Francesco Ruberti	Clergyman, ducal preceptor	540	Miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 100
1723.XII.15	Giuseppe Barbieri	Apothecary	19	Pharmacopoeia	Apothecary's shop inventory	ASPR, ins., f. 20
1724.II.05	Antonio Mazzia	Apothecary	18	Pharmacopoeia	Apothecary's shop inventory	ANDP, f. 12404
1725.III.09	Dott. Carlo Barsani	Professor	115	Philosophy	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 12719
1725.VII.25	"Don" Juan Velez from the Iberian Peninsula	Staff sergeant in Berceto	30	Religion	List drawn up by order of the ducal fiscal mayor in a criminal case for desertion	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 56, a. 148
[between 1720–1729?]	Giovanni Iappini, in Villa of Canetolo	Middle class	13	Religion, literature	i. p. m.	ASPR, Uff. conf., b. 56, a. 54
1725.VIII.08	Giuseppe Bernardi	Clergyman	55	Religion, philosophy	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 6
1725.VIII.08	Rev. Giuseppe Fontana	Clergyman	4	Devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 9, a. 740

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1726.II.05	Zunti Family	Jurists	About 800	Law	Inventory for a loan among cousins	ASPR, Comune, carte Zunti, b. 4255
1726.XI.04	Apotheca of S. Tommaso	Apothecary	24	Pharmacopoeia	Apothecary's shop inventory	ASPR, ins., f. 20
1727.IV.01	"Illustrissimo signor priore" Lombardino Ravazzoni, Vic. di S. Apollinare	Aristocratic clergyman	200	31 medicine; 20 law; 9 theology and other; 2 "libri d'Inquisizione"; 6 philosophy; 40 moral theology; 70 history and literature; 23 medicine. Separate inventory, detailed (with printer and format) and with a subdivision of main subjects	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 27, a. 153; with paintings
1728.VI.05	Rev. Diofebo Dal Monte	Clergyman	2	Devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 20
1729.II.11	Conte Giuseppe Taccoli	Aristocrat	2038	Not specified	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 6
1729.V.10	Antonio Ossimprandi	Apothecary	10	Pharmacopoeia	Apothecary's shop inventory	ANDP, f. 12719
1730.II.16	Teresa Boschetti	Middle class	24	Devotion, literature	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 13748
1732.II.20	Dott. Santo Pironi (Peroni)	Medical doctor	150	Pharmacy, medicine, history	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 426
1734.IV.15	Contessa Maria Palmia Pichi Vandoni, Vic. S. Nicolò	Aristocrat	3	"Tre officii uno della Beata Vergine, un Martigiani, et uno di Sant'Antonio con li chiapponi" [Three <i>Ufficii</i> : one of the Holy Virgin,	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 130 bis, a. 248

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1735	"Signor" Giovanni Tommaso Bussolati, Vic. of S. Maria Borgo Taschieri	Upper class	150	one <i>Martigiani</i> and one of Sant'Antonio, with rosary] Medicine: "Libri cento cinquanta in circa la maggior parte de quali in foglio, ed in parte in quarto, ed in parte in ottavo la maggior parte di quelli di medicina" [150 books, mostly folios, some quartos, some octavos, most of them medical]	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins. 301, with paintings and "nove figurine, varie di gesso, in parte dipinte, e in parte non dipinte"
1735.V.02	Alessandro Pasini, Vic. of S. Apollinare	Wealthy shopkeeper (?)	1	Devotion (<i>Office of Our Lady</i>)	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 13, a. 944
1735.VI.18	Terzi, husband and wife	?	?	Not specified	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 13
1736.IX.27	Giovanni Vergiani	Shopkeeper	1	Devotion	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 23
1738.III.01	Giorgio and Angela Bianchi, husband and wife	Middle class	2	Devotion	Household goods inventory	ASPR, ins., f. 23
1739.XI.02	Conte Sagramoro Palmia	Aristocrat	141	Religion, literature, philosophy, duelling	i. p. m.	ASPR, Archivio per famiglie, Baiardi, b. 28, fasc. 2192.
1742.IV.10	Ill. Giovanni Palmia	Aristocrat	30	Religion, literature	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 23
1742.V.12	Conte Giacomo Sanvitale in Fontanellato	Aristocrat	3	Liturgy	Renunciation of possessions in favour of first-born child	ASPR, ins., f. 431

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1744.VIII.22	Conte Obizzo Sanvitale	Aristocrat	57	History, literature, French grammar	i. p. m.	ASPR, Famiglie, Sanvitale, bb. 809–810
1748.III.10	“Abate” Mauro Ventura	Clergyman	55 to one heir, 45 others to another heir	Religion, literature; a binding “alla francese” [French-style] is mentioned; in the second list there is a detailed commercial evaluation of each volume	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 424; with paintings, writing desk
1753.IV.04	Ill. Dott. Giovanni Antonio Terrarossa	Aristocrat, “collegiato” (member of the bench)	800	Law, miscellaneous	i. p. m.	ASPR, ins., f. 186
1762.III.16	Mons. Francesco Pettorelli Lalatta	Clergyman (bishop of Parma)	About 400	“Cathalogus librorum” classified by format and alphabetically, in French. Main subjects: religion, history, literature, grammar	Moving from Roma to Parma after being appointed bishop	AVPR, Cassetta Pettorelli-Lalatta Bibl.: <i>Condanne e carriere</i> , p. 47
1763	Dott. Bonelli	?	About 800	Literature, history, philosophy, medicine	Books bought from Biblioteca Reale of Parma	BPPR, Ms. parm. 1586, c. 124r. Bibl: De Pasquale 2010, pp. 10 and 40n
1766.VII.24	Mons. Pietro Cristiani (1704–1765)	Bishop of Piacenza	56	Literature, history, religion: “Nota di libri presi per uso della Real Biblioteca da una privata eredità di Piacenza, di cui è esecutore il sacerdote D. Carlo Giuseppe Zanatta	Books bought from Biblioteca Reale of Parma	ASPR, Computisteria farnesiana e borbonica, fili correnti, b. 356 Bibl: De Pasquale 2010, pp. 10 and 40n

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
				per la somma di lire 900 moneta piacentina [...] Paolo Paciaudi bibliotecario di Sua Alezza Reale" [Note on seized books for use by the Real Biblioteca of Piacenza, of which priest D. Carlo Giuseppe Zanatta is executor for the sum of 900 Piacenza lire [...]] Paolo Paciaudi librarian of Sua Alezza Reale].		
1767	"Capitano" Giuseppe Bolsi Marchesi (1688–1766)	Professor of Mathematics in Bologna	Only 100 books selected	Geometry, algebra	Books bought from Biblioteca Reale of Parma	BPPR, Ms. parm. 943, c. 69 Bibl: De Pasquale 2010, pp. 10 and 40n; DBP, I, pp. 577–578
1769	Auguste Guy Guinement de Keralio (1715–1805)	Governor and preceptor to Duke of Parma Ferdinando of Borbone	?	Mathematics, literature and English history	Gift of his own books to the Duke Ferdinando of Borbone	Bibl: De Pasquale, pp. 10 and 40n
1770 circa	Rev. Paolo Vescovi	Clergyman	1370	Religion (Bible, theology, hagiography), canon law	i. p. m.	ASPR, Magistrato camerale di Parma, serie I, b. 653, n. 12 Bibl.: <i>Condanne e carriere</i> , p. 47
				Every entry consists of an author and title. Books are classified by subject and listed in alphabetical order		

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1782	Rev. Paolo Mezzi	Clergyman	700	Religion, literature, history	Assignment of the library to Count Alessandro Sanvitale	ASPR, Archivio Sanvitale, b. 112, fasc. 3699 Bibl.: <i>Condanne e carriere</i> , pp. 47–48, 676
1783.IX.20	Rev. Giuseppe Lorenzo Capretti	Friar	786	Religion, literature, history	i. p. m.	AVPR, Parish S. Benedetto Bibl.: <i>Condanne e carriere</i> , pp. 23–46, 123–296
1784.XII.16	Conte Francesco Bruni, Vic. of S. Pietro Apostolo	Aristocrat	Maybe 400	Law	Wedding contract with Countess Teresa Cattaneo	ANDP, f. 18128, cc. 124r–138r
1786	Antonio Galli (1731–1809)	Medical doctor ? (surgeon and obstetrician at the hospital of Parma; he translated a medical work from French)		?	Books bought from Biblioteca Reale of Parma	Bibl: DBP, II, p. 88g; De Pasquale 2010, pp. 10 e 40n
1793 (post)	Prof. Giovanni Battista Guatteri (Castelnovo di Sotto, 27 August 1739–Parma, 1 July 1793)	Professor of Botany at the University of Parma, appointed in 1769	267	“Nota dei libri del fu sig. prof. Guatteri, di storia naturale, botanica e agricoltura” Detailed inventory, classified by main subject: “Istoria naturale” 60 titles; “Botanica” 112; “Agricoltura materia medica” 67; “Miscellanea”	i. p. m.	ASPR, Supremo consiglio di grazia giustizia. Ufficio dei memoriali, b. 124 DBP, III, pp. 87–89

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1797	Father Ireneo Affò (deceased on 12 May 1797)	Friar	Difficult to establish	(history, literature, dictionaries, philosophy, geography) 28 Many books are in Latin and in French History	Inventories have been drawn up for different purposes. The books may not have been his	ASPR, Raccolta manoscritti, b. 106, fasc. 7 DBI, I, pp. 355–357
1801.III.26	Ferdinando Benelani	Officer working for the Secretary of State of the "Dipartimento d'Azienda"	50	Comedies (especially by Carlo Goldoni), tragedies, novels, poems, geography (also books in French and forbidden texts, for example <i>Alzire</i> by Voltaire)	i. p. m. in favour of two minor sons	ANDP, f. 22849 Bibl.: Pezzana
1810	Conte Alessandro Sanvitale (1731–1804) ^a	Aristocrat, "cultore di belle lettere"				ASPR, Sanvitale, b. 809 Bibl.: DBP, IV, p. 297.

a Alessandro made a deal with Don Mezzi about the latter's museum and the library (ASPR, Sanvitale, b. 112, fasc. 3699): "1782, 4 maggio: assegno—a titolo di donazione—fatto dal Conte Alessandro Sanvitale a don Paolo Mezzi, di annue lire 1584, da pagarsi in rate mensili, sua vita natural durante, e donazione fatta dal Mezzi al Conte Sanvitale d'una raccolta d'oggetti storici naturale [sic] e d'antichità, e di libri, riservandosene però l'uso a vita" [1782; 4 May: attribution, as a gift, by Count Alessandro Sanvitale to Don Paolo Mezzi, of 1584 lire over one year, to pay by monthly rate, during his natural life, and a donation by Mezzi to Count Sanvitale of a collection of natural history objects and antiquities and of books, while assigning himself lifetime usufruct]. The document shows the call number label, the original one from the Sanvitale Archive, with the shelfmark P. 11. 3707. After Count Alessandro's death, his collection, which was probably kept in his Parmesan dwelling, in the neighbourhood of San Tommaso, was sold, as evidenced by an inventory kept in ASPR, Sanvitale, b. 809. It contains a list drawn up in 1810: "Libri venduti della Libreria di Casa Sanvitale col loro rispettivo importo" [books sold from the library of Casa Sanvitale, with their respective price]. This list shows prices, buyers (among whom count Antonio Cerati), while details on authors and publishers are missing (with some exceptions). There were actually three sales between 1810 and 1811, and they consisted of lots of 12,586.16 lire, 3,354.2 lire and 298 lire, respectively.

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1816	Prof. Gian Bernardo De Rossi	Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Parma	3366	Philology, oriental languages	Books bought from the Biblioteca Reale of Parma (total value: 100.000 franchi)	Bibl: DBP, II, p. 449–458; De Pasquale 2009; De Pasquale 2010, pp. 10 and 40n
1818	Rev. Marc'Antonio Maldotti from Guastalla	Clergyman	6834	All subjects	Testamentary donation to the town of Guastalla	ASPR, Governatorato di Parma (1805–1860), b. 455
1828	Abate Pietro Zani (1748–1821)	Clergyman, art historian, author of printed works			Books bought from Biblioteca Reale of Parma	Bibl: De Pasquale 2010, pp. 10–11 and 40n; DBP, IV, pp. 838–840
1828	Conte Giovanni Sanvitale	Aristocrat	About 50	Italian, Swiss and French periodicals on different topics, sent from Lausanne	List of objects to be sent	ASPR, Sanvitale, bb. 809–810 Besides the inventory there is a consignment receipt for books sent from Lyon.
1829	Carlo Corsi	Literatus	458	Literature	Books bought from Biblioteca Reale of Parma	Bibl: De Pasquale 2010, pp. 11 e 40n
1834.V.13	Sante Rouby, borgo delle Colonne	Rich merchant (maybe of engravings and paintings) of French origin	15 in French	Miscellaneous, among which four almanacs.	i. p. m.	ANDP, f. 24985 He owned a lot of engravings. Bibl.: Pezzana

TABLE 8.1 Overview of 190 inventories of private libraries in Parma, 1665–1830 (*cont.*)

Date of the document	Owner's name	Occupation / Social position	Number of titles	Book collection's main focus	Type of inventory	Archive reference
1837	Conte Luigi Sanvitale	Aristocrat	About 30	Periodicals and books on different topics. Great number of newspapers, among which the <i>Gazzetta</i> of Parma and of Milan; there are also <i>Regolamenti e decreti</i> .	Archive catalogue	ASPR, Sanvitale, bb. 809–810. Bibl.: Pezzana; De Pasquale 2010, pp. 13–21
1838	Conte Stefano Sanvitale (Parma, 1764–10 August 1838)	Aristocrat, disciple of Giambattista Guatteri (see 1793 entry for Guatteri above); was Mayor of the city	About 3,100 printed books (for a total value of about 11,500 lire) and 444 manuscripts (estimated at 711.50 lire)	The inventory also mentions library items estimated at 800 lire, the names of the appraisers (Don Giovanni Tubarchi and Carlo Zanetti) and the so-called "libri imperfetti": incomplete collections or incomplete series of periodicals. One can thus hypothesise that Stefano Sanvitale loaned books (even prohibited titles) to his friends, such as Antonio dal Pozzo and Luigi Scutellari.	i. p. m.	ASPR, Sanvitale, bb. 809–810. Bibl.: DBP, IV, pp. 327–8; Pezzana; De Pasquale, pp. 13–21.

“For Don Antonio Meave I Leave the Three Folios of My Dear and Venerable Father Louis of Granada”: Tracing Books in the Archivo General de Notarías of Mexico City

Andrea Reyes Elizondo

Reconstructing private book ownership presents many difficulties. It is impossible to know if the sources mention all of the books someone owned or if contentious works were omitted. Often the sources do not contain sufficient information about editions of the works to allow their identification. In some regions, however, the difficulties regarding source material are of a different scale. In the case of New Spain, few colonial libraries have been preserved, but there are various traces of private and institutional book ownership in archives.¹

This article presents an overview of the common sources and challenges that scholarship faces on New Spanish private libraries. It then turns its attention to the Notarial Archive of Mexico City and describes its workings, possibilities, and limitations. Finally, the article gives examples of some documents found in this archive that can be of interest for book historians and proposes a way of analysing books alongside other material objects, specifically those pertaining to visual culture.

Tracing Book Ownership in Mexico

In 1588, a commissioner for the Holy Office of the Inquisition in Puebla (New Spain) wrote a letter to his superiors that included a list of 485 books

¹ I wish to thank the personnel of the *Acervo Histórico del Archivo General de Notarías* de la Ciudad de México (AHAGNCdM) for facilitating my research stay and the researchers Daniel Salvador Vázquez Conde and Mariana Solís López for their invaluable help.

The Viceroyalty of New Spain (present day Mexico, part of the United States, Guatemala, Belize, and other territories) consisted of the kingdom of New Spain (central Mexico) and several provinces.

that had been confiscated from various individuals in the city.² The books were mostly of a devotional and theological nature, although there were also some romance novels. Amongst these were three books confiscated from a black enslaved man named Gregorio: *Tragic Comedy of Calisto and Melibea* (known as *La Celestina*), *Espejo de la Vida Humana* (the Spanish translation of *Speculum Vitae* by William of Nassyngton), and a copy of *Contemptus mundi*. This list provides an excellent example of the types of sources that Mexican book scholarship has at hand to reconstruct private book ownership and the challenges it faces.

Few colonial libraries have been kept in their original form, except for some private collections that became institutional libraries such as the *Palafoxiana*, bequeathed by the bishop Juan de Palafox y Mendoza to the Colegio de San Juan y San Pedro in Puebla. Without the actual books available for analysis, the foremost alternative source is without doubt the paper trail left by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Yet, like all sources, these documents often do not contain sufficient information to allow the reconstruction of private libraries in their entirety. After all, they often only mention the books that were problematic, leaving aside those that were sanctioned. The list mentioned above contains the titles of the books, in some cases the year of publication, their language, and in most cases from whom they were confiscated. What is not recorded is the date when these books were confiscated or what the procedure was. More importantly, very little information is given about the owners.

A black enslaved man being in possession of three books, including *La Celestina*, is one of the most exciting findings in the 1588 booklist mentioned above. This note has been used repeatedly to point out that even black enslaved persons read or that the reading of romance novels was widespread during the three hundred year history of the colony. Whether Gregorio could read or not, however, is unknown, as the list does not contain any further information about the individuals from whom the books were confiscated nor have researchers found other sources referring to him or his enslaver. Equally puzzling is the confiscation of a book of hours in Latin from a woman by the name of Isabel de Moras—could many women read in Latin?—or the fact that several items in the list do not indicate from whom they were confiscated.

2 'Carta del Canónigo Santiago, Comisario del Santo Oficio en la Puebla de los Angeles a la Inquisición de México, acompañándole lista de los libros prohibidos que tiene recogidos' (1588), Archivo General de la Nación, Ramo Inquisición, Tomo 82, No. 15A. See Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico: Tip. Guerrero, 1914), pp. 337–347.

Besides these well documented lacunae in the sources, there is also the gap between what historians have assumed people read and the books that people actually read or owned. This difference derives from the tendency to exalt a shared intellectual past in national historical narratives and results in the *a priori* accommodation of intellectual history around what are now considered seminal works. For example, the information cited most often from the above-mentioned booklist is *La Celestina* being owned by a black enslaved man, ignoring the fact that the majority of the list refers to devotional works.

Around the world there are plenty of examples of this tendency to focus on specific works to support a teleological narrative.³ Some book scholarship in Mexico has followed this path, where the book is cast as a vehicle for intellectual development according to a constructed version of the Enlightenment.⁴ For example, Cristina Gómez Álvarez has sought to link the importation of certain works from Spain to the development of ideas that resulted in Mexico's Independence.⁵ Such a focus can ignore not only the role of religious and devotional works in history, but also the role of other cultural forms such as images and oral performances.

When the book is given such a history-changing role, every book a person owned must be seminal and considered to be a testimony of the high intellectual stature of the owner. If the books owned are mostly theological or religious as opposed to 'enlightened', they are then justified as being the necessary works for a well-educated individual of a certain period. This professional deformation is by no means exclusive to book historians. Bible scholars, for example, for a long time sought to justify the historical authenticity of biblical texts on the basis of archaeological excavations, instead of analysing both texts and archaeological finds in a critical way.

Next to this implicit bias that the book carries as a cultural object, establishing private book ownership depends on the state of primary sources. This

3 For a few examples, see Alicia Montoya, 'The MEDiate Project', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 25 (2018), pp. 229–232.

4 The scope of this article does not allow delving deep into a critique of this teleological approach. I would like to briefly mention a couple of points where it might be problematic: 1) a definition of religion which ignores the debates within the field of religious studies resulting in a narrow classification of religious books (cf. Ivan Strenski, 'Talal Asad's "Religion" Trouble and a Way Out', *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion*, 22:2–3 (2010), pp. 136–155); 2) a malleable concept of Enlightenment that puts the emphasis on book imports from Europe (cf. Sebastian Conrad, 'Enlightenment in Global History: A Historiographical Critique', *The American Historical Review*, 117, 4 (2012), pp. 999–1027); and 3) the disregard for the censorship and limitations placed on local intellectuals and knowledge production, including the indigenous population.

5 Cristina Gómez Álvarez, *Navegar con libros. El comercio de libros entre España y Nueva España: una visión cultural de la Independencia (1750–1820)* (Madrid: Trama & UNAM, 2011).

is painfully evident in regions where solid archival infrastructures are lacking, whether due to economic constraints or political disinterest. There is an enormous difference between what historians in the Western world can do, compared to what researchers in less privileged regions can achieve. The former can start working with inventoried and often digitised archives that are open regularly, the latter must work in the double role of archive-archaeologist and historian.

Mexican book history presents traces of bias towards the book as a cultural object much as in book scholarship in other regions. Its biggest challenge, however, has been its archival infrastructure.⁶ The country has gone through 300 years of colonial rule (1521–1821), independence (1810–1821), revolution (1910–1920), and several civil and external wars. One of the civil wars centred on the struggle between ecclesiastical and state power. At the end of the War of Reform (1857–1860), civil administration became the State's responsibility, which included the housing of administrative and ecclesiastical records from the colonial period. These conflicts have left a dent on the paper trails from the various governing structures, with many archives being split and relocated several times.⁷ Despite the challenges faced by historians of the region, colonial book ownership has been documented extensively, both semi-public collections from colleges and seminars, as well as private libraries.

One of the most prolific sources on colonial book ownership are the shipping lists and files of the Inquisition. Owners, booksellers, and printers from both sides of the Atlantic had to present a *memoria* of their books to the authorities. The majority of these files can be found at the *Archivo General de Indias* (AGI) in Seville for the records of books leaving Spain, and the *Archivo General de la Nación* (AGN) in Mexico City for the records of books received from Spain, as well as those printed, sold, and owned in New Spain.

On the eastern side of the Atlantic, several scholars have worked on the shipping records from the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade) in Seville. One of the most noteworthy investigations on these sources is Pedro Rueda Ramírez's study of all the records that contained books for the first half of the seventeenth century, which resulted in an overview of more than 100,000 titles of various genres shipped to the American colonies, some of them to

6 See for example Idalia García and Bolyf Cottom (eds.), *El patrimonio documental en México: reflexiones sobre un problema cultural* (Mexico City: Cámara de Diputados, LX Legislatura, Consejo Editorial, 2019).

7 The *Indiferente Virreinal* collection at the *Archivo General de la Nación* (AGN) in Mexico City can exemplify this. The collection originated in the archbishopric of Mexico. After the War of Reform it was sheltered at the Tax Secretary before it was finally moved to the AGN. Nevertheless, not all the documents were taken from the archbishopric as the latter's archives still contain some documents for Querétaro, a region near Mexico City.

individuals.⁸ Another researcher who has focused on the Sevillian sources, albeit focused on book trade, is Natalia Maillard Álvarez who, besides consulting *AGI* sources, has also delved into the notarial protocols of the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla*.⁹

On the Mexican side, the archivists of the *AGN* have diligently described and catalogued many of the colonial-era files, including the records of the Inquisition. In 1939, Eduardo O'Gorman presented transcriptions of various booklists located at the *AGN* in the archive's own gazette.¹⁰ These 34 documents totalling more than 200 pages showcase booklists presented by booksellers and private individuals to the Inquisition. The length of the lists varies from a few titles to more than 1,200. Unfortunately, these transcriptions have limited accessibility as copies of the gazette itself are hard to find and its contents have not been digitised.

With regard to library history, one of the seminal works on colonial libraries is *Las Bibliotecas Novohispanas* [The New Spanish Libraries] by Ignacio Osorio Romero.¹¹ This work gives an overview of mostly institutional libraries in New Spain, but it also gives attention to private collections. The book was published in only one edition and consequently has limited accessibility.¹²

In general, O'Gorman, Osorio Romero, and other researchers have focused primarily on institutional libraries, as their records have been kept alongside the administrative files of colleges and seminars. Concerning private libraries, the richest sources are undoubtedly the records of the Inquisition. Not only were there some proceedings that involved readers, but the faithful also had to provide lists of their books for review to the ecclesiastical authorities. Such sources provide testimonies of the lives of learned individuals from the colonial period. Two interesting cases are those of the New Spanish architect Melchor Pérez de Soto and the Dutch hydraulic engineer Adriaan Boot, both

8 Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: el comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)* (Seville; Madrid: Universidad de Sevilla 2005).

9 Natalia Maillard Álvarez, 'Aproximación a la creación de las redes de distribución de libros en América a través de las fuentes españolas (Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XVI)', *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, 71 (2014), pp. 479–503.

10 Edmundo O'Gorman, 'Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales, 1585–1694', *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, 4, x (1939), pp. 661–1006.

11 Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Historia de las bibliotecas novohispanas* (Mexico City: SEP, Dirección General de Bibliotecas, 1986).

12 *WorldCat* records only 24 copies in libraries around the world, see <<http://www.worldcat.org>> (accessed 22 April 2019). In conversation with scholars, many concede to working with photocopies, as an original copy is hard to come by.

from the seventeenth century.¹³ It must be stressed that most of these testimonies deal with rich individuals with many possessions. Finding other book owners has proven to be more difficult.

Many scholars have built upon O’Gorman and Osorio Romero’s work to further explore private book ownership in the context of New Spain’s intellectual history. A recent example is Mauricio Sánchez Menchero and Angélica Morales Sarabia’s study on the network of eighteenth-century readers and writers centred around two intellectuals who published literary and scientific gazettes in the colony.¹⁴ Other historians have continued O’Gorman’s work of tracing booklists in order to reconstruct private book ownership, such as Idalia García’s work on *memorias*, which has unearthed new booklists.¹⁵

What the aforementioned scholarly works share are more ‘easily’ accessible primary sources. The choice of adjective here does not intend in any way to belittle their work, but rather to highlight that the archives used most widely are those that have been inventoried to some extent, receive substantial funding, and have some infrastructure. Undoubtedly, the records of the Inquisition have been amply studied thanks to the fascination with this institution and the richness of its archives. As a result, these documents were the first to be inventoried. Nevertheless, there are other, less accessible sources for the colonial period which can aid in reconstructing private book ownership in the context of the wider culture of the colony. Sources that testify to material possessions

13 A long-standing take on individuals persecuted by the Inquisition has been that they were daring thinkers facing an autocratic system. There are two considerations against this view. The first one is that the overview of confiscated texts by the Inquisition points to many of these being non-sanctioned Catholic texts, highlighting yet again the tension between assumed and actual readership. María Águeda Méndez, *Catálogo de textos marginados novohispanos: Inquisición, siglo XVII* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México and Archivo General de la Nación, 1997) and María Águeda Méndez, *Catálogo de textos marginados novohispanos: Inquisición, siglos XVIII–XIX* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1992). The second consideration is that Pérez de Soto and Boot were embroiled in bigger disputes because of their work, which suggests that their books were not the cause of the inquisitorial procedure. For Pérez de Soto see Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Un bibliófilo en el Santo Oficio* (Mexico: P. Robredo, 1920), and for Boot see Jozé Ignacio Urquiola Permisán, ‘La biblioteca de un ingeniero militar, hidráulico y portuario del siglo XVII: Adrián Boot, y su estancia en México y Puerto de Veracruz’, in *XVIII Coloquio de Historia canario-americana* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 2008), pp. 969–983, available online at: <<https://revistas.grancanaria.com/index.php/CHCA/article/view/8929>>.

14 Mauricio Sánchez Menchero and Rosa Angélica Morales Sarabia, *El corazón de los libros. Alzate y Bartolache: lectores y escritores novohispanos (s. XVIII)* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012).

15 Idalia García, ‘Confieso que he leído o cuando menos poseído: memorias de libros particulares en la Nueva España’, *Inquire: revista de estudios inquisitoriales*, 1 (2013), pp. 19–38. See also chapter 10 in this volume.

can help us situate the presence—or absence—of books as cultural objects alongside others, specifically visual items such as prints, paintings, and small devotional objects.

The sources I found bearing testimony to material possessions can be divided in three large groups: wills, (estate) inventories, and dowry letters. Although some estate inventories and wills can be found at the researcher-friendly AGN, the majority of these documents are held at the notarial archives of each city, which are harder to navigate for researchers as they receive less funding.¹⁶

Mexico City's Notarial Archive

The *Archivo General de Notarías* in Mexico City was created by presidential decree in 1901, nine years before the armed conflicts of the Revolution started. Before that, there was no central institution that kept notarial records, nor was there one during the colonial period either. Each notary would keep his own records and he might also occasionally take over the records of fellow notaries. Further, the clients would pay to receive copies of their documents, thus many documents may be available in duplicates in family archives.¹⁷

The history of these notarial records has not been properly described, but it seems some families of the notaries preserved them and handed them over to the newly created Notarial Archive. The routes that some of the oldest documents in the archive (from the sixteenth century) followed before arriving in the collection, however, are far from clear. Besides the uncertainties about their provenance, it is also unknown if all of the notarial records from the colony have been kept, which seems unlikely.

In its present form, the archive is divided into the general and the historical archives. The latter one is called *Acervo Histórico del Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México* (AHAGNCdM) and contains more than 29,000 volumes divided in three collections: the *Fondo Antiguo* [Ancient collection] with records from 1525 to 1902; the *Fondo Contemporáneo* [Contemporary

16 The AGN holds records of indigenous wills from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Teresa Rojas Rabiela and Elsa Leticia Rea have published several volumes that provide an index, and in some cases a transcription of all of these documents (Teresa Rojas Rabiela, Elsa Leticia Rea López and Constantino Medina Lima, *Vidas y bienes olvidados: Testamentos indígenas novohispanos* (5 vols., Mexico City: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social, 1999–2004)). The AGN also holds estate inventories of individuals who died intestate.

17 In other regions there is a difference between the quality of the copy for the client and the one kept by the notary. However, I have not been able to examine a client's copy.

collection] which contains records from 1875 to 1948; and the *Fondo Consular* [Consular collection] which holds protocols related to Mexican consuls from 1843 to 1937. Currently, the historical collection (AHAGN) is housed at the former Corpus Christi temple, a building that used to belong to the convent for female *caciques* [indigenous nobility]. Although the building is an impressive example of colonial architecture that has survived numerous earthquakes, its facilities are not suitable for an archive. The reading room, for example, is dark and the climate conditions in the depot present a risk to the conservation of the documents.

The archive has not been fully inventoried, nor is there documentation on how the first archivists worked when ordering all these materials. At present there are two different collection guides at the archive, while some organisations have collaborated in cataloguing exercises such as the *Colegio de México* and the *Colegio de Notarios de la Ciudad de México* [the Notaries' College of Mexico City].¹⁸ The results of the different cataloguing exercises are not hosted on a central website nor are they available on the archive's premises. However, the AHAGN webpage has links to some of them.¹⁹ Although some volumes have been catalogued, the tools to navigate through this information are far from user-friendly or readily available.

The first collection guide available at the archive was compiled sometime during the 1980s by the staff of the archive and exists solely in two copies at the archive itself. It is a typed document in one volume that contains the following information about each notary: inventory number given by the archivist, name, type of notary, years covered, and the number of volumes. Researchers are not allowed to take pictures of this guide and there are no plans to make it available online; copying its contents by hand or on a laptop computer is allowed.²⁰

The second collection guide is a computer programme prepared in 1991 by the seminar of Palaeography and New Spanish History at the *Universidad Nacional de México* (UNAM) led by Dr Ivonne Mijares Ramírez. This guide contains a breakdown of volumes per notary and year. Although it was originally intended to be a programme with a search function, the software is only

18 Links to the various cataloguing exercises can be found in the appendix to this chapter.

19 Some of the links might not always work, especially if linked to a searchable database. 'Archivo General de Notarías', Dirección General Jurídica y de Estudios Legislativos, Gobierno de la Ciudad de México. Available online at <<http://data.consejeria.cdmx.gob.mx/index.php/dgjel/archivo-general-notaria>> (accessed April 2019).

20 Alejandra Cortés Hernández and María Guadalupe Flores Carpiá, *Guía General de Protocolos del Acervo Histórico* (Archivo Histórico de Notarías de la Ciudad de México, unpublished, date unknown).

available on one—very slow—computer at the archive. As a solution, the index was printed and it is now available in three bound volumes.²¹

Concerning the state of the documents, not all volumes have been foliated and the foliating practice often skipped blank pages. In general, most volumes hold documents for one year although some volumes of less prolific notaries will cover several years. The books show a high variability in number of pages, from 50 to over 1,000, and are not all bound in the same fashion, if at all. A few notaries made indexes of their annual records, however these are ordered by last name of the client rather than by type of document. Finally, some of the volumes have been severely damaged by humidity, fungus, or in some cases fire, yet this information is not available in any guide; it is only known by the helpful staff of the depot.

Due to decreased funding, the archive is not fully inventoried and has limited visiting hours. This translates into a slow pace of research and can result in different scholars carrying out the same work. Researchers will spend the first couple of weeks practising a kind of ‘archaeology’ of the archive and transcribing or making notes of possibly the same documents. This work is kept on the individual researchers’ computers and is rarely shared. Given the fragmented nature of research institutions in Mexico, a central storage space for this information is unlikely to be provided in the future. It is already difficult to have a central place where all the secondary literature written about the archive can be consulted. This is by no means typical for this archive alone; even the *AGN* does not hold copies of all the printed scholarly catalogues of its records.

These considerations invite the question of whether or not researchers can do something to ensure the work done can be used by others to build upon it. In order to facilitate the job of researchers that might want to visit the *AHAGN*, the appendix of this article includes a bibliography of works on the archive as well as an index of volumes that cover the eighteenth century.²²

What a Book Historian Can Find at the Notarial Archive

As mentioned before, the goal of exploring this archive was to find serial documents that attest material possessions in order to situate books alongside

21 María Elena Briseño Senosiain, Ivonne Mijares Ramírez, Manuela Moro Cabrero and Javier Sanchez Ruíz, *Inventario. Acervo Histórico del Archivo General de Notarías Ciudad de México* (UNAM, printed document, 1991).

22 Andrea Reyes Elizondo, (Leiden University) (2018): *Mexico City Notaries, eighteenth century*. DANS. Available online at <<https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zfu-ayda>>.

other cultural objects such as prints, paintings, small devotional objects, and other visual items. The majority of the documents at the archive are contracts, powers of attorney, and the deeds concerning the establishment of chaplaincies.²³ For book historical purposes there are estate inventories, but also other documents that can contain traces of material possessions beyond information on money or properties. These are wills, dowry letters, and an instrument which to my knowledge is not common in other regions: powers of attorney to make wills. This last type of document granted the power to the attorney-in-fact to draw up the will of the grantor after they had passed away. For simplicity, the term power of attorney in this article will refer to a power of attorney to make a will.

The traces of direct book possession at the *AHAGN* are modest. From a sample of 122 volumes covering two periods of the eighteenth century (1715–1740 and 1770–1795), I have found only around ten records with booklists or mentions of books. These numbers are anything but impressive, nevertheless they are some of the few testimonies regarding the place of books in New Spanish society. When titles are mentioned, these documents can help us understand what kind of books were owned by different individuals.

In truth, the percentage of documents with titles of books is low. This creates a dilemma for the historian working on New Spanish book history. Do we seek to emulate research done in other regions by focusing solely on books with titles or should we also consider the sources that do not? As gratifying as it would be to discover detailed booklists that could aid in further exploring the book trade and ownership, these records do not fulfil such desires.

Nevertheless, these records are testimonies of a period and they can aid in reconstructing private book ownership—however extensive or limited—while looking at books critically as part of a wider material culture. My proposal is to look at the cultural environment through these documents in order to situate the place of books in it. Thus, instead of considering exclusively booklists with titles we can seize the other opportunities these documents offer. For example, we can look critically at how books are described, what their place is compared to other cultural objects such as visual items, and also when and why they are not mentioned.

23 A chaplaincy was similar to a grant or scholarship. It was instituted by a person through their inheritance so that a cleric would celebrate masses at specific dates for the souls of those instituting the chaplaincy and their ancestors. Their creation sought to ensure safe passage to the souls of those departed, but it also played an important role in the subsistence of the creole elite, as the grants guaranteed certain income and social status.

In the next sections, two types of documents from the *AHAGN* that mention books will be described and analysed along these lines. Given that inventories are widely used amongst book historians in most regions, the type of documents chosen to illustrate these notarial sources are not inventories but wills and dowries.

The Last Wishes of a Spanish Jesuit

The first example is a set of documents from 1731 to 1736 that cover the last will of Joseph Eugenio de Aguado y Muñoz Jiménez, a Jesuit priest born in Seseña in the archbishopric of Toledo (Spain) who was living at the time in Mexico City. This set consists of four documents: the power of attorney to make a will by Joseph Eugenio (1731), two distinct *memorias* or codicils in his own hand (1735 and 1736), and the actual will drafted by his attorney-in-fact Juan Pérez Cano (1736).²⁴

In two of these documents twelve books are listed. First, Joseph Eugenio mentions them himself in his second *memoria* drafted one month before his death. These dispositions were later taken ad verbatim by his attorney-in-fact Juan when he had the will made after Joseph Eugenio's death. Joseph Eugenio starts his second *memoria* with the following heading: "Memoria delas halaxas que quiero se den después de mi muerte a personas que e querido y estimado mucho" [Recollection of the precious objects that after my death I want to be given to persons that I like and esteem very much].²⁵ What follows is a very personal account not only of the objects which were the most valuable for him, but also of the people who were dearest to him, from friends to servants, and even a local street vendor.

Although some of the 'precious objects' described undoubtedly had monetary value, the document suggests these were primarily the objects Joseph Eugenio was most attached to. The way in which he describes them and who should receive them gives the impression that he wanted to ensure his beloved objects found a new home. Otherwise, they could simply have been sold with the rest of his belongings in order to fulfil the wishes expressed in his power of attorney and first *memoria*. These wishes concerned masses for his soul and those of his relatives, the burial of his body at an altar of the Virgin of the

24 AHAGNCdM, Fondo Antiguo, Sección Notarías Siglos XVI–XIX, Diego Días de Rivera, vol. 1305, ff. 35r–46r.

25 Diego Días de Rivera, vol. 1305, f. 42r.

Rosary, the establishment of a chaplaincy, donations to churches, and money sent to his family in Spain.

Another indication of the value of the objects for Joseph Eugenio is that they were not simply listed but carefully described, such as in the following example, when he describes a painting that should be given to Juan Pérez Cano who was incidentally one of his attorneys-in-fact: “A don Juan Pérez Cano ... una echura grande de mi señora de Guadalupe pintura mui antigua, y por lo mismo mui rica” [To don Juan Pérez Cano ... a large handiwork of my lady of Guadalupe a very old painting and therefore very rich].

Unlike some objects whose origin is mentioned, the books are only described by author and in some cases by format or title; they are:

- Two large volumes by Ambrogio Calepino;
- Six volumes in folio of the chronicle of our father Saint Francis;
- The *Catena Aurea* of the angelical doctor Saint Thomas, my lord;
- Three volumes in large folio of my dear and venerable father master Fray Louis of Granada.²⁶

Most books in this list are theological except for Calepino's dictionary. The language of the books cannot be established with 100% accuracy. The dictionary might have been a multi-language edition thus including several languages besides Latin, while the *Catena Aurea* was most certainly in Latin as the first Spanish edition dates from 1886–1889.²⁷ The chronicle of Saint Francis might refer to an edition of all his works and not his biography by Thomas of Celano, which was usually in one volume. The Granada titles are similarly difficult to pinpoint given that some of his works were in two volumes, but none in three. Given the owner's profession, these last two sets were most likely in Latin.

Despite the lack of more detailed information on his books, Joseph Eugenio's listing them in his second *memoria* shows how important these books were to him. This is a first exploration of what this kind of notarial records contain. We do not know if he had other books and whether these were listed separately because they were more valuable to him, perhaps being more expensive or difficult to obtain. What can be established is that these twelve books had a special value for this Jesuit priest, so much so that they were not to be sold with his other property to fund the funeral, masses, and donations established in his last wishes, but to be given to specific individuals.

26 This is a translation of the wording used by Joseph Eugenio, the only modification has been to give author names in their internationally known form in English.

27 Tomás de Aquino, *Exposición de los cuatro evangelios, por el angélico Doctor Santo Tomás de Aquino*, trans. Ramón de Ezenarro (Madrid: Imp. Vda. e Hijos de D.E. Aguado, 1886–1889).

Two Dowries

The next two documents are unrelated to one another, but both serve as examples of the book traces that can be found in dowry letters. The first document dates from 1763 and concerns the dowry of Ignacia Margarita Rodríguez de Vargas.²⁸ As is often the case with surviving primary sources, this record is not an average dowry letter as it was redacted long after Ignacia Margarita had been married, in fact it was redacted after her husband had died. The dowry record is part of a longer set of documents concerning a trial over the inheritance of her husband, colonel Juan Bautista Belaunzarán who had been governor of New Vizcaya.²⁹ In total, the document comprises 45 pages and includes sections for household goods, clothes, tableware, silver and jewellery, books, chapel objects, enslaved persons, active and passive assets, and various other objects.

According to the document, Ignacia Margarita had been appointed in colonel Belaunzarán's power of attorney as his sole inheritor and attorney-in-fact to make his will. Despite their wealth, there appear to have been debts and thus Ignacia Margarita had these documents made with a notary and an appraiser. It is highly probable that declaring all the belongings as hers had a financial advantage, thus not all objects listed may have been her actual dowry. Nevertheless, the fact that the document mentions books is worthy of note.

The books are listed under a separate section entitled "Libros". They are not described per subject or author but by format and number except for one book which is listed as a "diurno":³⁰

- Ten books in folio of various authors and titles, at 2 pesos each;
- Twenty-four volumes in quarto of various authors and titles, at 6 reales each;
- Twenty-five in octavo of various authors and titles, at 1.5 reales;
- Twenty-five small booklets, at 1 real each;
- A *diurno* at 8 reales.

The notarial record lacks specifics on the 85 books beyond the book of hours and their total appraisal of 46 pesos and 6 reales.³¹ Strikingly, the books are listed under their own section and with their own appraisal, and their prices

28 AHAGNCdM, Fondo Antiguo, Sección Notarías Siglos XVI–XIX, Mariano Buenaventura Arroyo, vol. 221, ff. 163r–186r.

29 New Vizcaya, a northern province of New Spain, should not be confused with Nueva Vizcaya (the Philippines).

30 The term 'diurno' could refer to a book of hours, a prayer book, or a psalter.

31 There was a great variety of pesos, *reales*, and *tomines* during the colonial era. From the documents it is difficult to establish which kind of pesos they refer to. However, what is known is that one peso was made up of eight *reales*. The value of a *tomín* depended on the type of peso: for a peso of 8 *reales*, the *tomín* would be approximately 1.64 *reales*.

are not markedly high compared to other goods. For example, the 112—mostly devotional—paintings, prints, rosaries, and sculptures in the dowry are appraised at 808 pesos and 6 1/4 reales, while a pair of silk socks is appraised at 3 pesos, and an enslaved woman at 300 pesos. When compared to the appraisal of the whole document, which totals 35,713 pesos and 4 1/2 reales, the 46 pesos and 6 reales for the books is not such a significant amount.

The second record is from 1781–1782 and concerns the dowry of Ana Matiana Morrás Valle y Pardo. This case also involves a peculiar dowry letter. Although the dowry letter was made nine months after Ana Matiana's second marriage in June 1781, the inventory of goods had been drafted in March 1781, after the death of her first husband. In a sense, this document is a dowry letter containing the original goods and money she had brought to the first marriage, and includes some extra goods and money brought to the second marriage as a result of the passing away of her first husband. The document mentions the value of her original dowry (9,036 pesos and 2 *tomines*), but the list of items does not indicate if they belonged to the first dowry.

Interestingly, the dowry inventory for Ana Matiana's second marriage starts with books, although they are not described in a fashion that would allow the reconstruction of her reading. They are simply described by type and format: "31 half-folio" and "18 quarto".³² The total price for them is 50 pesos, but this includes a "dicho estante de madera pintada degastado, sus chapas y llaves demoda" [wooden case painted worn out with its locks and keys in fashion] in which they were contained, a description that tells us something about how she kept her books.³³ In this case the appraisal of the books is also relatively limited when compared to the total of 16,938 pesos and 4 reales for the entire dowry.

The dowry inventory of Ana Matiana goes on to describe furniture, linen, silver and other possessions including 29 visual items valued at 278 pesos and 7 reales. These visual items are mostly devotional, such as prints, paintings of saints, reliquaries, and rosaries. Between these items there are two noteworthy visual objects. The first is a *devocionario* which is the name usually given to a prayer book but specified as a painting, which highlights that the nature of cultural objects for devotion was not only textual. The second extraordinary

32 In the document the format mentioned is literally half-folio. There are other documents from the colony that also mention this bibliographical format, however, it is difficult to determine if this could refer to a smaller folio size or if the individual doing the appraisal was perhaps less knowledgeable in books.

33 AHAGNCdM, Fondo Antiguo, Sección Notarías Siglos XVI–XIX, Felipe Fco. Oton Passalle, vol. 3452, ff. 128v–133v.

object is “the story of Don Quixote with its frames” which could refer to printed images of the known literary hero.³⁴

The fact that books were listed in both dowries implies these two women were readers. Although the possibility of these books belonging to their husbands should also be considered, adding them to the dowries just for their monetary value does not seem so logical considering the total amount of the appraisals. From the brief descriptions of the objects we can only assert Ignacia Margarita had a book of hours and Ana Matiana knew the story of Don Quixote. It is tempting to assume Ana Matiana had read *Don Quixote* and that that is the reason why she had printed images of it, yet we cannot know that for sure. As a final comment on the brief notes documenting these women’s books, it is worth considering other reasons for the books not being described. Perhaps the appraiser had no time to delve into them, with the idea that listing the titles added nothing to these inventories. Nevertheless, they are stated as these women’s properties and in the event of divorce or death of the husband, these objects had to be returned to them or they had to be monetarily compensated.

A Rich Visual Culture

The documents discussed above share not only scant traces of books, but also the book’s cultural nemesis: visual objects. In eighteenth-century New Spain books were of course not the only cultural objects available. There were many cultural and devotional activities in which oral and visual expressions were widely produced and consumed. In fact, devotions aided by visual elements could well have outnumbered those aided by reading. Although my analysis of the *AHAGN* documents is still at an early stage, prayer books and books of hours seem to have less of a presence compared to other periods or regions, whilst visual devotional items are represented by large numbers. This could be caused in part due to the prohibition of some books of hours in the Spanish *Index* of 1559.³⁵ Nonetheless, other devotional books such as *oratorios* (prayer books) were highly popular and are present in large numbers in the trade

34 Since there were several illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, it is possible that printers offered prints of the illustrations as another product. For some examples of these illustrations see Patrick Lenaghan, Javier Blas Benito, and José Manuel Matilla, *Imágenes del Quijote: modelos de representación en las ediciones de los siglos XVII a XIX* (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2003).

35 Fernando de Valdés, *Catalogvs librōrū, qui prohibētur mandato* (Valladolid: S. Martinez, 1559), pp. 53–56. USTC 337159.

TABLE 9.1 Values of books and visual objects in the dowries of Ignacia Margarita (1763) and Ana Matiana (1781–1782)

Document	Value of books	Value of visual objects	Total value of the dowry
Ignacia Margarita's dowry	46 pesos & 6 reales	808 pesos & 6¼ reales	35,713 pesos & 4½ reales
Ana Matiana's dowry	50 pesos	278 pesos & 7 reales	16,938 pesos & 4 reales

records explored by Rueda Ramírez.³⁶ In other words, it is uncertain whether the prohibition contributed to the lack of traces of these books in the inventories. It could well be an outcome of the analysed sample or of the manner in which the inventories were compiled.

Nevertheless, elements of visual culture—primarily devotional—take the lead in these documents, especially when compared to books. They are present in all of the above-mentioned records as well as in those without book traces that have not been analysed in this paper. In the documents in which prices for the objects listed are mentioned, such as the dowries, books and visual objects represent a very small part of the total estate, yet visual objects seem to be more valuable, as shown in table 1. For instance, in the dowry letter of Ignacia Margarita the value of the books was 0.13% and that of the visual objects 2.26% of the total value of the estate. Similarly, in Ana Matiana's dowry letter, the books with their case represented 0.29% and the visual objects 1.65% of the entire estate.

Besides a difference in monetary value, there is a second more compelling argument concerning the lesser value of books versus that of visual cultural objects: the location where books and the other objects appear, as well as their number and the way they are described. This argument concerns the emotional value of objects. In two cases, the will of Joseph Eugenio and the dowry letter of Ignacia Margarita, devotional visual objects were mentioned and described before the books. This is particularly unexpected in the documents concerning the Jesuit Joseph Eugenio. One would imagine that a man, who was used to reading often given his profession and education, would have started with the

36 Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 331.

books, yet he did not. In his second *memoria*, he describes prints, paintings, crosses, and small statues before mentioning his books.³⁷

The order in which the visual objects are listed, their often more detailed descriptions, and—when available—their monetary value, suggest that these objects had a place closer to the owners' hearts than their books. Yet, as was mentioned above, the fact that the books were recorded in the two dowries—despite their low estimated prices—corroborates the value of books for these two women, a detail that should not be overlooked.

Books were clearly of value to Joseph Eugenio, Ignacia Margarita, and Ana Matiana, otherwise they would not have been included in their documents. But we cannot ignore the other objects that appear more often in these testimonies of material possessions: visual items which were everyday objects and common to every household.³⁸ Both textual and visual objects are instruments of mediation—whether cultural or devotional.³⁹ They could have worked in tandem, but in some periods and regions one category may have been more in use than the other. For book historians it can be particularly fruitful to consider these objects alongside books and look critically at their number and genres.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided a short overview of the possibilities and challenges of studying private book ownership in New Spain, particularly with regard to the sources at the *AHAGN*. Besides documents which describe private libraries, or parts of them, the Notarial Archive in Mexico City holds documents that can aid in situating the book as a cultural object.

Such an analysis should be considered as an initial approach to the study of private book ownership as part of a wider cultural and material history. Without supplementary sources, the information gathered cannot be used by itself for sweeping statements on readership and reception of texts. What these traces seem to indicate is that in the period under consideration, visual culture was more dominant than textual culture in New Spain. These preliminary findings raise more questions, particularly when examined from the perspective

37 Due to the phrasing used it is difficult to establish if some items were printed illustrations or paintings.

38 Pedro J. Rueda Ramírez, 'Las estampas o ver por papel. La llegada de grabados a tierras americanas en los siglos XVI–XVII', *Representaciones*, 21 (2006), pp. 35–58, here p. 49.

39 Birgit Meyer, 'Picturing the Invisible', *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion*, 27:4–5 (2015), pp. 333–360.

of middlebrow intellectual history.⁴⁰ If in some regions ideas spread through middlebrow books, then the intellectual history of other regions might rest more heavily on other types of communication as well.

The most probable candidates for visual objects that could have easily competed with books are prints. These products of the press have unfortunately not survived the passage of time, and we must thus rely on descriptions such as those in the notarial records. A more extensive sample could perhaps provide more information on the occurrence of books, or lack thereof, and what kinds of other objects are mentioned. An analysis of a large sample of these documents is indeed part of my ongoing doctoral research on the possibilities of reading in eighteenth century New Spain, which will hopefully contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the place of this activity in the cultural environment of Colonial New Spain.

The state of the *AHAGN* and similar archives will not make research on a large scale easy. Yet the study of these sources can help us to better understand the culture of the past. For one, this can be achieved by comparing the amount and types of books shipped from Europe to New Spain or of those printed in Mexico City, to the amount and types of books found in these notarial sources; also, by comparing the occurrence of ephemeral printed matter and other visual objects to texts.

The extent of textual culture in a period cannot be reconstructed without considering its visual culture: the objects which coexisted alongside books, their forms and functions. Challenging sources such as these documents in the *AHAGN* can provide many rich contexts for the book historian looking to situate the place of books and reading.

Appendix—Sources on the Archivo General de Notarías de la Ciudad de México

Information about the Archive's Organisation

Mijares Ramírez, Ivonne, *Documentos notariales y la historia de México* (Mexico City: Colegio de Notarios del Distrito Federal, 2010).

40 The adjective middlebrow can be used in a derogatory fashion to refer to a work of art “of limited intellectual or cultural value; demanding or involving only a moderate degree of intellectual application”. See ‘middlebrow’, *Oxford English Dictionary* (Online. Oxford University Press, accessed June 10, 2019). Some scholars and cultural critics, though, argue for a more positive use of the term. See Macy Halford, ‘On “Middlebrow”’, *The New Yorker*, 10 February 2011.

Noguez Monroy, Luz María, *Proyecto para la organización del Archivo General de Notarías en un inmueble exprofeso*, BA Thesis (Mexico City: Escuela Nacional de Biblioteconomía y Archivonomía, 2005), available online at <https://www.búsqueda.dirbibliotecas.ipn.mx/F/?func=direct&doc_number=000414588&local_base=IPN_OPAC>.

Pérez Celis, Fernando, *El acervo histórico del Archivo General de Notarías del Distrito Federal (AHAGNDF) y el proyecto de catalogación automatizada del Fondo Antiguo (siglos XVII–XIX)* (unpublished, 2013), available online at <<https://docplayer.es/43240015-Mtro-fernando-perez-celis.html>>.

Partial Catalogues of the Archive

Gonzalbo Aizpuru, Pilar (ed.), *Síntesis de protocolos notariales de la Ciudad de México en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City: Colegio de México—Centro de Estudios Históricos, 2012), available online at <<http://notarias.colmex.mx/>>.

Mijares Ramírez, Ivonne (ed.), *Catálogo de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la ciudad de México* (1 book and 4 CD-ROMS, Mexico City: UNAM, 2002).

Mijares, Ivonne (ed.), *Catálogo de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la ciudad de México, colección siglo XVI* (Mexico City: UNAM—Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Seminario de Documentación e Historia Novohispana, 2014), available online at <<http://cpagncmxvi.historicas.unam.mx/catalogo.jsp>>.

Mijares, Ivonne (ed.), *Catálogo de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la ciudad de México, colección siglo XVII* (Mexico City: UNAM—Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Seminario de Documentación e Historia Novohispana, 2016), available online at <<http://cpagncmxvii.historicas.unam.mx/catalogo.jsp>>.

Millares Carlo, Agustín, and J.I. Mantecón, *Índice y extractos de los protocolos del Archivo de Notarías de México, D.F. (Siglo XVI)* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1945).

Pérez Celis, Fernando, *Catálogo de las escrituras notariales del siglo XVIII. Notarías 22, 25 y 352 de Fondo Antiguo, Sección Ordinaria, del Acervo Histórico del Archivo General de Notarías de la ciudad de México*, BA thesis (Mexico City: UNAM—Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 2011), available online at <http://132.248.9.195/ptb2011/agosto/0671665/0671665_A1.pdf>.

Reyes Elizondo, Andrea E., (Leiden University) (2018): *Mexico City Notaries, eighteenth century*. DANS. Available online at <<https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zfu-ayda>>.

Vázquez, Josefina Zoraida, and Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru, *Guía de protocolos del Archivo General de Notarías de la ciudad de México, 1829–1860* (32 vols., Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 2001–).

Private Libraries in New Spain: A Project in Progress

Idalia García Aguilar and Alberto José Campillo Pardo

No porque uno tenga grande librería, por eso lo avemos de tener por letrado.

JUAN DE MAL LARA (1618)¹



Libraries are strong cultural reflections of any country, and consequently the book collections of the past are precious for understanding the culture of the societies in which they existed. In this sense, the books that have endured the passage of time and survived until today represent the bibliographic legacy of civilisation. However, these cultural objects are not attributed the same value everywhere. In the case of Colonial Mexico, part of the Viceroyalty of New Spain (1521–1821), the history of its book collections has been systematically undervalued until now.² Although there were numerous rich and diverse institutional and private libraries in Colonial Mexico, we know little about them because they have not been paid much attention to in traditional historiography.

A significant part of the book collections in Colonial Mexico originated with the foundation of the religious orders and the arrival of Spanish officials in America. Others were constituted from private libraries that travelled with their owners from Europe to the Americas. At the time, the development of private libraries was propelled by a dynamic flow of merchandise that came from Europe through different networks established by merchants and booksellers from both the Americas and Europe. These mostly family-based networks

1 “It is not because someone has a large library that we should consider them learned.” Juan de Mal Lara, *La filosofía vulgar* (Madrid: Por Juan de la Cuesta, 1618), vol. 2, f. 375r.

2 The Viceroyalty of New Spain was a vast territory that stretched from the present-day southern United States to Guatemala, and even to the Philippines.

multiplied in the sixteenth century and continued to exist until the first decades of the nineteenth century, when the Viceroyalty of New Spain disintegrated. A portion of the books in these early modern private libraries ended up in public modern-day Mexican collections, either because they were forgotten or donated by their original owners. Donating books from private collections to institutional collections was indeed a common practice during the colonial period.

For many reasons, including a traditional esteem for religious collections, cultural research has mainly focused on institutional libraries such as the Palafoxian Library, founded in 1646.³ Studies of religious life in the Spanish Americas have provided us with some knowledge of these collections, but the information available is of a general nature and largely related to the history of a particular religious order, such as the Franciscans or Jesuits. The largest collections of books were in the main convents located in the capital cities. However, there were other important collections in peripheral convents such as the library of the Colegio de Santa Cruz in Tlatelolco, the first academic library in the New World, founded in January of 1536. It is all the more noteworthy because it contained a combination of indigenous and Spanish knowledge.⁴

There have been several attempts to use historical archive sources in order to examine these institutional libraries, but they all adopted a thematic approach, meaning that the studies are limited to counting how many books of each subject were in the library, or analysing a particular subject, like books of scientific knowledge, and ignore important issues like the links between books, or their social impact.⁵ Moreover, this material only forms a starting point for understanding the culture of Colonial Mexico. Beside these sources on institutional libraries, there are numerous books and manuscripts related to the more diverse field of private libraries. These have been neglected until now, although they are important for several reasons, the first of which is that many institutional collections were built on private collections. Secondly, they provide insight into the impact of the book trade in a way that the sole study

3 Amado Manuel Cortés, *Del manuscrito a la imprenta, el nacimiento de la librería moderna en la Nueva España: la Biblioteca Palafoxiana* (Mexico City: Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 2012).

4 Miguel Mathes, *Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco: la primera biblioteca Académica de las Américas* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, 1982), p. 8.

5 As an example of this kind of study see José Luis Beltran, 'Bibliotecas de ultramar: la biblioteca del Colegio de San Luis de Potosí de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España en el momento de la expulsión', in Camilo J. Fernández Cortizo, Víctor M. Migués Rodríguez and Antonio Presedo Garazo (eds.), *El mundo urbano en el siglo de la Ilustración* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2009), pp. 307–320.

of institutional collections does not allow. Among other things, they allow us to identify private owners and to examine their social and intellectual backgrounds as well as the political and economic context in which these libraries were used. Last, but not least, since many of the books contained in these libraries have come down to us, work on private libraries would greatly benefit the field of provenance research by extending its knowledge and appreciation of early modern collectors in the Americas.

The research presented in this chapter is part of an ongoing project aimed at collecting different kinds of testimonies, inventories and catalogues of book collections in New Spain in order to study the contents of early modern libraries and what they reveal about the book culture of the New World.

Private Libraries and Mexican Book History

The evidence we have uncovered reveals that in Colonial Mexico, individuals of different social classes established private book collections. This has not previously been recognised since traditional historiographies emphasised that books were an expensive merchandise only accessible to those who had the money to afford them. In fact, despite its enormous bibliographic and documental richness, Mexico is still not significantly engaged in evaluating the cultural aspects of its colonial history and so Mexican historians have paid little attention to book history. Only a few studies about private libraries in New Spain saw the light before the twentieth century, most of them authored by Spanish historians. It was not until the 1990s, with the translation of the works of leading French scholars like Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin into Spanish, that an interest in the subject started to develop in Latin America.⁶

In the 1980s, scholars began to pay attention to a relatively neglected source that would prove important for the history of books and libraries: the notarial archives of Mexico. These archives contain detailed information about the private lives of the people in the early modern period, such as the way they dressed, their religious beliefs and practices, the furnishing of their homes, and of course, their books. Regarding New Spain, this wealth of information is available to us thanks to the Spanish practice of compiling probate inventories of the goods of deceased persons, as a way to safeguard the interests

6 See for example, Roger Chartier, *El mundo como representación: estudios sobre historia cultural*, trans. Claudia Ferrari (Madrid: Gedisa, 1992) and Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *La aparición del libro*, trans. Agustín Millares Carlo (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2005).

of the heirs. As a result, these post-mortem inventories contain lists of books owned by people from different social backgrounds. However, not all social classes are represented in the source material, because the procedure was only available to those who could afford to draw up these inventories.⁷ This caused another bias in the historiography of reading and book ownership in Colonial Mexico—and in the historiography of the book as a whole—since it limited its focus to that part of the population which had the means and the specialised knowledge to read: people belonging to the “three robes”, that is clerics, nobles and various officers of the Crown.⁸

Moreover, the study of literacy in Colonial Mexico has long revolved around the idea that only a person who was able to sign their name was able to read, without taking into account that knowledge of reading and writing were separate activities: basic instruction involved learning how to read, but not how to write. This means that we should not found our ideas about the number and the background of early modern readers on what we know about those who were able to sign their names. According to Pedro Guibovich, in Peru, there were schools specialised in teaching the basics of reading and writing through Christian doctrine. The situation in Mexico was similar, however, we do not know exactly how this teaching with “cartillas [primers], catones [school-book based on Cato’s *Distichs*] and Ripaldas [a catechism by Juan Martínez de Ripalda]” worked.⁹ In any case, what the sources do tell us, is that a large amount of this printed Christian educational material circulated between Spain and the colonies during this period.¹⁰ The territories under the control of the Spanish crown developed an educational system focused on providing

7 Idalia García and José Antonio Armillas Vicente, ‘Fronteras de conocimiento sobre bibliotecas novohispanas: los bienes de difuntos’, *Revista Relaciones*, 29:114 (2008), pp. 163–204.

8 Roger Chartier, *Libros, lecturas y lectores en la edad moderna*, trans. Mauro Armíño (Mexico City: Instituto Mora, 1994), p. 94.

9 An example of these materials has been made available digitally: *Cartilla para mostrar a leer a los moços, Lôla doctrina christiana q[ue] se cãta amados hermanos*, [s.l.], [c.1600], available online at <<http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00043561/images>>. For a discussion of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century examples, see Victor Infantes and Ana Martínez Pereira, *De las primeras letras: cartillas españolas para enseñar a leer del siglo XVII y XVIII* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2003), and Paulette Demerson, ‘Tres instrumentos pedagogicos del siglo XVIII: la Cartilla, el Arte de escribir y el Catón’, in Jean-René Aymes, Ève-Marie Fell and Jean-Louis Guereña (eds.), *L’enseignement primaire en Espagne et en Amérique Latine du XVIII^e siècle à nos jours: Politiques éducatives et réalités scolaires* (Tours: Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, 1986), pp. 31–40, available online at <<https://books.openedition.org/pufr/5173>>.

10 Pedro M. Guibovich, ‘Books, Readers, and Reading Experiences in the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, 16th–18th Century’, in Mary Hammond (ed.), *Edinburg History of Readers: Early Reading* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), vol. 1, p. 186.

individuals with practical abilities as well as a firm moral grounding; it was designed to meet the needs of a traditional Christian society, in which craftsmanship, family businesses and Christian values determined the configurations of the society.¹¹

Although several of the archival documents presented by Mexican scholars in the early twentieth century clearly showed that different social groups in New Spain were in possession of books, the idea of reading as an upper-class activity dominated for a long time. For example, studies on the collections of Francisco Medina, Melchor Pérez de Soto and Luis Lagarto, had already revealed that there were substantial social differences among owners of books in Colonial Mexico.¹² Medina's and Lagarto's book inventories complied with a general inquisitorial request addressed to all book owners, and Pérez de Soto's booklist was drawn up in the context of an inquisitorial trial. However, similar documents did not receive the attention they deserved due to the influence of José Toribio Medina's history of the Inquisition (1905), which sketched a negative picture of the role that the Holy Office played in the Americas.¹³ Medina had also promoted the idea that the Inquisition was a repressive institution set on controlling, and thus limiting, the circulation of books in the Spanish territories. This seems to have discouraged historians from exploring the richness and the diversity of inquisitorial documents and thus using them as tools for studying literary culture and private libraries in colonial America. Recent studies on inquisitorial documentation have shown that this kind of censorship was more socially accepted than is usually recognised.¹⁴ In this context it is important to remember that it was engendered by the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent.¹⁵ This means that the inquisitorial control of books

11 Delfin Ortega Sánchez, 'Infancia, familia y educación en la Edad Moderna española: un recorrido a través de las fuentes pedagógicas (siglos XVI–XVIII)', *Tejuelo*, 11 (2011), pp. 85–103, available online at <http://dehesa.unex.es/bitstream/handle/10662/4643/1988-8430_11_85.pdf?sequence=1>.

12 See Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (Mexico City: Archivo General de la Nación, 1914), pp. 534–535; Manuel Romero de Terreros, 'La biblioteca de Luis Lagarto', *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, 8:1–4 (1949), pp. 353–385; Manuel Romero de Terreros, *Un bibliófilo en el Santo Oficio* (Mexico City: Pedro Robredo, 1920).

13 José Toribio Medina, *Historia del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de México* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Elzeviriana, 1905).

14 Manuel Peña Díaz, *Escribir y prohibir. Inquisición y censura en los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid: Cátedra, 2015).

15 Alessandro Paris, *Dissenso religioso e libri proibiti nel Principato vescovile di Trento tra fine Quattrocento e inizio Seicento* (PhD thesis, University of Trento, 2011), available online at <<http://eprints-phd.biblio.unitn.it/490/>>.

started as a political and cultural fear of the ideas of the Protestant heretics perceived as enemies of their religion.

Inquisitorial Sources to Research Private Libraries

In the past, Mexican researchers have paid more attention to post-mortem inventories than to other types of manuscript booklists. As there are few printed catalogues in the Hispanic world it is all the more important that the complete range of archival sources be put to use for research concerning booklists and private libraries. Due to their private origins, post-mortem inventories were originally preserved in the archives of the notaries' offices. However, the scattering of documents was very common after the independence in Latin America; many of these archives were moved to other institutions, or even other countries.¹⁶ In Mexico, some of them were transferred to the National Archive including the documents regarding succession trials which had taken place in the "Audiencias", the high court of New Spain.¹⁷

Colonial Mexican post-mortem inventories have two parts. The first lists all the goods possessed by the deceased and the second, the appraisals of these goods. The territorial origin of the owner was important because of viceroyalty legislation. Then, personal belongings of Spaniards and foreigners who passed away in the Americas were appraised and sold in order to obtain cash for the heirs, except when other arrangements were stated in the will of the deceased. For example, some people donated their books to institutions such as monasteries, convents or universities.¹⁸ Another exception to this practice concerns the legal form of the *mayorazgo* [majorat] that was important to noble families. Thanks to this legal practice, movable and immovable goods could be passed on from one generation to another without being dispersed in a sale and the legacy stayed intact and expanded over the years, as was the case of the library of the Marquis of Jaral del Berrio.¹⁹ The estate of natives or permanent residents with relatives in the colony had to be settled through local institutions.

16 Javier Villa-Flores, 'Archivos y falsarios: producción y circulación de documentos apócrifos en el México borbónico', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, 46 (2009), pp. 19–41, available online at <<https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/jbla.2009.46.issue-1/jbla.2009.46.1.19/jbla.2009.46.1.19.pdf>>.

17 J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2006).

18 An example is found in 'Libros de Francisco Antonio Rodríguez, Religioso del Convento del Espíritu Santo', Archivo General de la Nación de Mexico (hereafter AGN), Indiferente Virreinal Caja 1648, exp. 19, ff. 1r–2r.

19 María del Carmen Reyna, 'La biblioteca de José Miguel Calixto de Berrio y Zaldívar, segundo conde de San Mateo de Valparaíso y primer marqués del Jaral de Berrio', in

As a specialized market, only professionals with a good knowledge of said market were allowed to carry out appraisals of the objects; a painter would appraise the paintings, a jeweller the jewels and a bookseller the books. This means that the forms and contents of the booklists that were compiled reflect the way these book merchants used to work.²⁰ The art of valuating books was passed on from masters to apprentices, the same way it was done in the European guilds, despite the fact that in America booksellers never congregated in organised professional groups as they had done in Spain.²¹ As a result of the variety in bibliographic practices used in the past, we can today distinguish different bibliographic ‘traditions’ in book inventories.²² One type only registers basic information on the books such as the author, title and sometimes an appreciation of the book such as “Un tomo mui viejo de Sacramentos” [A very old volume of Sacraments].²³ A second type included more details, such as the place and year of publication, and some additional notes on the binding and condition of the books: “Padre Luis de Molina de justitia et jure, mui picado en Moguncia año de 1614, quatro tomos” [Father Luis de Molina de justitia et jure very moth eaten year of 1614, four volumes].²⁴

One register provides minimal information, making it difficult to identify the books recorded. Another offers more details and allows us to find those editions in modern repositories. Because of the lack of “valuable data, such as the year and place of publication”, some scholars judge the lists to be unimportant.²⁵ However, to establish research categories that might help us to map and understand the book world in these territories, other sources used to document the circulation of books in the Viceroyalty of New Spain are required. Such a position affects the research on private and institutional libraries in New Spain. To date, the only general study of these collections is

Un Recorrido por Archivos y Bibliotecas Privados II, 1ª reimp. (Mexico City: Asociación Mexicana de Archivos y Bibliotecas Privados: Fomento Cultural Banamex: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999), pp. 33–44.

- 20 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe’, in Giovanna Granata and Angela Nuovo (eds.), *Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Sale Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe* (Macerata: Eum, 2018), pp. 283–300.
- 21 Amparo García Cuadrado, ‘La compañía de mercaderes de libros de la Corte a mediados del siglo XVIII’, *Anales de Documentación*, 41 (2001), pp. 100–102, available online at <<https://revistas.um.es/analesdoc/article/view/2371/2361>>.
- 22 Luigi Balsamo, *La bibliografia: Storia di una tradizione* (Florence: Sansoni, 1984).
- 23 ‘Lista de los libros que quedaron por fallecimiento de Don Mariano Ramírez’, AGN, Inquisición 1159, exp. 3 f. 167v.
- 24 ‘Memoria de los libros que quedaron por muerte del Doctor Don José Palacios (1776)’, AGN, Inquisición 1333, exp. 18, f. 346r.
- 25 Olivia Moreno Gamboa, *La Librería de Luis Mariano Ibarra, Ciudad de México, 1730–1750* (Mexico City: Ediciones de Educación y Cultura, 2009), p. 99.

that of Ignacio Osorio, which included mainly inventories and manuscript catalogues, about those libraries.²⁶ Aside from this study, others do not combine relevant data and neither do they differentiate the source material according to the instances and procedures it originated in. In our opinion, the exemplary study of David Pearson is a necessary instrument and a model in the field of early modern colonial book history.²⁷

Indeed, the richness of the historical sources requires a distinction to be made between post-mortem inventories and other types of booklists. Our research in the National Archive of Mexico, was focused on unpublished material regarding private book collections in New Spain. As a result, we identified 123 booklists that historians have erroneously taken for post-mortem inventories, but which are in fact “*memorias de libros*” [booklists]. We now know that post-mortem inventories and *memorias de libros* result from distinct procedures and reflect different social contexts and preoccupations. Probate inventories had to be drawn up by official notaries because they were legal documents much like sales contracts and inheritance settlements. On the other hand, a “*memoria*” is simply a list of things, like books. Some *memorias de libros* listing the contents of private libraries were drawn up by the owners themselves, by the heirs or by the executors of a will, others by booksellers.²⁸ During our inquiries we discovered that some of the *memorias* of privately-owned books were made at the request of the inquisitors.

Previous studies on private libraries in Colonial Mexico did not differentiate between the distinct types of booklists they found, marking them all as post-mortem inventories. At this point, we are unable to explain why those studies failed to note the difference between the different kinds of sources listing books.²⁹ In any case, we believe that this practice accounts for the absence of a multi-dimensional approach in studies on book culture in New

26 Ignacio Osorio Romero, *Historia de las bibliotecas novohispanas* (Mexico City: SEP. Dirección General de Bibliotecas, 1986).

27 David Pearson, *English Book Owners in the Seventeenth Century*, available online at <<http://www.bibsoc.org.uk/content/english-book-owners-seventeenth-century>>.

28 Malcolm Walsby, ‘Book list and their meaning’, in Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou (eds.), *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 6–7.

29 Laurence Coudart and Cristina Gómez Álvarez, ‘Las bibliotecas particulares del siglo XVIII: una fuente para el historiador’, *Secuencia. Revista de historia y ciencias sociales*, 56 (2003), pp. 173–192, available online at <<http://secuencia.mora.edu.mx/index.php/Secuencia/article/view/816/720>>; María Luisa Rodríguez-Sala, ‘Cirujanos novohispanos poseedores de libros (1779–1818)’, *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas*, 13: 1–2 (2008), pp. 43–64, available online at <<http://publicaciones.iib.unam.mx/publicaciones/index.php/boletin/article/view/79>>; and Mauricio Sánchez Menchero, *El corazón de*

Spain, especially with regard to questions of censorship and control over the circulation of books and the respective roles of book merchants, inquisitors and readers in this process. We do not only observe that there was a clear difference between probate inventories and other *memorias*, but also that there were different types of *memorias*. Some of these lists were drawn up for an inquisitorial procedure. For example, *memorias* rarely contain an appraisal of the books, as is the case in the list of Manuel Picardo's books, compiled by the presbyter Ignacio Fernando Matheos.³⁰ This means that, contrary to booklists in post-mortem inventories, the main goal of these *memorias* was not to estimate the value of the books. For the Inquisition what mattered was the information about the books themselves.³¹ As a result of this new perspective, we realised that the *memorias* were conceived in a broader context of social strategies in order to regulate the circulation of books in the territories under its watch.

Inquisitorial Book Control

Contrary to what is commonly thought, not all aspects of the role of the Holy Office—established in the Mexican capital in 1571—have been studied, much remains unclear, especially with regard to the Office's control over the book trade.³² The Spanish Inquisition in America aimed to prevent the spread of heretical ideas by censoring books that were considered dangerous to Catholic orthodoxy throughout the Spanish Empire. In order to effectively exercise control, the Inquisition set up a bureaucratic structure that facilitated the surveillance of the production, circulation and reception of manuscript and printed books. Yet, the control of networks of book production and trade demanded a huge effort.

The Holy Office established special tribunals in the main viceroalties of the Spanish Americas to achieve its objectives. The first interest was the import of

los libros. Alzate y Bartolache: lectores y escritores novohispanos, siglo XVIII (Mexico City: UNAM, Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades, 2012).

30 'Memoria de la librería del licenciado don Manuel Picardo (1771)', AGN, Inquisición vol. 1100, exp. 6, ff. 156r–162r.

31 Idalia García and Ana Cecilia Montiel Ontiveros, 'Una vida entre cajones de libros: Felipe Pérez del Campo en la Nueva España', *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 43 (2010), pp. 51–107, available online at <<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/publicaciones/revistas/novohispana/pdf/novo43/523.pdf>>.

32 Natalia Maillard, 'Estrategias de los profesionales de libro sevillanos ante el Santo Oficio: entre la evasión y la colaboración', in Pedro Rueda (ed.), *El libro en circulación en el mundo moderno en España y Latinoamérica* (Barcelona: Calambur, 2012), pp. 23–44.

books: officials closely watched the traffic of books between the commercial Spanish ports of Seville, Cádiz and the Canary Islands, and those in America.³³ This control occurred through the “visita de navíos”, an inspection of the cargo of arriving ships by an inquisitorial commissary.³⁴ All boxes and bales were checked for dangerous books, a time-consuming activity since these travelled together with works containing other kinds of knowledge destined for the readers of New Spain. Thanks to this, we now have several lists of books that were shipped from Spain, and others, less numerous, of the books that effectively arrived in the ports of Colonial Mexico.

Other control mechanisms were aimed at the consumers. Published edicts summoned book owners to hand over a list of all the books they possessed. We have found several examples of such procedure for the period between 1585 and 1716.³⁵ The edicts stated that the residents of New Spain had to provide the inquisition with “la memoria de todos los libros que cada uno tiene” [the list of all the books each one owns].³⁶ The resulting lists attest to an interesting process of “social discipline” present throughout the colonial period. A good example of the resulting “valuable bibliographical information” is the *memoria* of Juan Gutierrez that gives an idea of how the books were described:³⁷

Ytem un libro armado flo santorum de las bidas de los Patriarcas y Profetas conpuesto Por El maestro Alonso de Villegas ynpreso en alcalá de henares en casa de andres sanchez año de mil y seisientos y nueve³⁸

33 Carlos Alberto González Sánchez and Pedro Rueda Ramírez, ‘Con recato y sin estruendo: puertos atlánticos y visita inquisitorial de navíos’, *Annali della Classe di Lettere e Filosofia. Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 5: 1–2 (2009), pp. 473–506.

34 Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Censura, libros e inquisición en el Perú colonial, 1570–1754* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas: Universidad de Sevilla, 2013), pp. 105–106.

35 Idalia García, ‘Cimientos para la sabiduría: circulación de libros en el México Colonial, 1600–1800’, *Ciclo de conferencias 2020: Europa, el mundo mediterráneo y su difusión atlántica* (Seville: Universidad Pablo Olavide 2020), available online at <https://www.upo.es/investiga/rexpublica/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Cartel-Ciclo2019-2020_corregido_300ppp.pdf>.

36 ‘Memoria de libros de Juan de Huerta y Gamboa (1612)’, AGN, Indiferente Virreinal Caja 4217, exp. 50, ff. 43r–46v.

37 ‘Memoria de los libros que Juan Gutiérrez, vecino de esta ciudad a comprado de dos años a esta parte (s.f.)’, AGN, Jesuitas, Volumen III–26, exp. 4, f. 1.

38 Alonso de Villegas, *Flos sanctorum: segunda parte y historia general en que se escriue la vida de la Virgen Madre de Dios y Señora nuestra y las de los santos antiguos* (Alcalá de Henares: en casa de Andres Sanchez de Ezpeleta, 1609) USTC 5026678.

Ytem otro libro llamado flo santor de las bidas de los santo conpuesto Por El Padre Pedro de ribadeneria de la conPañia de jesus faltan ojas al Pricipio y no tiene razon de la ynpresion.³⁹

Ytem unas oras de oraciones y exercicios conpuestos Por el Padre fray Luis de granada ynPreso en sebilla en casa de alonso gamarra año de mill y seisientos y tres.⁴⁰

Sadly, some books registered in the *memorias* are no longer preserved in Mexican collections and they have become very rare, while others seem to have disappeared entirely. In those cases, our records are the only proof they existed and circulated in New Spain.

Evidence of this inquisitorial control was published in 1914, as was the above-mentioned booklist of Francisco Medina, but the evidence was never linked together.⁴¹ As a consequence, the people who used these lists in the past were unable to understand the marginal notes found in them, such as comments like: “Doña Filipa de Vargas tiene un libro llamado *Regla de Vida Cristiana y Exercitatorio y Horas y Epistolas y Evangelios*” [Mrs. Filipa de Vargas has a book called *Regla de Vida Cristiana* and *Exercitatorio* and *Horas* and *Epistolas y Evangelios*].⁴² Such documents were made by inquisitors in the same procedure established to check the contents of private libraries.

A third inquisitorial strategy to control the circulation of books is mentioned in studies on the Inquisition and is called “visita de bibliotecas” [library visitation].⁴³ However, archival evidence suggests that these kinds of visitations were only made in institutional libraries and not in private ones. Traces

39 Pedro de Ribadeneira, *Flos sanctorum o Libro de las vidas de los santos ... primera parte, en la qual se contienen las vidas de Christo Nuestro Señor y de su santissima madre y de todos los santos que reza la Yglesia Romana en los seys primeros meses del año* (En Madrid: por Luis Sanchez, 1599) USTC 337762.

40 Thomas à Kempis, *Contemptus mundi, nueuamente romancado y corregido. Y un breue tractado de oraciones y Exercicios de deuocion* (Seville: en casa de Andrea Pescioni, 1582, USTC 345583).

41 Fernández, *Libros y libreros*, pp. 471–495.

42 Fernández, *Libros y libreros*, p. 487. Of the first book quoted, we have not been able to identify a surviving copy. In the case of the second title, it is possible that it is a copy of a Spanish edition of *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* by García de Cisneros. The *Horas* were probably written in vernacular, and they were likely a copy of one of the many editions printed in Spain. The last title is most likely an edition of the work by Ambrosio de Montesino.

43 Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition, a Global History, 1478–1834* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 223.

of these visitations can be found in the books that were checked, censored and annotated by the inquisitors: “corregido conforme el expurgatorio de 32 por comission del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion. Tepotzotlan Junio 22 de 1634” [corrected according to the expurgatory index of the year [16]32 commissioned by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. Tepotzotlán 22 June 1634].⁴⁴ Similar notes are found in books from collections in Spain and New Granada, indicating that this was a common practice throughout the empire.⁴⁵ At the Mexican National Archive, we recently discovered a file from the period 1716–1718 that contains some documents called “Comisiones de expurgo” [expurgation commissions]. These documents were instructions for the visitor-expurgator when they revised a book. They were required to write a specific note in accordance with the Expurgatory index of that year.⁴⁶

Normally, commissions were printed forms, at the top of which the name of the person instructed to check the books using the latest version of the *Index* was indicated in manuscript. It also contained information on the person who gave the commission (normally the head of the religious order) and the institutions where the visitation was to be carried out. At the bottom of the documents, we find the handwritten report of the commissioner stating that he has fulfilled his task and indicating any books that were seized or expurgated. The file contains only five lists of seized books: Province of San Diego de México, Province of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús, Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, Monastery of Santo Domingo de Oaxaca and Province of San Hipólito Mártir.

A last strategy was established around the books left by deceased persons. As there might be forbidden books among them, the Inquisition considered this heritage to be a potential threat. This is because it was common practice to sell the collections of people who passed away, which meant putting the books into circulation again. In any case, forbidden books left by the deceased would be passed on to others, and the Holy Office sought to prevent this. In 1632, regulations were drawn up and included in the “Mandato a los liberos corredores i tratantes de libros” [Mandate to book merchants and book

44 Handwritten note on the front cover of the *Decretum Argumentum plenissimum decreti huius omnia que in eo continentur abunde complectens* (Lyon: opera Gilberty impressoris, 1528), Biblioteca Eusebio Francisco Kino 17757 (Mexico City).

45 Alberto José Campillo Pardo, *Censura, Expurgo y control en la biblioteca colonial Neogranadina* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2017).

46 ‘Inquisición de México. Cuaderno de las calificaciones que remitieron los Provinciales de las Religiones de este Reino de la Nueva España, y de las Islas Filipinas, de haberse expurgado según el Nuevo Expurgatorio el año de 1707, los libros de las Librerías de los Conventos de cada Provincia, y de los Religiosos particulares de ellos’, AGN, Inquisición 763, exp. 2.

dealers], which was part of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.⁴⁷ They stipulated that it was mandatory for book merchants or people who wanted to sell inherited book collections to hand over to the inquisitors a complete booklist, in order to check the titles, seize forbidden books, and grant permission to sell the remaining books. These inquisitorial regulations and their effects allow us to make some further remarks regarding our work on private libraries from New Spain.⁴⁸

KOBINO, a Tool for Studying Private Libraries and the Circulation of Books in New Spain

As mentioned above, this research is based on a corpus of 123 *memorias de libros*, most of them unpublished. To design KOBINO we used the information contained in thirteen of them to identify all of the 3,551 editions recorded and to determine which ones are still available in contemporary repositories.⁴⁹ The selection criteria we used were the quantity and the quality of the information in the documents. This means that we selected booklists that recorded authors' names, titles, places and dates of publication. In some cases, we also found the printers, translators, the style of binding, and the condition of the volume (for example, broken, mutilated, without title-page), if the copy was expurgated or not, and the estimated value of the books.

In this sample, 49% of the editions recorded were printed between the fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. These results directly contradict the hypothesis of "enlightenment" according to which libraries from the eighteenth century only contained contemporary editions.⁵⁰ The data from these lists showed characteristics of the trade of used books in the eighteenth-century Americas. This kind of commerce appears to have been present throughout all of Spanish America and some evidence regarding this trade in New Spain helps to explain the importance of the condition of the listed books and the

47 *Novus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum ...* (Seville: ex typographaeo Francisci de Lyra, 1632), l. [cross]8r USTC 5037210.

48 Idalia García, *La vida privada de las bibliotecas: rastros de colecciones novohispanas, 1700–1800* (Bogotá: Universidad del Rosario, 2020).

49 Namely those of Ignacio Rodríguez Navarrijo (1764), Juan José Díaz Betancourt (1764), Manuel Tellez Girón y Carbajal (1764), Manuel Camargo (1764), Francisco González y Avedaño (1774), José Tomás García del Valle (1776), José Vazquez (1779), Domingo de Arangoiti (1780), Andrés de Ávila y Coto (1787), José Mauriño (1787), José Rangel (1791), Agustín Bechi (1792) and José María de los Covos Moxica (1798).

50 Carlos Alberto González Sánchez, 'Inquisición y control ideológico en la Carrera de Indias de la Ilustración (1750–1830)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 92:5 (2015), pp. 855–877.

different kinds of bindings. We identified two families of book merchants who specialised in the used books trade in Colonial Mexico: the Cueto and Quinto families. Neither of them were involved in the international book trade. They were considered library experts in the territory, for example Miguel Cueto, who was responsible for the valuation of the bookshop and personal library of the bookseller Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros, in 1785.⁵¹

The amount of data collected needed a digital tool to help us identify the recorded editions and to link them to the owners of the listed books. Thanks to the collaborative and interdisciplinary work of those involved, KOBINO has been openly available online since November 2018.⁵² The database is a work in progress and we are constantly adding more information. We used Koha, a free bibliographic software, to extract bibliographic records from two major catalogues: the Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español (PABI) and the Instituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico (ICCU), through the international protocol Z39.50.⁵³ Unfortunately, the digital catalogues for libraries in Mexico are not designed to interact with this protocol, so it is impossible to link their records to our data. KOBINO is a tool to identify and link data on editions that were present in private libraries in New Spain.⁵⁴ During our work describing the collections of the book merchants Bartholomé de Mata (1629) and Felipe Perez del Campo (1764), along with the new findings of the *memorias de libros* of the bookshops of Juan Bautista Reyes Chávez (1773) and Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros (1785), we realised that we could expand the scope of our research by using the tool to study other documents. As a result, KOBINO now contains information on 5,838 editions, representing 7,386 copies, which circulated in New Spain between 1585 and 1800. To broaden the horizon, we are currently working on more private library *memorias* from among the lists that we have located. Certainly, a number of the books recorded in this new set of lists is probably already in KOBINO, but we are sure that it is possible to add many new ones (see figures 10.1 page 239, 10.2 page 240 and 10.3 page 241).

In addition to bibliographical information, we have recorded the prices associated with titles in the documents. The numbers of copies of the same edition circulating during the early modern period and their estimated prices in public auctions allow us to evaluate the impact that different works and authors had in a specific period, and also to analyse the evolution of the value

51 'Memoria de los libros que había en la tienda y casa de Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros (1785)'; AGN, Inquisición 1230, exp. 23, ff. 291r–333r.

52 Designed and managed by Ricardo Vargas of BibliOrión (Mexico City).

53 PABI is available online at <<http://catalogos.mecd.es/CCPB/ccpbopac/>>. ICCU is available online at <<https://opac.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/antico.jsp>>.

54 Available online at <<http://libant.kohasxvi.mx/>>.

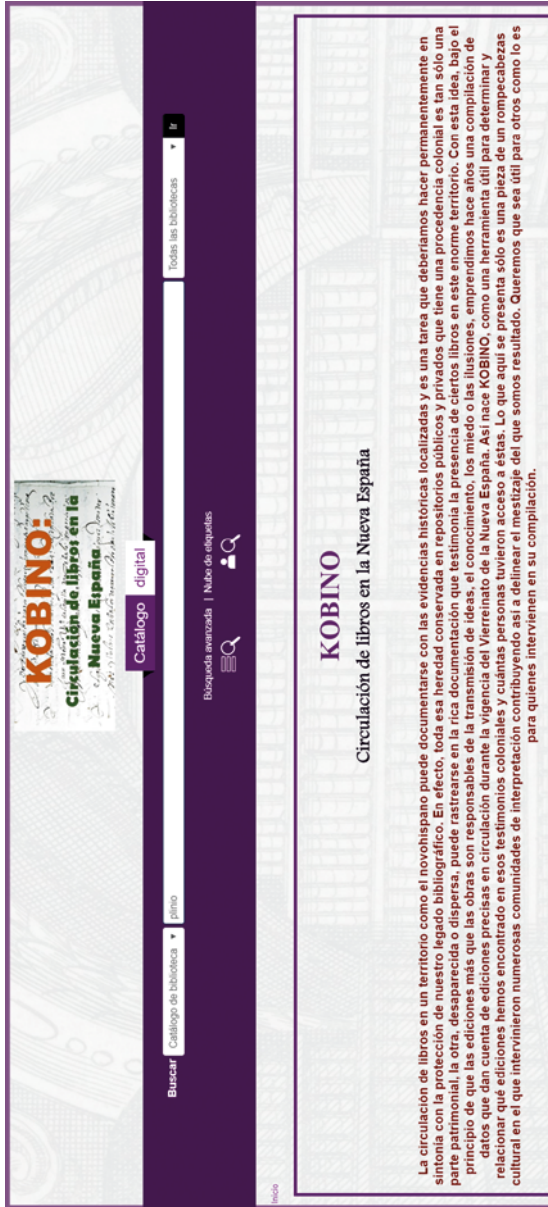


FIGURE 10.1 The homepage of KOBINO

The screenshot shows a search results page from a digital library. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the text 'Búsqueda avanzada | Más de etiquetas' and a search icon. Below this, a search bar contains the text 'Su búsqueda retornó 22 resultados'. The main content area is divided into two columns. The left column, titled 'Refinar su búsqueda', lists various filters: 'Disponibilidad', 'Autores', 'Bibliotecas depositistas', 'Tipos de ítem', and 'Lugares'. The right column displays the search results, which are numbered 1, 2, and 3. Each result includes a title, author, edition, and availability information. The first result is 'Índice de las proposiciones de las leyes de la recopilación con remisión a los DD. que las tocan : autos acordados y pragmáticas hasta el año de mil seiscientos y veinte y quatro ... / su autor el ...'. The second result is 'Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias mandada imprimir y publicar por la Magestad Catolica del rey don Carlos II, nuestro señor : va dividida en quatro tomos, con el índice general, y al principio de cada tomo el índice especial de los títulos que contiene: tomo primero.'. The third result is 'Sumarios de las cédulas, ordenes y provisiones reales ... Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias ... / que juntó, y dispuso ... Juan Francisco Montemayor, y Córdova de Cuenca.'.

FIGURE 10.2 Result of a search for law books in KOBINO

[Agregar a su carrito](#)
[Guardar registro](#)
[Mis búsquedas](#)
[Compartir](#)

Indice de las proposiciones de las leyes de la recopilacion con remision a los DD. que las tocan : autos acordados y pragmatikas hasta el año de mil setecientos y veinte y quatro ... / su autor el doctor Don Santiago Magro y Zurita.
 Por: Magro y Zurita, Santiago.
 Colaborador(es): Espartaco, José (, n. 1720-1744) [imp].
 Tipo de material: Libro
 Editor: En Alcalá : en la Imprenta de Joseph Espartaco, 1726
 Descripción: [46, 613 p.], [3] en li.; Fol.
 Etiquetas de esta biblioteca: No hay etiquetas de esta biblioteca para este título. [Ingresar para agregar etiquetas.](#)
 valoración media: 0.0 (0 votos)

Existencias (4) [Notas de título](#)

Tipo de ítem	Poseedor	Encuadernación	Tasación	Nota	Folio
Libro	Aguarón Becchi				AB1(15)
Libro	Antonio Espinosa De Los Ilustres -			Cajón 114 de arena	AB1(155)
Libro	Domingo de Arangaz		3 pesos / Pisos en plata 3 / Maravedies 616		DA1(10)
Libro	Jose Maria de los Covas Mosca		2 pesos / Pisos en plata 2 / Maravedies 544		JUC1(12)

FIGURE 10.3 Detail of an entry in the KOBINO database

of the books, together with the wear of the aging process. In general, we have only the appraisals and not the final selling prices, but in some cases, we have additional information in the form of transaction documents or annotations made by buyers. For example, one of the surviving copies of João da Sylveira's *Commentaria in textum evangelicum* bears a handwritten annotation stating: "Del uso del padre fray Joachin Pedro Vayas del orden de Nuestro Padre San Agustín desta Provincia de San Nicolas de Michoacan. Zacatecas y Mayo 3 de 1721 costo ocho pesos" [For the use of father Joachin Pedro Vayas member of the order of Our Father Saint Agustin in the Province of Saint Nicholas of Michacan. Zacatecas 3 May 1721 costs eight pesos].⁵⁵

Although we cannot yet provide a complete analysis of the libraries, the data available in KOBINO has already increased our understanding and helped us develop and critically assess theories about the circulation of books in early modern New Spain. Most importantly, the different research interests of the members of the group working on this material consolidate an interdisciplinary approach to the material and, hence to the study of colonial book culture in New Spain. To illustrate our work and some questions that arose during the research, as well as some of the answers and possibilities KOBINO offers in terms of crucial information for rethinking the idea of written culture in the Spanish Americas, we will discuss a few examples.

First of all, it is important to remark on the number of books in the bibliographic collections described in the corpus of *memorias* we identified. We have a wide range of library sizes, which vary from eight books in the case of the cashier Francisco Potestad (1787), to 1,668 books belonging to the lawyer Luis de Mendoza (1777). In the first case, the list contains only information about the authors and titles, which impedes the identification of the actual editions. However, the *memoria* of Mendoza's books provides detailed information on the books, for example: "2. Honoferio donado tractatus de restitut. Napoles 1655".⁵⁶

These precise descriptions are the ones that allow us to identify editions, differentiating them from other editions that circulated at the time, and linking to the correct ones. But even when descriptions are rudimentary, we are

55 João da Sylveira, *Commentaria in textum evangelicum ...* (Lyon: sumpt. Laur. Anisson, & Joan Bapt. Devenet, 1659), Biblioteca Armando Olivares BS535 S9. The manuscript note appears on the title page.

56 'Libros del licenciado don Luis de Mendoza, Abogado que fue de la Real Audiencia de esta Corte (1777)', AGN, Inquisición vol. 1183, exp. 13, f. 366r. This entry corresponds with the following edition: Onofrio Donadio, *Tractatus copiosissimus de renuntiationibus. [Liber primus] (-secundus)* (Naples: typis Camilli Caualli: expensis Francisci Bagnoli bibliop. Neap., 1652–1665), IT\ICCU\NAPE\012465.

sometimes able to identify works and editions thanks to KOBINO. For instance, the undated list of the books owned by Joseph Dominguez registers items like this: “2. Celectas Questiones, por el Padre Mateo de Moya de la Compañía de Jesus. Madrid.” As we can see, the date of publication is missing. We had decided that, in cases where no date was indicated, we would always record the date of the oldest known existing edition of the book. In this case, the first known edition dates from 1670.⁵⁷ When KOBINO took this data and started to link it with other information that we had already entered, we found one more edition of the same work, also printed in Madrid from 1678, which was for sale by Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros,⁵⁸ and the first from 1670, owned by Ignacio Rodriguez Navarjio and valued at 6 pesos.⁵⁹ These editions are not registered in either the Iberian Books Catalogue, or in Palau’s bibliography, so we can assume that in this case we have documental evidence of a previously unknown edition.⁶⁰ This is not the only case where this happened. On the contrary, we have found several editions in the *memorias* that make up KOBINO which are not listed in other catalogues. These are exciting discoveries, but they also raise questions about why these books are now lost. Especially some Mexican editions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries like the work of the Dominican Jerónimo Taix dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary published in 1559. The only edition conserved was published in 1576 by a different printer.⁶¹ In Mexico, as in other Latin American countries, this kind of bibliographic loss is the result of the little value that governments and institutions have given to this cultural heritage over the years.

Another interesting aspect of our project involves the forbidden books that were one of the main objectives of the inquisitors in New Spain, and in which

57 ‘Memoria de los libros que quedaron por muerte de el Bachiller Don Joseph Dominguez cura que fue de la villa de Coyoacan (s.f.), AGN, Indiferente Virreinal, caja 2633, exp. 9, f. 3v. We have identified the book as a copy of Mateo de Moya (S.I.), *Selectae quaestiones ex praecipuis theologiae moralis tractatibus: De opinione probabili, De religione, De paenitentia, De aliis sacramentis, De censuris, et ex aliis miscellaneae* (Madrid: ex Typographia regia, 1670), CCPB000033519-3.

58 ‘Memoria de los libros de Antonio Espinosa de los Monteros’, f. 293v.

59 ‘Memoria de los libros del señor doctor don Ignacio Rodríguez Navarjio, cura más antiguo que fue del Sagrario de la Santa Iglesia (1764)’, AGN, Inquisición, volumen 1045, exp. 26, f. 272v.

60 The Iberian Books Catalogue is available online at <<https://iberian.ucd.ie/>>; Antonio Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del librero hispanoamericano* (Madrid: Julio Ollero Editor, 1990), vol. 5, p. 258.

61 Jeronimo Taix (O.P.), *Libro de la institution y modo de rezar milagros y indulgencias de nuestra señora del Rosario* (Mexico City: Juan Pablos, 1559) USTC 351763 (No known copies). The 1576 edition is available in the digital project Primeros libros de las Américas, online via: <<http://primeroslibros.org/>>.

we find traces of their control in certain annotations. One example is the marginal annotation “Prohibited”, such as in the entry: “[Marginalia: Prohibido] Serrano los siete Principes de los Angeles en Bruzela año de 1713. Un tomo.”⁶² While we were not able to find this particular edition, we found a different edition of this forbidden work in a another *memoria*: “Yten Padre Andres Serrano, Los siete Principes de los Angeles en Dulsuera. Año de 1707: quatro reales” [Father Andres Serrano, Los siete Principes de los Angeles en Dulsuera. Year of 1707: four reales].⁶³

The links KOBINO enables us to establish between owners and editions also allow us to complete information that is missing in the basic descriptions given in some of the lists. For instance, in spite of only having the title, we could deduce that “Un Ramillete de divinas flores sin Corregir” [A *Ramillete de divinas flores* without expurgation] refers to the edition from 1670, since the one from 1672 has the following announcement printed on its title page: “expurgado por el R. Oficio de la Ynquisicion” [expurgated by the Holy Office of the Inquisition].⁶⁴ This indicates that the edition printed in 1672 already contained the necessary corrections.

Finally, it is necessary to signal two kinds of objects that will require special treatment in the KOBINO database. The first are the incunabula, though we have found only five among the thousands of editions recorded thus far.⁶⁵ This could mean that these books were mainly in institutional libraries. The incunabula preserved in Mexico were transferred from religious institutions to the Mexican state in the nineteenth century. Ideally, the information on incunabula would be imported from the Incunabula Short Title Catalogue, but due to the complexity of this resource, this will have to wait until a later phase in the project.⁶⁶

The second group of items that need special treatment are manuscripts. This is an issue that requires further reflection, because we have found very rich

62 ‘Memoria de los libros de José Palacios’, f. 346v.

63 ‘Avalúo de los libros que quedaron por el fallecimiento del Licenciado don Andrés de Ávila y Coto, formado por don Francisco Antonio González (1787)’. AGN, Inquisición 1217, exp. 6, f. 128r. Andrés Serrano (S.I.), *Los siete principes de los Angeles: validos del Rey del cielo, misioneros, y protectores de la Tierra, con la practica de su devocion ... Segunda impresion muy aumentada por su autor ... y enmendada la primera de innumerables yerros* (Brussels: por Francisco Foppens, 1707), CCPB000064819-1. This work was forbidden in 1747.

64 ‘Memoria de los libros de José Palacios (1776)’, f. 348r. This is the work of Bernardo de Sierra, *Ramillete de divinas flores: escogidas en las obras de muchos santos, y mejores autores ... Añadido, y emendado en esta nueva impresion* (Brussels: Francisco Foppens, 1670).

65 Idalia García, *La vida privada*, p. 194.

66 Available online at <<https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/>>.

descriptions that often raise multiple questions. One such case is: “Un libro de Coro del Salpeterio como de una Bara con ojos de pergamino” [A Choir Book with psalms, one vara long [80–108 centimetres] with parchment leaves].⁶⁷ As a choir book, it would normally have been used for the religious celebrations in the cathedrals, but in this case its owner was a physician. So, why did a doctor have this book? At the moment, we can think of several hypotheses, but in the future, by using the combined data in *KOBINO*, we hope to narrow down the possibilities and to come up with a plausible explanation for puzzles like this one.

To conclude, by distinguishing different types of booklists, by trying to link books in those lists to existing copies and by generating questions regarding their use, our ongoing project has already broadened our understanding of book culture in New Spain and we are confident that the continuation of our research in the future will help provide deeper insight, both regarding the sources themselves, and what they tell us about the circulation of books in early modern Colonial Mexico.

67 ‘Memoria de los libros de José Palacios’, f. 346v.

PART 3

Private Library Research in Regional Contexts



Mercury in the Republic of Letters: Private Libraries in Spanish Book Sales Catalogues (1660–1800)

Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí

Book Sales Catalogues in Spain

The depiction of Mercury as an instrument of book distribution decorates the title pages of a number of volumes from the long eighteenth century. On the title page of *Il giornale de letterati* (Parma, 1686), for example, he is portrayed as a carrier of books who safeguards the passage of volumes from booksellers' shops to readers' shelves: a kind of mediator in a republic of letters.¹ In Spain, this particular republic had many members: scholars who maintained close ties with Spanish or foreign booksellers to stock their private libraries. Like learned men in other parts of the continent, the most competent of these "grouped themselves around institutions patronised by the crown, such as royal academies and other centres of research, in which cultural projects were carried out under the patronage of the monarchy".² In this context, Spanish booksellers were able to import books to sell to this elite and even manage the sale of their private libraries, when this was required.

The book trade catalogues published in Spain have traditionally been a source for research by scholars, bibliographers and literary historians. However, new approaches have recently focused on the history of books, cultural consumption and cultural exchange networks.³

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- 1 *Il giornale de letterati pet tutto l'anno* (Parma: Giuseppe dall' Oglia & Ippolito Rosati, 1686).
 - 2 Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, 'The Spanish Republic of Letters in its European context: images, economics, and the representation of the man of letters', in Jesús Astigarraga (ed.), *The Spanish Enlightenment Revisited* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation-University of Oxford, 2015), pp. 40–61; Nicolás Bas Martín, *Spanish Books in the Europe of the Enlightenment (Paris and London). A View from Abroad* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
 - 3 Christian Coppens and Angela Nuovo, 'Printed Catalogues of Booksellers as a Source for the History of the Book Trade', in Giovanna Granata and Angela Nuovo (eds.), *Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Auction Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe* (Macerata: Edizioni Università di Macerata, 2018), pp. 145–160; Juan Delgado Casado, 'Los catálogos de libreros y editores', in Victor Infantes de Miguel, François Lopez and Jean-François Botrel

TABLE 11.1 Book sales catalogues published in Spain (1597–1800)

Century	Total nº of catalogues published	Private library sales catalogues
Sixteenth	1	–
Seventeenth	9	2
Eighteenth	93	12

Spanish scholars have long examined catalogues in search of rare books or unknown publications, out of their interest in certain private libraries sold at auction or to use such books as a source of information for historical bibliographies of the Spanish printing press.⁴ These studies used the catalogues as a source of information, but they were seldom the subject of research themselves. With modern research techniques, it has been possible to locate one catalogue from the sixteenth century, nine from the seventeenth and ninety-three from the eighteenth century. In addition to these 103 catalogues, we located three broadsheets that advertised lists of books on sale published by booksellers and printers.

Such catalogues are an ephemeral material that was rarely preserved, which requires us to approach this data with caution. In Spain, books were customarily sold by public auction alongside other personal assets, though this was rarely accompanied by the publication of a book sales catalogue. Furthermore, among the few catalogues recorded, it is possible to establish a date of publication with some degree of certainty in 58 cases, while in the remaining 45 cases, no year is specified, which makes identification harder, especially in the case of catalogues from the end of the eighteenth century. In twelve cases it has also been impossible to locate copies of the catalogues, whose existence was

(eds.), *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España, 1475–1914* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003), pp. 133–139.

4 José Fernández Sánchez, *Historia de la bibliografía española* (Madrid: Compañía Literaria, 1994), pp. 133–140; Juan Delgado Casado, 'Los comienzos de la tipobibliografía regional y local española: de la Tipografía hispalense a Pérez Pastor', in Isabel Villaseñor Rodríguez (ed.), *Homenaje a Juan Antonio Sagredo Fernández: estudios de bibliografía y fuentes de información* (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2001), pp. 127–145; Julián Martín Abad, *Manuscritos de interés bibliográfico de la Biblioteca Nacional de España* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 2004), with reference to private library catalogues. References to catalogues in Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: CSIC, 2001), vol. x (anonymous 11).

only recorded in bibliographic announcements or documentary references. As records of Spanish collections that would have interested European scholars and collectors, however, they probably formed part of foreign libraries.⁵ Interestingly, in the case of 57 of the catalogues found in heritage collections or archives, it has only been possible to locate a single copy. In one exceptional case, the broadsheet entitled *Precio a que se venden ...* ("Sale prices of", 1757), sixteen copies have been preserved.⁶

A clear trend can also be seen regarding the cities in which the catalogues were published. Of the 103 book trade catalogues, 60% were concentrated in Madrid, as the capital was home to a remarkable number of publishing ventures, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century, with book companies investing in new titles and opting to distribute new releases through catalogues.⁷ Most of the fourteen private library sales catalogues were published in Madrid, with a total of nine lists of private collections for sale, equivalent to 62.2% of the total. An analysis of the book advertisements in newspapers and publishers' prospectuses highlights the predominance of certain cities in the promotion of books, particularly the capital and a few peripheral cities such as Barcelona and Valencia, among others, which began publishing advertisements and promotional leaflets on a regular basis.⁸ Announcements in the press about the sale of private collections can also offer us valuable information about the bookshops that normally managed such sales.

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- 5 Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, 'Coleccionismo cervantino en la Inglaterra de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII a partir de los catálogos de subastas', in Nicolás Bas Martín and Barry Taylor (eds.), *El libro español en Londres. La visión de España en Inglaterra (siglos XVI al XIX)* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2016), pp. 101–145.
 - 6 Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Mònica Baró, 'Los carteles publicitarios del libro en la España del siglo XVIII', in Helena Carvajal González and Camino Sánchez Oliveira (eds.), *Doce siglos de materialidad del libro. Estudios sobre manuscritos e impresos entre los siglos XVIII y XIX* (Zaragoza: Pressas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2017), pp. 467–482.
 - 7 Amparo García Cuadrado, 'La Compañía de Mercaderes de Libros de la Corte a mediados del Siglo XVIII', *Anales de Documentación*, 4 (2001), pp. 95–126; François Lopez, 'La librería madrileña al final del Antiguo Régimen', *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment*, 27:1 (2004), pp. 17–30.
 - 8 Jean-Marc Buiguès, 'Los anuncios en la Gaceta de Madrid: inicios y desarrollo de la publicidad del impreso en España (1661–1696)', in Lluís Agustí, Mònica Baró and Pedro Rueda Ramírez (eds.), *Edición y publicidad del libro. Las estrategias publicitarias en España e Hispanoamérica (siglos XVII–XX)* (Madrid: Calambur, 2018), pp. 17–51; María Jesús García Garrosa, 'Comercio y lectura de novelas en España en el siglo XVIII', *Estudis. Revista de Historia Moderna*, 37 (2011), pp. 9–28; Manuel Morán Orti, 'Continuidad y cambio en la oferta de libros del siglo XIX', in Manuel Morán Orti (ed.), *La oferta literaria en Madrid, 1789–1833: un estudio cuantitativo de la cultura del libro* (Madrid: Universidad Europea-CEES Ediciones, 2000), pp. 51–72.

TABLE 11.2 Locations where Spanish book auction catalogues were printed (1597–1800)

City in which the catalogue was published	Total of printed book auction catalogues	Private library auction catalogues	Date of the first catalogue published
Barcelona	5	–	1724
Cádiz	3	1	1760
Cervera	4	1	1747
Córdoba	1	–	c.1794
Madrid	64	9	1597
Málaga	2	–	c.1790
Salamanca	1	–	18 th century
Seville	6	–	1680
Valencia	13	1	1747
Zaragoza	2	1	c.1770
City unknown	2	1	18 th century
Total	103	14	

Bibliographers and literary historians were certainly the pioneers in this field of study. One notable example was Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino (1910–1970), a researcher who held numerous catalogues in his library. As well as amassing a significant collection of these rare prints, he was also the first person to produce a census of book sales catalogues in Spain. In 1942, he published a small document entitled *Catálogos de libreros españoles: 1661–1798: intento bibliográfico* [Spanish booksellers' catalogues: 1661–1798: a bibliographic attempt], which was the first time a list of catalogues was collated.⁹ He then continued this study in 1945 with the publication of the *Catálogos de libreros españoles: 1661–1840: intento bibliográfico*, in which the previous text was revised, the timeframe expanded and a total of 161 entries recorded.¹⁰ Despite the significant difficulties he faced after the Spanish Civil War and during the dictatorship, Rodríguez-Moñino managed to continue his studies, travel and complete his research, compiling a far more comprehensive census of catalogues.¹¹

9 Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Catálogos de libreros españoles: 1661–1798: intento bibliográfico* (Madrid: [Tip. de los Sucesores de J. Sánchez Ocaña], 1942).

10 Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Catálogos de libreros españoles: 1661–1840: intento bibliográfico* (Madrid: [Imp. Langa], 1945).

11 Rafael Rodríguez-Moñino Soriano, *La vida y la obra del bibliófilo y bibliógrafo extremeño D. Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino* (Madrid: Beturia, 2002).

This project was published in 1966 under the title *Historia de los catálogos de librería españoles (1661–1840): estudio bibliográfico* [History of Spanish bookshop catalogues (1661–1840): a bibliographic study].¹² In this publication, there was more bibliographic information about the booksellers and printers who published these lists of books for sale. It was also upgraded from its previous status of “bibliographic attempt” to a detailed “bibliographic study”, and contained information on 196 catalogues. In several cases, only a single copy of these printed lists had been preserved, which Rodríguez-Moñino had the luck to see in his friends’ collections or which formed part of his own library. Many of the catalogues that he collected were donated to the library of the Real Academia Española, which gave researchers access to this remarkable collection of extremely rare prints. Other collectors, particularly enthusiasts of the history of books and printing, built collections of catalogues and other ephemeral materials related to Spanish printers. Notable examples include José Enrique Serrano y Morales, whose catalogues are now in the Biblioteca Municipal de Valencia, and Pedro Sáinz Rodríguez, who collected a number of rare catalogues now kept at the Fundación Universitaria Española in Madrid.

Announcing Book Sales

At the close of the eighteenth century, Real Academia scholar and librarian Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva (1757–1837) stated that “mientras subsista el mundo, habrá necesidad de nuevos libros, acomodados a las nuevas generaciones de los hombres” [as long as the world exists, we will need new books, adapted to new generations of men].¹³ This need for new books was nourished by the gazettes and prospectuses, but also by catalogues, which were an attempt to reach buyers in an expanding market across the main cities in the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. For example, Baron Schönberg wrote to the scholar Gregorio Mayans (1699–1781) on 10 March 1739, asking him to send the *Diarios de los Literatos de España* [Journals of the Spanish literary intellectuals] to Paris, as well as “los catálogos de los libros nuevos que aparecen de tiempo en tiempo en España y Portugal” [the catalogues of new books that appear from time to time in Spain and Portugal]. In response, on 28 April 1739, Mayans explained that “casi todos los libros que salen en España se publican

12 Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino, *Historia de los catálogos de librería españoles (1661–1840): estudio bibliográfico* (Madrid-Valencia: [Gráficas Soler], 1966).

13 Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, *El kempis de los literatos* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1807), p. 256.

en las Gacetas y después en los mercurios, porque casi todos se venden en Madrid” [almost all the books released in Spain are published in the Gazettes and then in the Mercury journals, because they are almost all sold in Madrid].¹⁴

Scholars could keep up with all the latest publications thanks to these lists, which, although very concise, contained a lot of information for those in the know. These Spanish or foreign catalogues are often mentioned in the letters of Spanish scholars. In 1740, the historian Josep Finestres (1688–1777) wrote a letter in Catalan from the town of Cervera to Ignasi de Dou i Solà that reveals the difficulties people like him faced trying to buy books and how “Los Devilla ... pòsan en sas llistas llibres que diuhen espèran en breu y may compareixen” [The Devilla ... put books in their lists that they say they are hoping to receive soon but these books never arrive]. However, in response to this situation, with the eye of a book collector well accustomed to the tricks used in these announcements, Finestres went on to state that “no crech que estos y altres de Olanda no’ls tìngan los Tournes; y axí vejas si pots arrancar de Bonardel algun catàlogo modern Tournesià” [I do not believe that the Tournes do not have these and other books from Holland, so see if you can wrest a modern Tournes catalogue from Bonardel].¹⁵ Based in Barcelona, Bonardel acted as intermediary, just like other booksellers in the city, and he had access to the latest catalogues of the publishers in Lyon and Geneva, which supplied the books available, usually in exchange for a commission. These catalogues were also used as bibliographic tools by certain scholars, such as Martín Sarmiento (1695–1772), who used them to identify the rare books that he owned or to buy new books since, as he wrote in a letter dated 15 May 1761, “sólo pienso leer por diversión, y tal vez cual vez en escribir para mí solo” [I only intend to read for pleasure and equally only to write for myself].¹⁶

As well as being book purchasers, these Spanish scholars formed part of a network that disseminated announcements about books and exchanged

14 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario: Mayans y el barón de Schönberg*, transcription and preliminary study by Santiago Aleixos and Antonio Mestre (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002), pp. 117 and 119; Jean-Marc Buigués, ‘La suscripción a obras literarias en España en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII: libreros e instituciones’, *Arte Nuevo*, 6 (2019), pp. 357–389.

15 Finestres to Ignasi de Dou, Cervera, 24 March 1740, in Josep Finestres i de Monsalvo, *Epistolari* (Barcelona: Biblioteca Balmes, 1933–1969), vol. III (supplement), p. 4 (no. 1202).

16 Martín Sarmiento, ‘Libros raros que tengo, según David Clement’, *Obras*, Biblioteca Nacional de España, Mss. 20377, pp. 347–364. The cited letter is reproduced in Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, ‘Correspondencia entre José Antonio Armona y el padre Martín Sarmiento’, *Revista de literatura*, 49:97 (1987), p. 210.

publications of interest.¹⁷ In one such case, around 1747, Gregorio Mayans received a letter from the Geneva-based booksellers requesting information about booksellers, librarians and professors to whom they could “mandaremos nuestros grandes catálogos de libros a todos para servirlos” [send our large catalogues of books to serve them all].¹⁸ In this way, the buyers, in turn, became part of the distribution chain, as a group of customers who bolstered the success of these booksellers in Spain and Portugal. In the case of Portugal, the arrival of foreign booksellers like João Baptista Reycend gave the book trade a new lease of life as well as helping to bring European books to Brazil.¹⁹

The First Private Library Sales Catalogues

In Spain, the number of catalogues published in the sixteenth century must have been very limited and in any case, most of these ephemeral materials were disposed of after use. However, by the end of the eighteenth century, the booksellers themselves were aware of the importance of such materials for preserving the history of the printing press as a kind of ‘typographical annal’.²⁰ In 1781, the *Compañía de Impresores y Libreros* [Company of Printers and Booksellers] published a list of the liturgical books that they sold, highlighting in a foreword that

if we had preserved the catalogues of books and texts printed in Spain since the printing press was established in the country, we would have a set of printing press annals and we would not have lost many works of which only announcements remain, and others as rare as manuscript codices.²¹

17 John Stone, ‘Translated Sociabilities of Print in Eighteenth-Century Spain’, in Stefanie Stockhorst (ed.), *Cultural Transfer through Translation: The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe by Means of Translation* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), pp. 263–278.

18 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Mayans y los libreros*, transcription and preliminary study by Antonio Mestre (Oliva: Ayuntamiento de Oliva, 1993), p. 255.

19 Manuela D. Domingos, *Livreiros de Setecentos* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2000); Marie-Hélène Piwnik, ‘Libraires français et espagnols à Lisbonne au XVIII^e siècle’, in *Livres et libraires en Espagne et au Portugal: XVI^e–XX^e siècles: actes du colloque international de Bordeaux, 25–27 avril 1986* (Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1989), pp. 81–98.

20 *Lista de los libros del rezo divino que ha impreso la Real Compañía de Impresores y Libreros del reyno* ([Madrid]: [s.n.], 1781), p. 3 (Real Biblioteca, VIII/5353).

21 “Si conservásemos los catálogos de los libros y papeles impresos en España desde que se estableció en ella la Imprenta, tendríamos a la mano unos anales tipográficos y no se

The one sixteenth-century bookseller's sales catalogue that we know of was published in 1597. Originally from Venice, Simone Vassellini published the catalogue to inform his clientele of the imported books, mostly from Italy, that he had in his bookshop in Madrid.²² At the important book fair in Medina del Campo, foreign catalogues were circulated, but catalogues of Spanish trade fairs were not published in Spain, or at least none have yet been found. The book traders of Lyon, Paris and the Netherlands sent hundreds of volumes to Spanish bookshops.²³ Without a doubt, correspondence played a key role in publicising the editions available and facilitating transactions between book traders.

For the most part, the nine seventeenth-century catalogues were assortment ('surtido') catalogues, two of which were published in Madrid by the renowned book trader Gabriel de León and his heirs, and another five in Seville by the printer and bookseller Tomás López de Haro for the sale of books in Mexico.²⁴ Note, too, that the Portuguese and Spanish empires each had their own distribution network and agents.²⁵

The use of catalogues to sell books from private libraries as a means of commercial exploitation was extremely limited in Spain. The ultimate aim of publishing catalogues was to increase the possibilities of selling great private collections that would be of interest to certain collectors. From the seventeenth century, only two private collection sales catalogues have survived,

habrían perdido muchas obras de que sólo ha quedado noticia y otras son tan raras como códices manuscritos." *Lista de los libros del rezo divino*, p. 3.

- 22 Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'La venta de libros italianos en Madrid en tiempos de Felipe II: el catálogo de Simone Vassalini (1597)', in Giovanna Granata and Angela Nuovo (eds.), *Selling & Collecting: Printed Book Auction Catalogues and Private Libraries in Early Modern Europe* (Macerata: Edizioni Università di Macerata, 2018), pp. 283–299.
- 23 Marieke van Delft, 'El comercio internacional del libro en el siglo XVI desde una perspectiva de los Países Bajos septentrionales con España', in Antonio Sánchez del Barrio (ed.), *El comercio del libro entre los Países Bajos y España durante los siglos XVI y XVIII* (Valladolid: Ediciones Universidad de Valladolid, 2016), pp. 15–27; Clive Griffin, 'Itinerant booksellers, printers, and pedlars in sixteenth-century Spain and Portugal', in Robin Myers (ed.), *Fairs, markets and the itinerant book trade* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 2007), pp. 43–59.
- 24 Ana Martínez Pereira and Víctor Infantes, *Los primeros catálogos de libros editados en Madrid. El mercader de libros Gabriel de León y sus herederos (siglo XVII)* (Madrid: Turpín Editores, 2012); Pedro Rueda Ramírez, 'Los catálogos de Tomás López de Haro: las redes atlánticas del negocio europeo del libro en Nueva España (1682–1683)', in Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí (eds.), *La publicidad del libro en el mundo hispánico (siglos XVII–XX): los catálogos de venta de librerías y editores* (Madrid: Calambur, 2016), pp. 43–64.
- 25 Diana Cooper-Richet and Jean-Yves Mollier (eds.), *Le commerce transatlantique de librairie, un des fondements de la mondialisation culturelle (France-Portugal-Brésil, XVIII^e–XIX^e siècle)* (Campinas: Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Publicações IEL, 2012).

along with twelve library sales catalogues of those that were published in the eighteenth century. In most cases, the libraries in question were exceptional in terms of the abundance and variety of their collections. The earliest private library sales catalogues that we know of were the *Inventario de la Librería del Señor D. Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado* [Inventory of the library of Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado] (1660) and the *Catalogo general de la librería del excelentissimo señor don Diego de Arce y Reynoso* [Catalogue of the library of His Excellence Diego de Arce y Reynoso] (1666). In the 1660 catalogue, the books are not priced, while, in the case of the 1666 catalogue there are two editions, one with the prices of the books and the other without. The publication of two versions of the catalogue is likely explained by a wish to cater primarily to collectors at the Court of Madrid, who were more prone to buying entire collections. After all, publishing the catalogue with pricing prevented the problems that arose at some auctions, with book traders bidding to buy private libraries below the market price.²⁶ The catalogues were probably printed in an attempt to attract a buyer for the whole collection, but given the cost involved, which was made so much higher by the quality and variety of the volumes, finding such a buyer would have been difficult. We do not know what eventually happened to the books, given that there are no records of their sale, and all we know is that the catalogues were published.

The libraries in Madrid were usually inventoried and priced to be sold by the heirs, either to a bookseller or to an interested buyer. The sale of libraries was fairly commonplace. An analysis of post-mortem inventories from 1550 to 1650 shows that, of a total of 4,126 inventories, 1,307 included books (31.67% of the total).²⁷ In one such case, the relatives of the lawyer Juan Messia, whose library contained 985 volumes, unsuccessfully tried to sell the collection “as a whole and undivided” to a number of legal professionals. Eventually, the library was sold to a member of the Council of Portugal at a third of its valuation price. The other options for heirs were to sell the libraries at public auction in small lots, or private retail sales, but this involved certain risks as buyers were hard to find and the offers made were often far below the asking price, with a reduction of up to 30% or more.²⁸

26 Manuel Peña Díaz, ‘Los encantos y la circulación del impreso en la Barcelona del siglo XVI’, *Estudis Castellonencs*, 6 (1994–1995), pp. 1049–1056.

27 José Manuel Prieto Bernabé, *Lectura y lectores. La cultura del impreso en el Madrid del Siglo de Oro (1550–1650)* (Mérida: Editorial Regional de Extremadura, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 326–331; Trevor J. Dadson, *Libros, lectores y lecturas: estudios sobre bibliotecas particulares españolas del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Arco Libros, 1998).

28 Trevor J. Dadson, *Libros, lectores y lecturas*, pp. 356–359.

In 1660, the *Inventario de la librería del señor D. Lorenzo Ramírez de Prado* was published in Madrid with a detailed list of the books in his private library, which ranged from incunabula right through to recently published texts, such as *El Pastor de Noche Buena* [The Christmas Eve Shepherd] (Brussels: 1655) by Juan de Palafox (1600–1659). Ramírez de Prado was a high-ranking civil servant of the Crown who had performed diplomatic duties and chaired a number of the kingdom's government councils, as well as being a scholar and collector. His private collection was one of the most exceptional at the Court of Madrid in the first half of the seventeenth century. The catalogue was probably published as a result of the difficulty of finding a buyer for such a rich and unique collection. Four copies of the 1660 catalogue have been preserved, two of which have been digitised, and there is also an edition and study conducted by Entrambasaguas. In addition, the books in the collection were also included in the project *IBSO: Inventarios y Bibliotecas del Siglo de Oro* [Inventories and Libraries of the Golden Age], which contains 8,951 entries.²⁹

The other seventeenth-century catalogue that has been preserved was published in Madrid in 1666 under the title of *Catalogo general de la librería del excelentísimo señor don Diego de Arce y Reynoso, obispo, Inquisidor General ...*, signalling the positions the owner held, including Bishop and Inquisitor General. In this case, it was indicated on the title page that the library had been “ordenada y tasada por Claudio Burgea, mercader de libros de la ciudad de León de Francia, residente en esta Corte” [organised and valued by Claudio Burgea, the bookseller from the city of Lyon in France and resident of this Court]. In the course of the inventory and valuation of an individual's assets, a bookseller of the Court would usually take charge of producing the list of items and their commercial value, and the “valuation” was the sale price set by the bookseller to facilitate the sale process if the books were sold at auction.³⁰ It could also be used as the collection's sale price for a single buyer purchasing the entire collection or for a bookseller negotiating the purchase of the entire collection from the family who owned it. It is likely that some of these large collections were sold without any need for a public auction, by distributing the volumes to bookshops that would in turn take charge of selling the books in retail. And because most Court booksellers dealt in second-hand books as well as new ones, it was common in Madrid's bookshops to find older books

29 Joaquín de Entrambasaguas, *La biblioteca de Ramírez de Prado* (Madrid: CSIC, 1943). For the IBSO project, see <<https://www.bidiso.es/InventariosYBibliotecas/>> (last accessed 16 July 2023).

30 Manuel José Pedraza Gracia, ‘Lector, lecturas, bibliotecas: El inventario como fuente para su investigación histórica’, *Anales de Documentación*, 2 (1999), pp. 137–158.

purchased by the seller from private collections sitting on the same shelves as new or recently published volumes.³¹

In the case of the Diego de Arce y Reynoso catalogue, two editions were published, one with the price of the books and the other without. In one of the preserved copies of the priced edition, an anonymous individual has calculated the total price of the library to be 164,330 reales, a very significant sum at the time.³² In this case, once again, the library belonged to a high ranking cleric, bishop and inquisitor, who had amassed an excellent collection of books, manuscripts and printed texts from all periods, including some of the first books printed in Spain and numerous scholarly works that would surely have aroused the interest of other collectors.³³ Seven copies of this catalogue have been preserved.

Private Library Catalogues of the Eighteenth Century

Some eighteenth-century library owners kept stock lists or inventories to help them manage collections. These lists were compiled by the secretaries of the noblemen or clerics who owned the collections, or by a court librarian or the collectors themselves, as is the case for the *Índice de los libros que tiene propios* (1778) of the Duchess of Medina-Sidonia.³⁴ Such inventories were rarely published—one notable example is the inventory of the library of the Marquis of Montealegre—but we know that when the books were offered for sale, several people, including executors, notaries, and booksellers, were involved in the preparation of lists for pricing the volumes.³⁵ Some of these collections

31 José Luis Barrio Moya, 'La librería de don Tomás de la Tajada, abogado de los Reales Consejos durante los reinados de Carlos II y Felipe V (1714)', *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 56 (1986), pp. 759–780.

32 Biblioteca Nacional de España, Ms. 11615, ff. 119r–174r.

33 Gregorio de Andrés, 'Los manuscritos del Inquisidor General, Diego de Arce y Reinoso, Obispo de Plasencia', *Hispania Sacra*, 33:68 (1981), pp. 491–507; Isabel Villaseñor Rodríguez, 'El catálogo de la biblioteca, "que en castellano se llama librería" de Don Diego de Arce Reinoso', *Revista general de información y documentación*, 3:2 (1993), pp. 251–259.

34 Francisco Precioso Izquierdo, 'Los libros de una aristócrata en la España del siglo XVIII: el "Índice" de Mariana de Silva y Álvarez de Toledo (1778)', *Magallánica: revista de historia moderna*, 5:9 (2019), pp. 239–271.

35 José Maldonado y Pardo, *Museo o Biblioteca selecta de el Excmo. Señor Don Pedro Nuñez de Guzman, Marques de Montealegre y de Quintana ... y Presidente del Supremo de Castilla* (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1677). Inmaculada Arias de Saavedra Alías, 'Libros, lectores y bibliotecas privadas en la España del siglo XVIII', *Chronica nova: Revista de historia moderna*, 35 (2009), pp. 15–61.

were sold in public auctions, as was customary; however, in the Spanish case, this process was very rarely accompanied by printed sales catalogues.³⁶ The twelve eighteenth-century private library sale catalogues from Spain that we know of were mostly given the title of *Catálogo de la librería*. Published in 1611, Covarrubias's dictionary contains two definitions of the term 'librería': bookshop and library, with the word commonly being used in Spanish at the time to refer to private collections.³⁷

In three cases, the owner of the collection is not known and the collection has the generic title of "Catálogo de una librería, que se vende", catalogue of a library up for sale. In one case, the catalogue advertises the sale of various collections, under the title *Catalogo de libros que se venderán en Cádiz* [Catalogue of books for sale in Cádiz], 1769. This catalogue is also noteworthy because, as far as we know, it is the first time in the history of the Spanish book market that a specialist catalogue includes the term 'rare' in reference to books. Indeed, the reader encounters a section of "Old editions from the early years of printing" containing a selection of incunabula.³⁸

The first private library catalogue published in the eighteenth century that we know of is the *Catálogo de la librería del señor don Manuel Pantoja, señor de Cabañas de Yepes* (1737), which attracted great interest from collectors. On 2 June 1738, the scholar Gregorio Mayans wrote to Baron Schönberg to tell him that he had been sent the catalogue of this library, "que se ha vendido en esta Corte" [which has been sold in this Court].³⁹ The circulation of these catalogues was extremely important because they sparked interest in certain pieces sought after by collectors. This was also the case of the *Cathálogo de los libros que existen venales de la librería que fue de el ilustríssimo señor don Andrés González de Barcia* [Catalogue of books on sale from the library of the late Andrés González de Barcia], from 1745. However, in this instance, it should

36 Ofelia Rey Castelao, 'La influencia inglesa en la España de fines del siglo XVIII a través de las bibliotecas', Pablo de la Cruz Díaz, Fernando Luis Corral, Iñaki Martín Viso (eds.), *El Historiador y la sociedad: homenaje al profesor José Ma. Mínguez* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2013), pp. 205–219.

37 Sebastián de Covarrubias Orozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid: Luis Sánchez, 1611), p. 524. USTC 5022828.

38 Natalia Maillard Álvarez, 'El catálogo de libros de Francisco de Rioja. Cádiz, 1769', in Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí (eds.), *La publicidad del libro en el mundo hispánico (siglos XVII–XX): los catálogos de venta de libreros y editores* (Madrid: Calambur, 2016), pp. 281–297.

39 Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, *Epistolario: Mayans y el barón de Schönberg*, transcription and preliminary study by Santiago Aleixos and Antonio Mestre (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002), p. 104.

TABLE 11.3 Auction catalogues of private libraries printed in eighteenth-century Spain

Year	Private library	City	Format	Pages	Copies preserved
1737	Manuel Pantoja	Madrid	8°	104	2
1745	Andrés González de Barcia	Madrid	8°	431	5
1747	Miquel Gonser	Cervera?	8°	73	1
1747	Teodoro Tomás	Valencia	8°	192	1
1747	Juan Antonio Barón	Madrid	8°	31	1
c.1751	Blas Antonio Nasarre	Madrid	8°	191	1
c.1751	"a library"	Madrid	8°	378	2
1754	"a library"	Madrid	8°	311	1
c.1756	Count of La Estrella	Madrid	8°	77	1
1769	"six collections"	Cádiz	8°	31	2
c.1770	Isidoro de Isla	Zaragoza	8°	175	1
18 th century	Count Palma	City unknown	8°	40	1

be noted that this catalogue also advertised "otras pequeñas librerías de diferentes sujetos que fallecieron en esta corte y fuera de ella" [other small libraries belonging to various individuals who have died in this Court and elsewhere]. By advertising these smaller libraries together with Andrés González de Barcia's collection, booksellers could profit from the interest in the latter. The library of this chronicler and historian of the West Indies, was indeed envied by other writers of the period because of the wealth of publications on the Americas it contained. This phenomenon gives us cause to reflect on how difficult it is to reconstruct a library solely through catalogue sales, because some of the books may have been distributed among the heirs or sold individually without appearing in the catalogue. We know that both these actions occurred in the case of the *Catálogo de los libros contenidos en la Bibliotheca, que fue del difunto Dr. Don Miguel Gonsér, Cancelario de la Universidad de Cervera, que se venderán públicamente* [Catalogue of the books contained in the library of the late Miquel Gonser, Chancellor of the University of Cervera, to be sold publicly]

(1747), based on the correspondence of Josep Finestres who, as the executor of Gonser's will, oversaw the sale of 2,478 books. In the correspondence that has been preserved, Finestres gives a detailed description of these problems. For instance, he explains how Gonser's manuscripts were passed on to his brother, the Presbyterian Josep Gonser, while other texts were given to friends and relatives.⁴⁰

TABLE 11.4 Distribution and organisation per topic, language and format of the 1747 Catalogue of Miquel Gonser (1697–1743)

Topic	Language	Formats	Total	%
Sacred Texts, Theology and Spirituality	Latin	2°, 4°, 8°, 12°	603	24.33
Civil and Canon Law	Latin	2°, 4°, 8°, 12°	627	25.3
Medicine, Pharmacy, Chemistry and Natural History	Latin	2°, 4°, 8°, 12°	58	2.34
History, Philology, Politics, etc.	Latin	2°, 4°, 8°, 12°	704	28.41
Italian books, miscellaneous	Italian	2°, 4°, 8°, 12°	383	15.46
Spanish books, miscellaneous	Spanish	2°, 4°, 8°, 12°	87	3.51
Catalan books, miscellaneous	Catalan	2°, 4°	10	0.4
French books, miscellaneous	French	No information	4	0.16
Portuguese books, miscellaneous	Portuguese	No information	2	0.08
			2.478	

⁴⁰ Lluís Agustí, 'El Catálogo (1747) de venta de la biblioteca de Miquel Gonser (1697–1743), cancelario de la Universidad de Cervera', in Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí (eds.), *La publicidad del libro en el mundo hispánico (siglos XVII–XX): los catálogos de venta de librerías y editores* (Madrid: Calambur, 2016), pp. 253–280.

In most cases, the heirs entrusted the sales to book traders, who played a key role in the distribution and sale of collections. One such case was the *Catalogo de los libros que quedan existentes de la Librería del Sr. Canónigo Lectoral Don Theodoro Thomàs* [Catalogue of the books of the library of the Theological Canon Theodoro Tomàs] (1747). The title page indicates that “se hallan venales en casa de Juan Antonio Mallén, mercader de libros” [books can be found for sale in the shop of the book merchant Juan Antonio Mallén], an eminent Valencian book trader whose family was of French origin). The bookseller explained that he published the catalogue to give access to the list of titles to people outside Valencia, “que sin esto no lo podrían conseguir” [who otherwise would not be able to get hold of them]. He also mentioned that “en los de leyes he puesto algunos, que no eran de dicho Sr. Canónigo” [in the list of law books, I have included some that are not from the collection of the aforementioned Canon], revealing that it was accepted practice among book traders to use the catalogue to publicise other books in their storerooms. This is the only known case of a private library catalogue printed in Valencia in the eighteenth century. However, libraries were bought and sold regularly in the city. A study of private Valencian libraries between 1740 and 1808 shows that, out of a total of 1,302 probate inventories, 261 included books (20%).⁴¹ In the mid-eighteenth century, there were nine printers and fifteen booksellers active in the city of Valencia, as well as various points of sale on certain streets and squares, such as the site of the market square. In the city, the prominent Mallén family played a key role in importing books and introducing them on the Iberian Peninsula.⁴²

The libraries of writers generated great curiosity and one notable example was the library of Blas Antonio Nasarre (1689–1751), who had a diverse range of interests in history and literature. The academic and royal librarian was an enthusiast of the plays of Miguel de Cervantes, which he republished in 1749. His collection of books was sold through the *Catalogo de la librería, que quedo por muerte del señor don Blas Antonio Nassarre y Ferriz, bibliothecario mayor, que fue, del rey* [Catalogue of the library left at the death of Blas Antonio Nasarre y Ferriz, former senior librarian to the King] (c.1751), which was described as containing “varied scholarly works”. As a librarian, Nasarre had been in charge

41 Genaro Lamarca Langa, *La cultura del libro en la época de la Ilustración: Valencia, 1740–1808* (Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1994), pp. 33–35.

42 François Lopez, ‘Sobre la imprenta y la librería en Valencia en el siglo XVIII’, in Armando Alberola and Emilio La Parra (eds.), *La Ilustración española. Actas del Coloquio Internacional celebrado en Alicante, 1–4 octubre 1985* (Alicante: Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1986), pp. 219–220.

of several book purchases from private libraries for the Royal Library and had first-hand knowledge of the book market and the sale of collections of interest to the Crown. He managed to build a significant collection of manuscripts and rare books for use by the Court's scholars.⁴³ Other civil servants of the king also amassed notable libraries, which were very occasionally sold by catalogue. One such case was Francisco de Cuellar, second Count of la Estrella (1681–1753), a lawyer whose books were presented in the *Catalogo de la librería del señor Conde de la Estrella, de los Consejos de su Magestad* [Catalogue of the library of the Count of La Estrella, of His Majesty's Council"] (c.1753) divided into the three categories of law, history and "theology and others", accompanied by abbreviated bibliographic information containing only the authors' name and the book title, format and volumes, without specifying editions or prices.⁴⁴ The lack of reliable information is sure to have hindered the sale of the Count's books.

According to the catalogues, a number of libraries of clerics were also put up for sale, amassed by senior members of the church with a passion for collecting. In the case of the *Catalogo de los libros, que se hallan en la Librería del difunto Arcediano de Daroca Don Isidoro de Isla* [Catalogue of the books of the library of the Late Archdeacon of Daroca, Isidoro de Isla] (1770), this member of the *Academia del Buen Gusto* [Academy of Good Taste] in Zaragoza held several clerical positions in the archbishopric of Zaragoza, including that of curate in charge of supervising ecclesiastical censorship.⁴⁵ The catalogue of books amassed by Isidoro de Isla was structured in a similar way to others of the period, starting with biblical, ecclesiastical, patristic, theological, mystical and pious texts, followed by civil and canon law documents, books of history, philosophy and medicine, and other separate sections for publications in French and Italian. Another eminent member of the clergy was Agustín Portocarrero (1689–1748), the Count of Palma and Archdeacon of Toledo, a member of a family with long-standing links to the archbishopric of Toledo.⁴⁶ The *Catalogo de la librería que fue de el excelentísimo señor conde de*

43 Fernando Bouza, 'Sin armas de noticias. Medios de cultura escrita, público y poder monárquico a comienzos del siglo XVIII', in *La Real Biblioteca Pública: 1711–1760: De Felipe V a Fernando VI* (Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional, 2004), pp. 33–47.

44 On Cuellar, see José Antonio Álvarez y Baena, *Hijos de Madrid* (Madrid: Benito Cano, 1790), vol. III, p. 432.

45 Pedro Álvarez de Miranda, 'Los componentes de la Academia del Buen Gusto de Zaragoza', in María Dolores Gimeno Puyol and Ernesto Viamonte Lucientes (eds.), *Los viajes de la Razón: estudios dieciochistas en homenaje a María-Dolores Albiac Blanco* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2015), pp. 9–36.

46 Mario Arellano García, 'Los Portocarrero en la iglesia de Toledo', *Toletum: boletín de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes y Ciencias Históricas de Toledo*, 48 (2002), pp. 243–284.

TABLE 11.5 Languages represented in the library of the cleric
Agustín Portocarrero, the Count of Palma (catalogue c.1748)

Language	Total	%
Spanish	644	92.7
French	33	4.7
Italian	8	1.2
Latin	8	1.2
Portuguese	2	0.3
Total	695	

Palma, arcediano de Toledo [Catalogue of the library formerly owned by His Excellence, the Count of Palma and Archdeacon of Toledo] (c.1748) contained 25 manuscripts and 670 printed texts, mostly in Spanish, on history, genealogy and literature, and a few books in Latin. In this case, a lack of information regarding the owner of the collection makes it impossible to draw conclusions, as we would need to know more about this cleric, who was associated with the Toledo Cathedral Chapter from a young age. What the library catalogue does reveal is a clear preference for the humanities, with books such as a vellum manuscript recorded as *Siculi (Cataldi) de Perfecto homini*, texts on the lives of the nobility and chronicles and annals of the Spanish kingdoms.⁴⁷

Although only a small sample of fourteen cases is presented here, it enables a comparative analysis with other libraries that we know of thanks to post-mortem inventories. One study by Enciso Recio focused precisely on eighteenth-century libraries based on notarial sources.⁴⁸ The contrast between inventories and printed catalogues is interesting. The notarial documents mention several libraries owned by military leaders, lawyers and doctors, with a remarkable variety of professional libraries. The sale catalogues list collections of a considerable size that include books of interest for scholars and bibliophiles. Most of the fourteen catalogues (78%) present the collections of high-ranking officials of the Crown or Church, university professors and noblemen.

47 On the poetry of Cataldo Sículo (1455–1517), see 'De perfecto homine al rey de Portugal Juan II', in Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *História genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisbon: na Regia Officina Sylviana, e da Academia Real, 1739), vol. VI, pp. 476–492.

48 Luis Miguel Enciso Recio, *Barroco e Ilustración en las bibliotecas privadas españolas del siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2002), pp. 17–21.

Conclusion

It has only been possible to identify fourteen private library sales catalogues in total, two from the seventeenth century and twelve from the eighteenth century, as well as one of special interest from the early nineteenth century. The fact that a catalogue was published in certain cases highlights the importance of a specific book collection in terms of its variety in topic or size. However, in the catalogues, the descriptions of books are usually not accompanied by any details that could draw attention to them in a particular way, nor are they described as rare, except in the case of the five collections from Cádiz catalogued together in 1769. In the rest of the cases, the publications are described briefly, with basic information about the author, title, printer and volumes, without highlighting noteworthy publications, such as the extremely rare Spanish incunabula circulating on the book market of the Enlightenment period. The catalogues were intended for wholesale or retail. Occasionally, it was specified that the collection should be sold as a whole and, if that were not possible, in lots, as in the case of the university professor Miquel Gonser's library.

In the analysed sample, there are collections owned by various senior members of the administration of the Crown and eminent figures from noble families with senior positions in the church, as well as chroniclers, librarians and lawyers. Their profile as scholars and bibliophiles highlights the specialist nature of the collections, in which there is a notable proportion of texts from the humanities fields. Most of the collectors had their libraries at the Court of Madrid, but it is interesting to note the publication of catalogues also in peripheral areas of the kingdom, with libraries being sold in Cervera, Valencia, Toledo and elsewhere.

Appendix: List of Private Library Sales Catalogues (1660–1800)

This short list provides the basic data about the catalogues in chronological order and information regarding the location of copies of the catalogues in at least one heritage library collection. For more detailed information, please consult the *Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español* [Collective Catalogue of Spanish Bibliographic Heritage] at <<http://catalogos.mecc.es/CCPB/ccpbopac/>>.

[1] *Inventario de la Librería del Señor D. Lorenzo Ramirez de Prado Cavallero que fue de la Orden de Santiago de los Consejos de Su Magestad en el Real Supremo de Castilla y de el de Santa Cruzada ...*, Madrid: [s.n.], 1660. 32, 54, 46, 34 ff. 4^o (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2/60387).

[2] *Catalogo general de la librería del excelentissimo señor don Diego de Arce y Reynoso, obispo, Inquisidor General de todos los Reynos, y Señoríos de su Magestad... ordenada y tassada por Claudio Burgea, mercader de libros de la ciudad de Leon de Francia, residente en esta Corte, Madrid: Por Melchor Sanchez, 1666. [2], 54 ff. 2º (Biblioteca Nacional de España, V.E./31-66. Libros sin tasar. Ms. 11615, ff. 119r-174r. Libros tasados).*

[3] *Catalogo de la libreria del señor don Manuel Pantoja, señor de Cabañas de Yepes, y de otros libros de todas facultades, como de Sagrada Escritura, SS.PP. concilios, historia griega, latina, y castellana, de erudicion, y buenas letras, Matrit.: Ex Bibliotheca Francisci Lopez, 1737. 104 p. 8º (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2/60860).*

[4] *Catalogo de los libros que existen venales de la libreria que fue de el ilustrissimo señor don Andrès Gonzalez de Barcia del consejo y camara de su magestad juntamente con los de otras pequeñas librerias de diferentes sugetos que fallecieron en esta corte y fuera de ella se venden en la plazuela de la calle de la Paz, enfrente de la imprenta, quarto segundo, Madrid: [s.n.], 1745. [8], 327, [96] p. 8º (Real Academia Española, RM-4865).*

[5] *Catalogo de los libros contenidos en la Bibliotheca, que fue del difunto Dr. Don Miguel Gonsér, Cancelario de la Universidad de Cervera, que se venderàn publicamente en dicha Ciudad, [s.l.: s.n.], 1747. [2], 71 p. 8º (Universitat de València. Biblioteca Històrica B-02/226-1).*

[6] *Catalogo de los libros que quedan existentes de la Libreria del Sr. Canonigo Lectoral Don Theodoro Thomàs, y se hallan venales en casa de Juan Antonio Mallen, Mercader de Libros, junto à S. Martin, [Valencia: s.n.], 1747. 111, [5], 76 p. 8º (Universitat de València. Biblioteca Històrica B-02/226-3).*

[7] *Catalogus librorum qui majori numero in Bibliotheca Joannis Antonii Baroni Matriti reperiuntur, anno MDCCXLVII. In via Princepis, vulgo calle del Principe, [Madrid: s.n.], 1747. XXXI p. 16 cm. (Real Academia de la Historia. Biblioteca, 4-1-9-1474-3).*

[8] *Catalogo de la libreria, que quedo por muerte del señor don Blàs Antonio Nassarre y Ferriz, bibliothecario mayor, que fue, del rey ...; y se compone de biblias, santos padres, expositivos, theologicos, morales ... y varia erudicion, [Madrid: s.n., s.a.]. XVI, CLXXV p. 8º (Real Academia Española. Biblioteca, RM-242).*

[9] *Catalogo de una libreria, que se vende por menor en la plazuela del Angel, inmediato a la Iglesia de S. Felipe Neri, en la casa que esta antes del passadizo, quarto principal. Año de M.D.CC.LI, [Madrid: s.n., 1751?]. [2], 376 p. 8º (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2/29505).*

[10] *Catálogo de una librería que se vende por menor en la Plazuela de la Paz, frente de la imprenta, quarto baxo, [Madrid: s.n.], 1754. [2], 308, [1] p. 8º (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2/60275).*

[11] *Catalogo de la libreria del señor Conde de la Estrella, de los Consejos de su Magestad de Castilla, Guerra, y Santa Inquisicion, &c. Se vende en la Calle del Arenal, entrando por la Puerta del Sol, a mano izquierda, primera puerta, quarto principal*, [Madrid: s.n., s.a.]. 77 p. 8° (Biblioteca Municipal Serrano Morales, A-22/532).

[12] *Catalogo de libros que se venderàn en Cadiz en los meses de agosto y septiembre de 1769. En la librería de Don Francisco de Rioja, frente de la Iglesia de la Candelaria, à los precios del margen, con prevencion, de que se baxará la decima parte à quien tomase entera alguna de las seis colecciones*, [Cádiz: s.n.], 1769. 31 p. 8° (Fundación Lázaro Galdiano. Biblioteca, M 1-2-30(12)).

[13] *Catalogo de los libros, que se hallan en la Libreria del difunto Arcediano de Daroca Don Isidoro de Isla*, [Zaragoza: s.n., c.1770]. 173, [2] p. 8° (Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2/62808).

[14] *Catalogo de la libreria que fue de el excentissimo señor conde de Palma, arcediano de Toledo*, [S.l.: s.n., s.a.]. 40 p. 8° (Real Academia de la Historia. Biblioteca, 4/1474(7)).

Lists of Private Book Collections in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Royal Prussia, 1680–1830

Michał Bajer

Early modern Polish private book collections have been the object of bibliographic publications and a series of case studies, but, with the exception of printed auction catalogues, no attempt has yet been made to discuss this subject from a general perspective, neither in Poland nor abroad. However, the production of auction catalogues and other printed catalogues represents only a fraction of the great variety of practices related to the listing of books belonging to private proprietors and collectors.¹ Most of the preserved Polish inventories are manuscripts. The majority of them can be found in comprehensive property registers kept by *wójt*s (town officials) and city councils. They generally record small collections of little value that were among other household goods. These lists were often prepared by clerks with no bibliographical expertise. When it comes to studying the contents of early modern Polish private libraries, they should be taken into account along with the manuscript catalogues of large collections.

Adopting this broader perspective moreover invites us to rethink the accepted chronological divisions in the history of Polish culture. In the field of politics, one traditionally distinguishes the periods before and after 1650, the second half of the century being marked by the consequences of the Polish-Swedish Wars. In the following century, the demarcation dates are 1765, year of the enthronement of Stanisław August Poniatowski and the beginning of state reforms, and 1795, which marked the end of the state autonomy of

1 Iwona Imańska, *Per medium auctionis: aukcje książek w Rzeczypospolitej (XVII–XVIII w.)* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2013). The author studies 146 catalogues; Iwona Imańska, 'Kilka uwag i spostrzeżeń o katalogach aukcyjnych jako źródle do badań księgozbiorów prywatnych', *Z badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi*, 9 (2015), pp. 241–254. For further studies, see the bibliography appended to this chapter.

NB: In this chapter, I will use the terms 'catalogue' and 'inventory' as synonyms encompassing all types of booklists. I will give a detailed description of the specific form of individual lists where this will be of particular significance.

the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. After the Napoleonic Wars, the years 1815–1830 correspond to the time of the so-called Kingdom of Poland, which came to an end with the November Uprising, or Polish-Russian war (1830–1831). Inspired by political history, the study of libraries, book circulation and readership traditionally places an emphasis on important dates in the development of royal and aristocratic book collections and the creation of the first libraries for public use: 1747, when the first public library, the Załuski Library, was established; 1782, when the private library of the Jesuit Leopold Jan Szersznik (1747–1814) was opened to the public in Cieszyn, Silesia; and 1817, when the Ossoliński National Institute in Lviv was established.² Another important date is 1773, the year of the dissolution of the Order of Jesuits and the reform of the education system. Adopting a comprehensive approach to the history of booklists describing Polish private book collections allows us to add a third chronology to the two mentioned above. In this context, the key periods are the years 1672–1747 (from the publication of the first printed auction catalogues of private collections in Gdańsk to the establishment of the Załuski Library), then, the years 1748–1830 (from the publication of several catalogues of the Załuski Library to the end of the Polish Enlightenment).³ While on a different scale from that of the patricians of Gdańsk or the Załuski brothers, other Polish book collectors also catalogued their private libraries in the period 1680–1830. The preserved inventories allow us to look in a slightly different way at the intellectual crisis in Poland during the years 1650–1750 and, afterwards, at the Polish Age of Enlightenment. The end of our period of study overlaps not only with the outbreak of the Polish-Russian war, but also coincides with the publication of a large auction catalogue of duplicates from the Princes Czartoryski Library in Puławy in 1829, a collection which was later dispersed as a result of repressions after the aforementioned war.

The primary aim of this chapter is to present an overview of available resources on early modern Polish (private) book collections. A reasoned

2 See Andrzej Meżyński, 'Gentry Libraries in Poland in the 18th and 19th Century. Their Origin and Role in the Development of Culture', *Polish Libraries Today*, 8 (2011), pp. 80–88. See also, in the same issue, Anna Żbikowska-Migoń, 'Polish Libraries in European Bibliological Writings of the 18th Century', pp. 89–98, especially pp. 92–93 on the Załuski library. The most important aristocratic collections are mentioned in the first part of this chapter and in the bibliography.

3 The first auction catalogue of a private Gdańsk collection was printed in 1672 but is now presumed lost. The first preserved catalogue dates from 1678. See Iwona Imańska, 'Najstarszy zachowany gdański katalog sprzedaży prywatnej biblioteki z 1678 roku i jego zawartość', *Toruńskie Studia Bibliologiczne*, vol. 4, 2:7 (2011), pp. 9–10.

bibliography of works relevant to the subject of inventories of private Polish collections from the period 1680–1830 can be found at the end of the chapter.

The first part of the chapter discusses the dominant themes in the research carried out on Polish libraries and their inventories, while the second section seeks to extend the scope of existing research by proposing new methodological approaches. I will specifically focus on minor Enlightenment thinkers' collections, as well as on the questions of multilingualism and the dissemination of foreign literary models. I will also consider the material and textual shape of private library catalogues by studying the rhetoric used in these documents.

Current State of Research: Basic Criteria

The existing analyses of Polish private libraries described in booklists from the early modern period concentrate on some basic criteria: geographical and chronological aspects of collecting practices, social background and gender of the owners of the collections, and the activities of expert staff devoted to organising and preserving the books and other documents.

Geography and Chronology

With regard to geography and chronology, the research done to date has led to the collection of sets of materials relating to important municipal centres or significant cultural hubs in provincial areas at various stages of their historical development. Apart from booklists from Warsaw and Royal Prussia, inventories from Kraków, Lviv, Vilnius, Poznań, Leszno and Lublin have been examined.⁴ Among the main provincial centres are the places of residence of great aristocratic families, for example Nieborów—seat of the Radziwiłł family, and Puławy—seat of the Czartoryski family.⁵ On account of their location in regions marked by the influence of various cultures, linguistic groups and religious confessions, libraries in the eastern borderlands and in Silesia were also extensively examined by researchers.⁶ The case of the above-mentioned

4 See in the bibliography, section 3.2.

5 See in the bibliography, section 3.1.

6 Lilia Kowkiel, *Prywatne księgozbiory na Grodzieńszczyźnie w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2005); Edward Różycki, 'Księgozbiory szlachty na południowo-wschodnich ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Kartki z dziejów', *Z Badań nad polskimi księgozbiorami historycznymi*, 2004, tom specjalny, pp. 53–61; Józef Szocki, *Księgozbiory domowe w Galicji wschodniej (1772–1918)* (Kraków: Wyd. Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2001); Iwona Kulesza-Woroniecka, 'Uwagi o bibliotekach magnackich na Podlasiu w XVIII wieku', *Bibliotekarz Podlaski*, 38:1 (2018), pp. 43–58.

Silesian library of Leopold Jan Szersznik shows the problems encountered by its owner over his repeatedly aborted attempts at compiling a catalogue of his collection.⁷

How representative are the booklists described and made available by existing studies with respect to the totality of the preserved private library inventories? The answer is not very favourable. Many of these materials have been dispersed, while others have yet to be included in library and archive records. With regard to the geographical context, it is worth noting the cases of Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg. In 1466, these German-speaking cities from the region of Royal Prussia were incorporated into the Commonwealth of the Two Nations after the Thirteen Years' War with the Teutonic Order, under the treaty known as the Second Peace of Thorn. Their particular status and history manifested in many ways, and, as we will see, are visible in the composition of the private book collections and corresponding catalogues conceived in these cities. While these territories are not typical of the Commonwealth as a whole, the history of the circulation of books in these regions is among the most thoroughly analysed.⁸

Social Status

Research on private libraries has primarily focused on book ownership in relation to the social background of the collectors. This translates to an emphasis on royal libraries, though significant attention has also been devoted to aristocratic family collections. Libraries from these groups have been described extensively, due to their large number of books and the relatively easy access to related documentation. The most outstanding example is the Załuski Library, which was established by two members of the family and subsequently made available for public use. Between 1747 and 1753 a five-volume catalogue of rare books from the collection was published.⁹ It was supplemented in 1752 by a list of the manuscripts.¹⁰ Between 1761 and 1787, in nine public auctions documented by printed catalogues, duplicate copies from the library were

7 Krzysztof Szelong, 'Proces ewidencji i opracowania bibliotecznych zbiorów ks. Leopolda Jana Szersznika. Zarys historyczny', *Roczniki Biblioteczne*, 49 (2000), pp. 87–134.

8 This is due to the richness and relatively ready availability of documentation, as well as to political factors: after 1945, Polish motifs in the history of western lands were highlighted.

9 Jan Daniel Janocki, *Nachricht von denen in der Hochgräflich-Zalusckischen Bibliothek sich befindenden raren polnischen Büchern* (5 vols., Dresden-Wrocław: George Conrad Walther-Johann Jacob Korn, 1747–1753).

10 Jan Daniel Janocki, *Specimen catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae zalusciae* (Dresden: Typis Harpetrae Viduae, 1752).

sold.¹¹ Another such collection is that of Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, who published a large catalogue thereof in Leipzig in 1755.¹² In this instance, the publication of the catalogue was meant to enhance the owner's prestige in the eyes of members of the European *Respublica litteraria*, but he failed in this attempt, as the catalogue was not considered particularly valuable.¹³ There is also rich documentation on the libraries of the Radziwiłł, Czartoryski and Potocki families (the Wilanów Library), as well as on the Lubomirski library and the libraries of the Zamoyski Family Fee Tail, the Myszkowski Family Fee Tail, and finally Aleksander Chodkiewicz's Library, the Działyński Library and the Raczyński Library, which in the nineteenth century became public libraries. As far as smaller libraries of noble men and women are concerned, those dating from the period after 1795 are particularly well described.¹⁴

Nonetheless, in the research on private book collections, the libraries built up by the lower social classes, particularly townspeople, have also aroused considerable interest. The reading culture in this group was influenced by political factors. For example, in comparison to western European countries, the legal order of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations restricted the rights of townspeople. The history of such bourgeois collections more generally reflects the dynamics of life in individual cities as expressed in their development or decline, their economic crises and political or natural catastrophes. Important determining factors for the structure and content of bourgeois libraries were affluence, the social structure of cities, the political system and, in particular, the level of development of the education system. The most important centres were the university cities of Kraków and Vilnius, as well as cities with other strong academic institutions, such as Gdańsk, Lviv, Poznań and Warsaw. A well-analysed example of a smaller city is Lublin, which flourished in the first half of the seventeenth century and was seriously weakened after 1650 as a result of the Swedish invasions. This evolution is clearly visible in the number of surviving

11 There were four auctions in 1761, and then one each in 1762, 1764, 1765, 1781–1782, and 1787 (Imańska, *Per medium auctionis*, pp. 128–130).

12 Friedrich Siegmund Witzleben, *Bibliotheca Jablonoviana: Accedunt passim scholia quae ingeniorum merita operumque rei librariae praestantiora rarioaque declarant* (4 parts in 2 vols., Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1755).

13 As Brunet put it: "Catalogue peu recommandable en lui-même, mais d'une grande rareté", see Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, t. 3 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1862), p. 475.

14 Józef Szocki, *Domowy świat książek: wybrane księgozbiory polskie w XIX wieku* (Kraków: Wydawn. Naukowe Akademii Pedagogicznej, 2000); Anna Dymmel, "Nabożne, szkolne, światowe". Biblioteczki lubelskich ziemianek w pierwszej połowie XIX wieku, in Agnieszka Chamera-Nowak and Dariusz Jarosz (eds.), *Na co dzień i od święta. Książka w życiu Polaków XIX–XX wieku* (Warsaw: Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2015), pp. 189–208.

booklists documenting bourgeois book collections: 34 book inventories (encompassing 1,230 books) are known from the end of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century, in comparison with only five book inventories (totalling 120 books) from the second half of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ For the years 1700–1740, again only eight bourgeois inventories have been identified, which reflects the prolonged crisis of the municipal culture of this centre, exacerbated by the collapse of the education system.¹⁶ Another city suffering from a crisis in its education system was Poznań. It was home to several institutional libraries (those of the Lubrański Academy, the city council and the Jesuit college), printing houses and a few bookshops. As in Lublin, inventories of small bourgeois collections can be found here only in city council registers, registers of the *wójt*'s office and last will registers.¹⁷ The number of books in these collections varies from one to around 200.¹⁸

According to Iwona Imańska, book auctions were held in the aforementioned cities, although with varying frequency: between 1672 and 1800, 472 auctions are known to have been held in Gdańsk, 69 in Toruń, 41 in Elbląg, 10 in other Prussian cities, 89 in Warsaw, and 9 in Lviv, Leszno, Vilnius, Poznań and Kraków combined. We know about these auctions from mentions in the periodical press or from printed inventories: 115 printed catalogues have been preserved for Gdańsk, 15 for Toruń, 5 for Elbląg, 2 for Malbork, 11 for Warsaw, 2 for Lviv, 2 for Kraków, 1 for Leszno.¹⁹ As this shows, most documents of this kind have survived from Royal Prussia, where the first known book auction on Polish land was held, and where such events were obligatorily accompanied by the publication of printed catalogues.²⁰ This is due to the fact that the whole region was influenced by German traditions regarding book auctioning

For the years 1815–1830, some data about bourgeois book collections has been gathered from newspaper advertisements for public auctions which do not contain detailed collection lists. For example, a study of these advertisements reveals information about the sale of property left by Jan Ebert; in

15 Elżbieta Torój, *Inwentarze księgozbiorów mieszczan lubelskich z lat 1591–1678* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 1997), p. 10.

16 Elżbieta Torój, 'Inwentarze książek mieszczan lubelskich z pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku', *Folia Bibliologica*, 44/45 (1996/1997), p. 8.

17 Maria Nawrocka, 'Księgozbiory mieszczan poznańskich w XVIII w.', *Studia i Materiały do dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza*, 13:2 (1980), p. 94.

18 Nawrocka, 'Księgozbiory mieszczan poznańskich', p. 96.

19 Imańska, *Per medium auctionis*, pp. 90–117, 155–158.

20 Imańska, *Per medium auctionis*, p. 60.

addition to musical instruments and the materials for making them, the advertisement mentions pharmaceutical items and books.²¹ For the first half of the nineteenth century in Lublin, some extensive studies were made by Anna Dymmel (see the bibliography).

Based on the current state of research, we can group the collections that have been considered into three ownership categories. The first of these includes members of the city authorities, mayors and councillors—the patriate. From the perspective of their professions, this social group has a non-homogeneous structure; besides lawyers, we find several representatives of other professions.²² The second group consists of representatives of independent professions, such as doctors or lawyers (some of them with important libraries), and the last group comprises merchants and craftsmen. Apart from the fact that they reflect a certain level of education, it is difficult to identify a clear thematic profile in the last group of collections; they are characterised by their eclecticism. This may be a result of the predominance of catalogues of libraries that had incorporated pre-existing collections acquired by way of inheritance or through marriage.

Women Collectors

An important consideration in the current state of research is the gender of the owners. Among the inventories of both aristocratic and bourgeois libraries, there are many lists describing collections having belonged to women. The case of the Potocki family's library can serve as an example here. Their library was one of the most important collections of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, reaching the height of its magnificence under the care of Stanisław Kostka Potocki at the turn of the nineteenth century. Even at the earliest stages of the development of this collection, we come across traces of female involvement. The library of Eustachy and Maria Potocki (née Kącka) is considered to be the starting point of the collection. An item associated with the latter is a note from 1765 about French books which were offered for purchase for the needs of the aristocrat's personal library.²³ Although we do not have Maria's list of purchases, provenance studies conducted on the Potocki family's books that have survived until today allow us to distinguish

21 Elżbieta Słodkowska, *Biblioteki w Królestwie Polskim 1815–1830* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1996), p. 180.

22 Torój, *Inwentarze księgozbiorów mieszczań lubelskich*, pp. 11–12.

23 Jadwiga Rudnicka, *Biblioteka Wilanowska: dwieście lat jej dziejów (1741–1932)* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1967), p. 26.

the volumes that used to be part of the countess's collection from those belonging to other family members thanks to annotations in her books. This is just one of many examples. Another aristocratic lady who gathered a large collection of books and had it systematically catalogued was Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszkó (1676–1746).²⁴ A different approach was adopted by Izabela Lubomirska, née Czartoryska (1736–1816), who appears to have consciously avoided cataloguing her collection—reputed in particular for its valuable items relating to theatre and music—because she sought to maintain its open and spontaneous character.²⁵ We also have catalogues of the library and natural history collection belonging to Anna Jabłonowska (1728–1800), which was renowned throughout Europe.²⁶ The available literature thus clearly shows that while some women, like Waleria Tarnowska née Stroynowska and Izabela Branicka, helped to establish family libraries or managed them when widowed (also: Radziwiłł from 1719, Lubomirska from 1782, Jabłonowska from 1764), others compiled their own libraries while their husbands were alive (Maria and Izabela Potocki).²⁷ The inventories mentioned, as well as other documents relating to the collections belonging to female aristocrats, furthermore prove that the books gathered by women from this social group reflect conscious collecting choices: the books acquired were in line with the cultural interests of this group as well as with their knowledge of foreign languages.

The status of townswomen's collections is less clear. Many factors seem to indicate that they were the result of rather diverse collecting practices. This applies equally to the preserved separate lists of spouses' books and the numerous inventories of widows' book collections. In the second case, quite unsurprisingly, we come across a large number of publications connected with the former husband's profession. This is for example the case for the oldest preserved inventory of a Warsaw bourgeois book collection from a clerical environment: that of the library of Agnieszka, wife of the royal clerk Wojciech Józef Jan Domański (1769).²⁸ Slightly different, and problematic in some respects, is the

24 Wanda Karkucińska, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa (1676–1746): działalność gospodarcza i mecenas* (Warsaw: Semper, 2000), pp. 94–100.

25 Maria Nitkiewicz, *Biblioteka i życie kulturalne łańcuckiej rezydencji* (Łańcut: Muzeum-Zamek w Łańcucie, 1986), p. 31.

26 Iwona Arabas, 'Losy kolekcji księżnej Anny Jabłonowskiej na podstawie dokumentów z archiwum Rosyjskiej Akademii Nauk w St. Petersburgu', *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki*, 54:2 (2009), pp. 95–108.

27 Maria Krajewska, 'Biblioteka Izabeli i Jana Klemensa Branickich w Białymstoku', *Studia Teologiczne*, 7 (1989), pp. 201–224.

28 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie / The Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD), St. Warszawa, 234, pp. 66–67.

situation concerning one of the larger collections belonging to a woman from the Warsaw bourgeoisie: Anna Botemanowa's library. This is a French-language collection of 55 works in 80 volumes belonging to a female haberdashery trader, catalogued in 1784. Literary historian Jadwiga Rudnicka considered this library as a reflection of the owner's Enlightenment aspirations, but this idea might be tributary to stereotypes prevailing in post-war studies on the Polish Enlightenment that tend to perceive this era from the perspective of the emancipation of the bourgeois class.²⁹ Indeed, the eclecticism of the trader's collection appears to contradict this interpretation. Apart from Voltaire's works and Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, we do find other texts associated with the Enlightenment (for example Fontenelle's works and many geographical & and political publications), but there are also many books that are isolated representatives of particular branches of knowledge, such as a single *polonicum*, the *Histoire de Jean Sobieski*, or two botanical books, including a treatise on poisons (*Dictionnaire botanique* and *Traité de la douce-amère*). It also contains a few of the novels we find in numerous collections from this period (particularly in those belonging to women). In the context of all these factors, attempting to set Botemanowa's book collection apart from other female bourgeois collections seems questionable. It is also possible that the books were acquired as payment for purchased goods.

Specialised Librarians, Publishers and Collectors

The social status of collection owners is linked with the knowledge we have of the authors and publishers of the inventories. With regard to royal and aristocratic libraries, we have at our disposal rich data concerning the authors of the catalogues. For example, archival materials are available for the period during which Józef Duhamel (1737–1796) and Marek Ludwik Reverdil (1734–1790) were active as librarians of Stanisław August. Other prominent and well-studied figures are Jan Daniel Janocki (1720–1786), the librarian of the Załuski family, and librarian Friedrich Siegmund Witzleben, compiler of the Jabłonowski catalogue. The creation of the catalogue of Ignacy Potocki's library is also a well-documented process, thanks to the preservation of the owner's correspondence with its author, Jan Smogorzewski. Smogorzewski was a colourful personality, who loved to gamble and accumulated many debts. His letters to his protector contain enough material to write a psychological and social study of the life of this eighteenth-century librarian, showing his numerous existential

29 Jadwiga Rudnicka, 'Biblioteki mieszczan warszawskich za Stanisława Augusta', *Warszawa XVIII wieku*, 16 (1973), pp. 137–138.

entanglements. Scholars researching aristocratic libraries draw attention to the multi-tasking of court officials. For example, the professional soldier Africanus Honorius de Goffaux worked since 1721 as an archivist on the estate of Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł.³⁰ The founder of the Ossoliński National Institute in Lviv, Józef Maksymilian Ossoliński (1748–1826), was also prefect of the imperial court library in Vienna (from 1809). In later years Łukasz Gołębiowski (1773–1849), Jan Karol (1793–1860) and Jan Leon Sienkiewicz (1796–1857) excelled as compilers of catalogues of large collections. Around 1820, Jan Leon Sienkiewicz made a catalogue (in Polish) entitled: *Works of Polish Writers and Books about Poland, not mentioned in Bentkowski's "History of Polish Literature" and absent from the Czartoryski Library in Puławy, copied from the catalogue of the Ossolinski Library in Vienna*.³¹ This is an intertextual catalogue that lists and compares data from three sources: the catalogues of the private libraries of Ossoliński in Vienna and Czartoryski in Puławy as well as a work of literary history published in 1814 by Feliks Jan Bentkowski. This catalogue combines two aims. On the one hand, it means to inform the Czartoryski family on works missing from their library, and on the other hand, it feeds into broader research in the field of national bibliography. This is in line with the trends of the time, when the fascination with the national past played an increasingly important role.

With regard to auction catalogues, we have documentation on their publishers that shows, among other things, that in Gdańsk and Toruń, the preparation of the catalogues was handled by local publishing companies that specialised in this kind of activity. Interfoliated catalogues with information about prices and the buyer's names allow us to conduct research on the history of the book market in these cities.³²

In line with the growing awareness of the cultural and historical importance of older books came the increasing popularity of bibliophilia. After 1815, collections belonging to bibliophiles include those built up by Jan Tarnowski, Jan Chyliczkowski, Konstanty Świdziński and Tytus Działyński. It should be pointed out, however, that interest in rare books began in Poland at an earlier time: publications of this type were already collected by Marcin Załuski

30 Wanda Karkucińska, 'Biblioteka i archiwum Radziwiłłów w Białej Podlaskiej', *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiorami historycznymi*, 16 (1995), p. 59; Rafał Jankowski, 'Archiwum Radziwiłłów w Białej ok 1736 roku', *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, 23 (2016), p. 211.

31 Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich /The Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków, sygn. 3997 II.

32 The oldest interfoliated catalogues are those from Toruń (*Catalogus librorum, varii generis* ... (Toruń: J. Nicolai, [1722]) MS KK, Ms. A.54/6 adl. 34; *Catalogus librorum varii generis* ... (Toruń: J. Nicolai, [1728]) MS KK, Ms. A.54/5 adl. 33) and Gdańsk (*Catalogus bibliothecae b. dni. Friderici Fabricii* ... (Gdańsk: T.J. Schreiber, 1727) MS PAN Gdańsk, Akc. nr 5000).

(1698–1767), brother of Andrzej Stanisław and Józef Andrzej Załuski, and also by members of the Lubomirski family. The phenomenon of bibliophilia thus appeared in Poland well before the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it was indeed only after 1800 that it gained momentum, propelled by the development of national history writing in several European countries.

New Insights

In order to broaden the scope of existing research on early modern Polish private libraries as it is summarised above, I propose in this section new—complementary—approaches for the study of the collected material.

Minor Intellectual Figures of the Enlightenment

The development of schooling as it was initiated in the 1740s affected mainly the wealthy bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. The latter group in particular played an important role in propagating Enlightenment ideas, and the libraries assembled by its representatives (discussed in the previous section) offer us insight into the cultural resources possessed by the elite of the period. In this context, it would be interesting to also study the book collections of less prominent individuals from outside the aristocracy and the wealthiest nobility, who actively participated in the intellectual life of the eighteenth century.

The information related to this group is valuable because—together with the libraries of educated townspeople—it can serve for the history of what was to become known, from the nineteenth century onwards, as the intelligentsia. The issue of the intellectual background of this social group is particularly important because in the subsequent period, along with the development of public institutions and the periodical press, its members played a significant role in Polish society, especially with regard to the documentation of the culture of Poland in times of partitions. The libraries of this group show the interests of educated non-aristocrats, who partly belonged to the generation of Marat, Desmoulins and Robespierre. Here we come across the particularity of the Polish context: while the analogous group in England already had a wide scope of freedom and many occasions for public speeches or—in France—fought for this right, its position in Poland was relatively weak. Many publications have been devoted to the book collections of later representatives of this group who died during the nineteenth century.³³

33 Olena Błażejewicz, 'W kręgu Biblioteki Załuskich. Bibliofilstwo Kazimierza Chroмиńskiego', *Z badań nad polskimi księgozbiarami historycznymi*, z. 2 (1976), pp. 77–109; Ryszard

Less research has been conducted into minor intellectual figures of the Enlightenment who were active no later than 1795. Some information is provided by studies of aristocratic and institutional libraries, since they tended to absorb smaller collections of documents and sometimes retained information about their origin, including inventories, that is exhaustive enough to reconstruct the structure of these collections. This helps us gather information about book collections of the persons who were wealthy enough to compile their own book collections and yet whose insufficiently significant status meant that, in order to act in public, they required protection from other wealthier figures or institutions. A number of inventories kept in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków document such cases.³⁴ There we can find lists of books belonging to teachers, writers and historians. Notable among them is the early inventory (1785) of a collection belonging to the landowner, lawyer and historian Mateusz Tukalski Nielubowicz.³⁵ The Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków holds such comparable inventories as those of Franciszek Minocki (1731–1784), Andrzej Dominik Lipiewicz (1724–1778) and Józef Bogucicki (1758–1798). Minocki, of plebeian origins, was a professor of law at Kraków University, and the author of treatises in areas such as family law.³⁶ Lipiewicz, another lawyer, also worked as a surveyor, as well as a teacher of mathematics and poetics at the Lubrański Academy in Poznań. Bogucicki, the son of a Jewish neophyte and tavern leaseholder, was a preacher, theologian and church historian.³⁷ The nineteenth-century historian Bandkie relates that Bogucicki was regarded as an innovator, which triggered conflicts that affected his life: the manuscript of his *Historia kościoła* [History of the Church] was apparently burned following accusations of heresy.³⁸ According

Kotewicz (ed.) *Księgozbiór Tomasza Maruszewskiego, członka Kuźnicy Kollatajowskiej* (Piotrków Trybunalski: Archiwum Państwowe, 1991).

- 34 D. Otwinowska, 'Inwentarze i katalogi biblioteczne w zbiorach rękopiśmiennych Biblioteki xx. Czartoryskich w Krakowie', *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, 45 (2003), p. 434.
- 35 *Catalogus librorum polonorum, gallicorum, latinorumque Mathei Nielubowicz conscriptus anno domini 1785 in augusto* (Kraków, Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich / The Princes Czartoryski Library (Czartoryski), manuscript 1065 IV).
- 36 Krzysztof Fokt, 'Minocki Franciszek Józef (ur. 1731 r., zm. 6 XI 1784 r.)', in W. Uruszczak (ed.), *Profesorowie Wydziału Prawa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*, t. 1: 1364–1780 (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2015), pp. 312–314.
- 37 'Józef Kanty Bogucicki', in M. Nowodworski (ed.), *Encyklopedia Kościelna*, t. 2 (Warsaw: Czerwiński i Spółka, 1873), p. 440.
- 38 Jerzy Samuel Bandkie, *Historia Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego w Krakowie* (Kraków: A. Grabowski, 1821), p. 150.

to an entry in his will, he had compiled the library himself, purchasing books from various countries.³⁹ Painstaking analysis of these inventories, besides showing their owners' intellectual resources, may provide information useful to research into social mobility in Poland during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Multilingualism and the Transfer of Literary Models

The inventories of private book collections of all social groups reflect the multiethnicity and multilingualism of the population of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This can be seen in all regions, although Royal Prussia remains a special case due to its links with German culture and language. Based on the example of inventories from this region, we can observe a growing interest in books in vernacular languages. In the oldest preserved Gdańsk booklists, there are almost no mentions of books in languages other than Latin. We cannot rule out the possibility that books in vernacular languages were already being collected by Gdańsk patricians, but that, for reasons yet unknown, they were not included in the inventories.⁴⁰

Booksellers' catalogues show that by the end of the seventeenth century a large array of books in different languages were available in bookshops in large cities such as Gdańsk. Several of those bookshops were run by members of prominent western European publishing houses, such as the Dutch Janssonius van Waesberghe family. The offer of the latter is an early example of catalogues in which multilingualism plays a great role.⁴¹ Multilingualism also manifests itself strongly in the list of books sold by the Toruń bookseller Jan Fryderyk Hauenstein.⁴² Alongside publications in Latin, it mentions numerous Polish titles, and the list concludes with the category *Libri Gallici et Italici in folio, quarto, octavo et duodecimo*, which specifies the details of 53 items published between 1535 and 1700, with a predominance of seventeenth-century editions.⁴³ The culmination of this phenomenon of increasing interest for books in the vernacular seems to be the stock catalogue of bookseller

39 Bandkie, *Historia*, pp. 153–154.

40 The focus on Latin works is shown by the title of one of the oldest inventories: *Catalogus librorum non vulgarium, viri pl. reverendi et clarissimi Dni. Friderici Heinii* (Gdańsk: Reiningeri, 1680), BN, XVII.3.4031.

41 *Catalogi variorum in quavis facultate, materia et lingua librorum, Officinae Aegidii Janssonii à Waesberge* (Gdańsk: D. Fr. Rhetii, 1680), BUW, 28.20.3.2413.

42 *Catalogus librorum ... Joh. Fridericus Hauenstein* (Toruń: Chalcographeo Thorinuensi, 1701), BN, XVII.1.3802.

43 *Catalogus librorum ... Joh. Fridericus Hauenstein*, pp. 71–73.

Cornelius à Beughem, prepared in 1731, which proposes a systematic choice of classic French works in new editions.⁴⁴ From that point on, Gdańsk book circulation fully fits the trend of the development of the 'French-speaking World', as Marc Fumaroli called it.⁴⁵ The bookseller's offer shows the broader context in which private collections were built.

In the catalogues of private libraries which were printed in Gdańsk, books are usually described in their original language. This is not the case with booklists drawn up as part of a probate inventory, notorious for the many forms they took, and in which titles were sometimes recorded in a translated form. Moreover, we do not know if the townspeople who owned books in foreign languages could actually read them. The situation appears to be different for the aristocracy, where the consciously built collections constitute signs of an authentic interest in foreign literature and allow us to identify its role in building the intellectual culture of the collectors, whose multilingualism is known from other sources—one of them being booksellers' catalogues. Just like à Beughem's catalogue in Gdańsk (1731), the Warsaw booksellers' catalogue of Maurycy Jerzy Weidmann, prepared in 1730, is an indicator of a real increase in interest in French literature.⁴⁶ Inhabitants of both Warsaw and Royal Prussia definitely read French at this time.

Collections belonging to foreigners living in Poland should, of course, be considered separately; studying them could help to better grasp the particularities of the collections of both autochthons and migrants. A relatively early example is the library of Hieronim Pinocchi, a Kraków patrician of Italian descent, whose collection is known through a booklist prepared in 1704. Although the patriarch of the Pinocchi family spoke fluent Polish, his book collection is dominated by literature in Latin and Italian; publications in Polish account for only five percent, and the lack of a broad choice of French books is also striking compared with the reading habits of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century book owners of Polish descent.⁴⁷ The contents

44 *Catalogus generalis bibliopoli Beughemiani ...* (Gdańsk: Schreberiano, 1731), BN, XVIII.1.3864.

45 Marc Fumaroli, *Quand l'Europe parlait français* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 2003).

46 *Catalogue des livres françois et italiens qui se trouvent à Varsovie chez M.G. Weidmann ...* (Warsaw: [s.n.], 1730), BJ, 586635.1.

47 Mieczysław Brehmer, 'O bibliotece Pinoccich', in Kazimierz Budzyk and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (eds.), *Studia nad książką poświęcone pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego* (Wrocław: ZNiO, 1951), p. 262. For an overview of the collection, see also <<http://whk.up.krakow.pl/biblioteki/bib17/bibpinoc.html>>.

of the libraries of Gilbert Dupui, an Englishman living in Warsaw, and Maciej Szutowski, a Gdańsk confectioner and moneylender, have also been documented.⁴⁸ For the period after 1815, mentions of sales of foreign-language book collections can be found in the Warsaw newspaper: in 1824 it advertised 50 items in Hebrew belonging to an unknown owner, and in 1827 advertised the sale of books owned by Naftal Izrael and Rejzla Hirschsohn, as well as those left by the Austrian consul Du Chet and by Elżbieta de la Motté-Matuszewska (in German and French).⁴⁹

The sources I consulted reveal several private book collections where the presence of foreign language books is the result of a deliberate pursuit of the owners' intellectual interests. Post-war publications with their emphasis on national traditions pointed to the presence of books in Polish as well as Latin books concerning Poland, especially in early modern Gdańsk and Toruń book collections.⁵⁰ Elżbieta Torój, to name but one example, has identified a small collection of Polish historical texts kept by one of the Lublin city councillors.⁵¹ Another twentieth century study revealed the presence of orientalist collections, partly reconstructing their complicated history.⁵² With regard to the broad tradition of Romance language literature, the details of which have been examined less thoroughly, we should mention the auction of the book collection of patrician Georg Schroeder (1635–1703), a consul and prefect from Gdańsk.⁵³ The collection was brought onto the market in two parts, with the second part containing many literary works in French and Italian. Particularly worthy of attention is the presence of dramatic literature in this collection, which is relatively rare in the collections of other Gdańsk townspeople. In Schroeder's collection, for example, there are two copies of *Le Cid* by Pierre Corneille (editions dating from 1640 and 1651), as well as the first volume of the author's *Œuvres* and some plays by his brother Thomas. Apart from these, the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Schroederiana* also contains many Italian plays:

48 Rudnicka, 'Biblioteki mieszczan warszawskich', p. 142.

49 Słodkowska, *Biblioteki w Królestwie Polskim*, p. 180.

50 Jadwiga Rudnicka, *Bibliografia katalogów księgarskich wydanych w Polsce do końca wieku XVIII* (Warsaw: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1975).

51 Torój, *Inwentarze księgozbiorów mieszczan lubelskich*, p. 14.

52 J. Reychman, 'Zbiory orientaliów w Polsce XVIII w.', in Kazimierz Budzyk and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa (eds.), *Studia nad książką poświęcone pamięci Kazimierza Piekarskiego* (Wrocław: ZNiO, 1951), pp. 283–294.

53 *Bibliothecae Schroederianae ... pars posterior quam per auctionem publicam ...* (Gdańsk: I. Muller [1719]), BN, XVIII.2.4638 adl.

not only *Il Pastor fido*, which circulated very widely at the time, but also works by Bernardino Pino (*I falsi sospetti*) and Salvadori (*La regina Sant'Orsola*). Since most of the editions recorded in the catalogues were published in the years 1600–1660, we can assume that they were acquired in the owner's youth, while travelling in France.⁵⁴

While previous research into book collections has usually noted the presence of foreign-language items, it has only provided—with the exception of works reprinting whole inventories—selective information. This would benefit from being supplemented by statistical research covering larger sets of catalogues. In relation to French-language books, increasingly numerous during the eighteenth century, another essential criterion for future research is to establish the proportions between editions published in France and those printed elsewhere (especially in the Netherlands). This would enable us to formulate hypotheses concerning the pathways by which foreign-language books travelled to Poland.

A third aspect that could be explored more systematically when studying early modern private libraries in Poland is the circulation of various literary models and their impact on local literature. The Toruń catalogue of Hauenstein's bookshop contains a *Libri Miscellanei* category, in which one finds translations of ancient and modern literature into Polish, sometimes bearing the translators' names (e.g. Waclaw Potocki, Jan Alan Bardziński). One example is the Polish translation of *Il Pastor fido*, published in Toruń at the end of the seventeenth century. Inventories allow us to capture the correlation between the high degree of dissemination of the originals and the occurrence of translations. Three of the most frequently listed dramatists—Giovanni Battista Guarini, Molière and Pierre Corneille—are also authors whose work was read in languages other than the original, most notably in Polish and German:⁵⁵

54 *Katalog der Dantzigger Stadtbibliothek, Band 1, Theil 1: Die Danzig betreffenden Handschriften* (Gdańsk: A. Schroth, 1892), p. 618.

55 The numbers were established by scanning 80 auction and bookshop catalogues from Gdańsk and Toruń published between 1680 and 1730. These dates correspond to a key period in the formation of readers' habits through contact with foreign literature, before the advent of the Enlightenment itself. All catalogues are listed in Rudnicka, *Bibliografia katalogów księgarskich*, pp. 35–291, and Imańska, *Per medium auctionis*, pp. 385–408; 'Zestawienie katalogów aukcyjnych' [list of auction catalogues].

TABLE 12.1 Presence of Molière, Guarini and Corneille in auction and library catalogues from Royal Prussia (1680–1732)

Author	Molière			Guarini			Corneille			
	Type of booklist	Private collection	Library	Anonymous owner	Private collection	Library	Anonymous owner	Private collection	Library	Anonymous owner
Texts in original language	Number of editions/number of volumes (if indicated)	11/16	2	9/11	13	1	6	12/15	1	3/7
	Date of first occurrence	1716	1731	1715	1682	1732	1715	1715	1731	1720
Translations	Number of editions/number of volumes (if indicated)	6/18	–	3	11	2	–	–	1	–
	Date of first occurrence	1715	–	1715	1715	1723	–	–	1701	–

Three conclusions can be drawn from this. Firstly, while there is no one pattern for the diffusion of the three popular foreign authors, the status of Molière is interesting: the youngest poet in this group is also one of the most translated and his work is read in German (6 occurrences) and Italian translations (1 occurrence). Secondly—as would be the case later in the European Enlightenment—French is already becoming the language of access to non-French-language foreign literature (we found 4 French translations of *Pastor fido*, including two bilingual French-Italian editions). Thirdly, we can distinguish two attitudes toward foreign texts in original and translation. There are collectors who seem interested mostly in the original works:

TABLE 12.2 Occurrence of original-language versions and translations of Molière, Guarini and Corneille in the catalogues of Schroeder and Fabricius

	Author	Number of original editions	Number of translations
G. Schroeder (<i>Bibliotheca Schroederiana</i> [...] <i>pars posterior</i> , Gdańsk 1719, BN XVIII.2.4638 adl)	Molière	–	–
	Guarini	3	–
	Corneille	5	–
Fridericus Fabricius (<i>Catalogus bibliothecae</i> [...] <i>F. Fabricii</i> , Gdansk 1727, PAN Gdańsk Akc. nr 5000)	Molière	3/7	–
	Guarini	1	1
	Corneille	3/5	–

In other collections, the same texts are present both in the original language and in translation:

TABLE 12.3 Occurrence of original-language versions and translations of Guarini and Molière in the catalogues of Verch and Colwe

	Author	Original editions	Editions of translations
Samuel Verch, <i>Bibliothecae Verchianae</i> ... pars posterior (Gdańsk 1716) BN XVIII.2.4640; PAN Gdańsk, Od 19973 8°, adl. 2	Molière	<i>L'école des femmes</i> (Amsterdam 1684); <i>Les oeuvres</i> , t. 2, 4, 5 (Amsterdam 1691)	<i>Opere di Molliere divisées</i> <i>en quatre volumes</i> (Leipzig 1698)
Ernest Colwe, <i>Catalogus librorum</i> [...], Gdańsk 1720, PAN Gdańsk, Od 19973 8°, adl. 3	Molière	<i>Les fourberies de Scapin</i> (Paris 1671); <i>Le bourgeois</i> <i>gentillhomme</i> (Paris s.d.)	<i>Comoedien</i> , (Nurnberg 1698); <i>Le opere</i> <i>tradotte da Nicol di Castelli</i> , t. 1–4 (Leipzig 1698)
	Guarini	<i>Il pastor fido</i> (Amsterdam 1662)	<i>Pastor fido polnische</i> (Toruń 1694); <i>Il pastor fido</i> , <i>Le berger fidèle</i> (Paris 1661)

In general, consideration of foreign publications allows us to distinguish two basic categories: books read solely in translation and books read both in translation and in the original. The former category comprises both texts of a functional character, acquired solely on account of their informational value, and texts read purely for amusement (such as novels). The latter, smaller, category consists of the most valued literary works, the translations of which could be read in combination with the originals (these include, for example, French authors from the time of Louis XIV). In this case, reading the translation and the original in parallel served either to form an aesthetic judgment or to learn a foreign language. The differentiation of two categories of translated books suggests the existence of two distinct practices in the use of foreign print. With regard to texts read both in the original and in translation, it is interesting to note that the collections in which we find these books also include publications devoted to language tuition.

This last observation can explain the popularity of Molière's plays both in the original and in translation. There is a correspondence between the literary genre of comedy and the pragmatic and didactic purposes attached to the

reading of foreign writers in the first phase of European Enlightenment. The style of comedy, closer to speech in everyday life is the most adequate object of study for anyone wanting to refine their language mastery in French. This allows us, among other things, to formulate hypotheses regarding language-learning strategies in Poland during the Enlightenment.

The Material Form and Organisation of Book Lists

The collected documentation also enables a reflection on the textual and typographic form of private library inventories. The distribution of books within the lists reveals the evolution in thought about methods for the systematic description of book collections in Poland during this period. At the same time, it illustrates the metamorphosis of inventories perceived as artefacts of calligraphy and printing.

The manuscript inventories in comprehensive property registers are often characterised by fragmentary description, resulting either from a lack of care or insufficient competence, which led to the deformation of titles and names of authors, consequently making it difficult (and sometimes impossible) to specify the contents of the collection.⁵⁶ However, this is not always the case. The types of binding are often described carefully, with particular mention of half-bindings, French bindings and grey parchment bindings, an attention which suggests that there was special interest in the material form of a book perceived as a kind of investment.⁵⁷

Manuscript inventories listing the contents of collections of Gdańsk townspeople occur in two forms. The first source is the inventory of the library of the city council, containing information about the way in which its collections were enriched and descriptions of its contents (not only books). This monumental *Index Librorum* was kept with varying frequency and scrupulousness between 1597 and 1782. Alongside books acquired at auctions, it records books that were donated to the library by private collectors.⁵⁸ Some inventories of Gdańsk private collections have survived as separate manuscripts, which represent the second form which such documentation takes.⁵⁹ Across Poland, numerous manuscript lists are devoid of any perceptible order or are based on a classification according to format, however, while rare, longer inventories are based on a more sophisticated arrangement, for example according to subject.

56 Nawrocka, 'Księgozbiory mieszczan poznańskich', p. 94.

57 See for example MS AGAD, Stara Warszawa, 327, p. 457, and MS AGAD, Stara Warszawa, 324, p. 66.

58 Lidia Pszczółkowska, "Index Librorum" i rękopiśmienne inwentarze bibliotek prywatnych w zbiorach Biblioteki Gdańskiej PAN', *Rocznik Gdański*, 67/68 (2007/2008), p. 42.

59 Pszczółkowska, 'Index Librorum', pp. 46–55.

The aforementioned list of books of the Pinocchi family from 1704 is one example of this approach.

In terms of printed documentation, the auction catalogues prepared in Royal Prussia (the oldest surviving sale catalogues from Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg date from the period 1670–1680) can be distinguished from those published in other parts of the Commonwealth (eighteenth- and nineteenth-century catalogues from Warsaw, Lviv, Poznań and Leszno). The corpus of printed catalogues shows how various methods of organising book collections have been used over time. The evolution of the classification systems in those catalogues seems to reflect a more general development in the organisation of auction catalogues printed in Europe. The first period (1670–1730) is characterised by the prevalence of inventories that use three criteria separately or jointly: format, subject-matter and alphabetical order. The first or last part of an inventory is often the *materia cruda* list, or *Appendix*, sometimes presenting the titles that come from other, smaller collections. An example of an early thematically ordered catalogue is the list of books belonging to the Gdańsk patrician Reinhold Curicke (after 1667).⁶⁰ It contains the following categories: *Libri Theologici, Juridici, Historici, Politici, Medici et Physici, Philologici et Philosophici, Poetae*. At the end is a list of items under the heading *Sequuntur libri nondum compacti* [Unbound books follow]. What strikes us in lists dating back to that era is the contrast between, on the one hand, the attempt to describe books precisely and, on the other, the inconsistency of description.

In addition to ordinary manuscript inventories in comprehensive property registers and printed auction catalogues, a further type of source worth mentioning is that of the manuscript inventories of the largest collections owned by townsfolk and aristocrats. They were often prepared with a great deal of expertise and combine several description criteria, notably: language, subject and place of storage. An early example of such an inventory is the booklist of Walerian Alembek, a physician and scholar from Lviv, prepared after his death in 1680. This collection of 1,330 titles in 1,413 volumes is divided into five thematic groups with an indication of their place of storage: *libri medici* (11 bookcases); *libri theologorum et iurisperorum* (8 bookcases); *libri historicorum* (10 bookcases); *libri astronomorum* (6 bookcases); and *scholastici* (10 bookcases).⁶¹ Far more complex is the organisation of Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł's library,

60 *Catalogus selectissimorum rarissimorum[ue] librorum instructissimae bibliothecae ... Reinholdi Curicke* (Gdańsk: s.n., [after 1667]), BN, XVII.3.4032. Within the thematic categories, the books are ordered by format.

61 Edward Różycki, *Alembekowie i ich księgozbiory* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo UŚ, 2001), pp. 81–82.

studied by Wanda Karkucińska. That collection was divided into a French library, a Latin library (called the “grand library”) and a reference or personal library. The heading given to the inventory of the French library, produced in 1720, reads as follows: “Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de son Altesse Sme Madame la Princesse de Radziwiłł. Enregistrez selon l'ordre des tablettes des armoires” [Catalogue of books in the library of her Highness the princess of Radziwiłł. Recorded according to the order of the shelves in the cabinets].⁶² This collection was then further divided into:

- 1) sacred books; 2) devotional works in Polish; 3) travel; 4) books on diverse subjects; 5) letters; 6) books on geography, painting, fortification, architecture, perspective, views, engravings of drawings, palaces, garden plans, with the large folio dictionaries.⁶³

Letters were placed after each category description to indicate where particular books were kept in the various rooms.

The organisation of booklists continued to evolve in Poland, as is seen—towards the end of the period studied in this chapter—in the large inventory of duplicates from the Princes Czartoryski Library in Puławy (1829), which was prepared for sale by auction. The order adopted here is an original concept of the author of the volume, Jan Karol Sienkiewicz. Described in detail in the preface, it corresponds to the manner in which he believed volumes should, ideally, be arranged in a library. The combination of clarity and abstraction in this classification seems to be inspired by the general division of the branches of knowledge in the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and D'Alembert, but, at the same time, Sienkiewicz's arrangement is highly original.⁶⁴ To wit, Sienkiewicz's ideal system can be outlined as follows:

1. Encyclopaedias
 1. Bibliography, overview and history of science
 2. Works combining various branches (miscellanies, collected works of one writer, letters, reading primers, diaries, etc.)

62 Karkucińska, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa*, p. 94–95.

63 “1) livres sacrés ...; 2) livres de dévotion en langue polonoise; 3) les voyages; 4) livres sur toute sorte de sujets; 5) Les lettres ...; 6) Livres de géographie, de peinture, de fortification, d'architecture, de perspectives, de vues, d'estampes de desseins, de palais, de plans de jardins avec les grands dictionnaires in folio.” Karkucińska, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa*, p. 94.

64 ‘Explication détaillée du système des connaissances humaines’, in Denis Diderot and D'Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, t. 1 (Paris: Briasson, David l'aîné, Le Breton, Durand, 1751), pp. XLVII–LII.

- II. Mental skills
 - 1. Theology (canon law, history of the Church)
 - 2. Philosophy (pedagogy)
 - 3. Law and history (politics, civil law, law of nations, political history)
 - 4. Literature (philology, aesthetics, fiction)
- III. Sensory skills
 - 1. Cognition (mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics, astronomy, natural history, medicine)
 - 2. Industrial arts, military art
 - 3. Fine arts (painting, architecture, music)⁶⁵

In the future, further research may lead to a more detailed description of the evolution of the forms and organisational criteria of inventories of private collections in Poland.

The Close Reading of Paratexts

In general, the paratextual elements in printed catalogues document the strategies for advertising both the book collection and the people engaged in its creation, storage and dispersal. Prefaces are present in quite a large number of Polish auction catalogues. They were first described by Jadwiga Rudnicka, then by Iwona Imańska, who were mainly interested in the practical aspects of organising an auction; issues connected with building the public image of the book owners, the sellers and purchasers were ignored. This perspective is important, however, because it allows us to perceive inventories not only as the presentation of an offer, but also as a rhetorical structure that fulfils certain cultural functions.

We can observe a certain evolution in terms of the literary complexity of paratexts in sales catalogues. The relatively abundant prefaces in the first Gdańsk inventories place an emphasis on organisational issues. This seems to indicate that their publishers wanted to promote the very idea of a public book auction—still quite a new practice—and to teach buyers the correct manner of engaging with these events. Over time, paratexts were enriched with additional types of information. In the catalogue issued at the occasion of the auction of the book collection of Paul Pater from Gdańsk (1725), we find an addendum containing a list of early printed books accompanied by a brief description of their contents.⁶⁶ It combines the criteria of information

65 Jan Karol Sienkiewicz, *Katalog duplikat Biblioteki Puławskiej ...* (Puławy: Drukarnia Biblioteczna, 1829), pp. XII–XVII.

66 *Catalogus librorum varii generis b. Pauli Patris ... Professoris Publici Optime meriti ...* (Gdańsk: B. Pauli Patris, [1725]), BN, XVIII.1.386i.

and recommendation; in order to draw attention to rare books, the catalogue compiler presents the latter as publications in the style of some well-known famous work.⁶⁷ The decision to describe titles defining a collection put up for sale as “rare goods” can also be regarded as a significant paratextual signal, indicating the development of different types of bibliophilic interest. However, as Iwona Imańska notes, we do not often find this kind of indication on the title pages of Polish auction catalogues.⁶⁸

An example of a more complex rhetorical strategy reflected in the paratext of a printed book list is the preface to the catalogue of Samuel Schelwig’s books that were put up for sale in 1716.⁶⁹ It starts with the following reflection:

With regard to the libraries gathered by famous men, noted for their merits, one can use the words of Saint Paul: Πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον [Prós tó symféron]—“For the common good”. It happens, in fact, that the books they collected during their life, at great expense and with a proportionate zeal for study, are sold publicly. And thus, thanks to the auction, the books which, during their lifetime, brought joy only to themselves, become common property after their death.⁷⁰

The text goes on to highlight the parts of the collector’s biography that, along with the information from the title page, form a customary commemoration

67 For example, a work by Polish poet and historian Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700), the *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislai IV Climacteres* (Kraków: Schedel, 1683), is compared to Gabriel Bartholomé Gramond’s *Historiarum Galliae ab excessu Henrici IV. Libri XVIII* (Amsterdam: Elzevier, 1653).

68 This occurred only three times in the seventeenth century and another three times in the eighteenth century, see: Iwona Imańska, ‘Gdańska aukcja bibliofiliska z 1748 roku’, *Roczniki biblioteczne*, 49 (2005), pp. 183–184. This does not mean, however, that there was no interest in rare books in Gdańsk, since—as Imańska writes—bibliophilic auctions attracted considerable interest.

69 *Bibliotheca Schelwigiana sive catalogus librorum ad sacram juxta ac profanam eruditionem spectantium quos singulari studio, cum viveret collegit ac legit vir summe reverendus ac excellentissimus Samuel Schelwigius S[anctae] Theol[ogiae] doctor et professor celeberrimus, Athenaei Gedanensis rector et Collegii Professorii senior* (Gdańsk: I. Mulleri, [1716]), BN, XVIII 2.4651.

70 “Optima bibliothecarum a viris nominis ac meritorum celebritate claris, collectarum inscriptio est illud Paulinum: Πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον [prós tó symféron]—*Ad publicum usum*. Ut plurimum enim fit, ut, quos dum viverent, magno studio et non minori sum[p]tu collegerant et comportaverant, libri, post obitum illorum publice distrahantur et quod delictum illorum, dum in vivis erant, fuerat unicum, plus licitantibus fiat post mortem commune.” ‘Ad lectorem Benevolum’ in *Bibliotheca Schelwigiana*, p. [2]. Translated from Latin into Polish by Katarzyna Różycka-Tomaszok. The English translation is my own.

of the dead scholar expressed in the manner of a laudatory speech. The presentation of the book collection and its creator is inscribed in a more general reflection on the dialectics between the individual and the public, which is important from the viewpoint of modern political concepts taking on the individual's role in contributing to the common good. What is transitory by definition (pleasure) turns into a timeless value. What is individual (the scholar's *otium*) may bring benefit to others. Unlike other pleasures, the pleasure of collecting books does not yield to the power of death. On the contrary, the value created by the individual becomes available to others as a result. Instead of disappearing, it multiplies.⁷¹ The use of a literary quotation or even a biblical reference in the preface to a catalogue is not uncommon. In this case, however, the effect is reinforced by the presence of the Greek text. The very use of this special typeface is a sign of the erudite character of the catalogue and proof of the exceptional capabilities of Georgius Mattern's publishing house, which was responsible for its publication. This particularity serves to decorate the discourse and enrich the physical appearance of the printed form. It also fits the strategy of the *captatio benevolentiae*, emphasising the affiliation of the publishers with the educated audience. In this way, the quoted passage displays the function of the inventory as an element binding together the community of members of the *Respublica literaria*.

Another interesting element of the preface to the *Bibliotheca Schelwigiana* is the information it gives about the participation of the owner in the creation of the inventory. Thus, the inventory is not only the presentation of Schelwig's lifework—his collection—but, by extension, it also constitutes a work of his own mind, or even his own hand. The text concludes with an appeal to the reader. Whereas many other Gdańsk inventories contain set phrases that could equally refer to the promotion of all kinds of commercial offers, here we find an expression specifically adapted to the presentation of a book collection: "Vale lector optime, elige optima et quae arident, beatique defuncti memoriam tibi habe commendatam!" [Remain in good health, benevolent reader. Choose what is best and what you like the most, keep the memory of the deceased]. The text is addressed to 'the reader', in this case both the reader of the catalogue and the potential reader of the works in Schelwig's collection since "Elige optima" (Choose what is best) is in fact a polite expression

71 The point of reference for these reflections on the history of Schelwig's book collection is the following quote from Saint Paul: "But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal" (1 Cor. 12:7), which is particularly appropriate because the whole passage analyses the question of divine influence on human intellectual capacities (King James Bible (1769/2017), *King James Bible Online*, available online at <<https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org>>).

referring to the process of sale initiated by the catalogue. Thus, this text can be considered as a sort of a 'speech act'.⁷²

The period under discussion here closes with the extensive catalogue of the Puławy Library, belonging to Czartoryski family, that dates from 1829. The lengthy multi-page preface in Polish that precedes the catalogue reflects the scale of the changes that had occurred in the manner of publicly presenting a book collection put up for auction. A new figure speaks out here and makes itself known: the author of the catalogue, signing the text with his own name—Jan Karol Sienkiewicz—, who also happened to be the curator of the library.⁷³ The preface to the catalogue which he compiled mainly contains information about the important duplicates that were absent from the publication because they had been sold in the course of previous exchanges. A large part of the preface is taken up with the presentation of the order of the catalogue. This information is accompanied by a few autobiographical remarks and the following reflection:

There may seem to be too much effort, exaggeration or pomp in prolonging the preface to an inventory of duplicates with so many bibliographic generalities. ... However, there is a particularly important reason for presenting at least an initial outline of the division I have adopted. ... I therefore find it difficult not to say at least a few words about it (for interested persons, for experts, maybe even for my benefit).⁷⁴

Firstly, the relationship between the printed inventory and the structure of the library is emphasised. Secondly, unlike eighteenth-century Gdańsk catalogues, this inventory is not merely a commemoration of the creator of the collection or an advertisement for the commercial activity of the bookseller and the person responsible for the auction. The publication also aims for another kind of benefit: building the reputation of a professional *persona*, bibliographer, and author.

72 See John Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962).

73 After the November Uprising (1830–1831) and the resulting tsarist repressions which caused the ruin of the Puławy palace, Sienkiewicz left for Paris as part of the Great Emigration.

74 Sienkiewicz, *Katalog duplikat*, p. xii. My translation.

Conclusion

This overview of materials and historical facts connected with the production and distribution of manuscript and printed inventories has allowed us to discover several lacunae in the way the history of even the best-known Polish private libraries has been studied as well as to bring some nuance to earlier findings. The creation or publication of private library inventories, whether partial or complete, can help to uncover hidden aspects of those collections and open up new lines of inquiry. Taking a corpus of preserved inventories as the starting point for the study of the history of private libraries in Poland would broaden the scope of research, since it would incorporate private book collections which have not previously been the subject of detailed description or analysis, into book historical research focusing on bibliological, sociological and literary aspects of the circulation of books and reading culture in early modern Poland. A well-prepared comprehensive survey would make it possible—at least in some respects—to compare known and unknown, large and small, Polish and foreign-language collections.

Judging by what we have seen, we can conclude that the form and contents of the inventories of Polish private collections reflect the ethnic, linguistic and political diversity of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. The materials gathered so far shed light on the functioning of a medium-sized book circulation network, geographically situated between the most important European book markets, and territories with few connections to western book culture. We have looked at an area where two models for inventorying, classifying and describing books existed alongside each other. In some regions (e.g. Lublin), information about private book collections was documented exclusively, or very nearly so, in notes written in comprehensive property registers. These notes were made by clerks who were not experts in working with books. They show differing levels of completeness and reflect the varying awareness of the role of printing as a vehicle of knowledge and as an economic factor of importance: they include both incomplete, illegible and unclear mentions full of errors, as well as competently edited bibliographic and bibliological descriptions. The second model is closer to the practices applied in western European countries with a more elaborate book circulation network, such as Germany or the Dutch Republic. This is particularly the case with auction catalogues printed in Royal Prussia (and elsewhere), manuscript inventories of royal and aristocratic collections, and the printed inventory of duplicates of the Załuski Library and the Princes Czartoryski Library. In the latter cases, the inventory can be understood as a multi-aspect rhetorical message with a wide range of

cultural functions. Even on the basis of the fragmentary data that is at our disposal, we can say that the complex co-occurrence of these two models determines the specific character of the Polish private library inventories.

Appendix—Bibliography

Abbreviations

AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie [The Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw]
BJ	Jagiellonian Library, Kraków
BN	National Library, Warsaw
BUW	University of Warsaw Library
Czartoryski	Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich [The Princes Czartoryski Library, Kraków]
KK	Książnica Kopernikańska w Toruniu [Copernican Library, Toruń]
PAN Gdańsk	Polska Akademia Nauk Biblioteka Gdańska [Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Gdańsk]

In this bibliographical overview, I distinguish between works such as bibliographies of booklists and general studies on book history addressing—among other questions—the issue of the production of booklists (sections 2.2 and 2.3 in the bibliography respectively) on the one hand, and case studies (section 3) on the other. The latter are arranged by the names of the collectors and by region.

Book Lists Mentioned in the Present Study

Bibliotheca Schelguigiana sive catalogus librorum ad sacram juxta ac profanam eruditionem spectantium quos singulari studio, cum viveret collegit ac legit vir summe reverendus ac excellentissimus Samuel Schelguigius Athenaei Gedanensis rector S[anctae] Theol[ogiae] doctor et professor celeberrimus, Athenaei Gedanensis rector et Collegii Professorii senior (Gdańsk: I. Muller, [1716]). BN, XVIII 2.4651.

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Catalogi variorum in quavis facultate, materia et lingua librorum, Officinae Aegidii Janssonii à Waesberge (Gdańsk: D. Fr. Rhetii, 1680). BUW, 28.20.3.2413.

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Surviving Records of Private Book Collections in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality between 1665 and 1830

István Monok

The history of libraries and reading in Hungary during the period 1710–1830 has been chronicled in important sourcebooks. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Lutheran minister Pál Wallaszky (1742–1824) wrote an overview of the history of Hungarian libraries, a work that remained a rare contribution on the topic until the end of World War II.¹ Besides the history of publishing and the book trade, research prioritised themes like censorship and the use of books by various social strata, a focus that became particularly popular after the 1950s, with an approach mainly based in social history.²

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Paulus Wallaszky, *De bibliothecis quibusdam veterum memorabilibus, oratio inauguralis Bibliothecae Senioratus Ev. Gömöriensis, dicata honori Illustrissimi Domini Leopoldi e Comitibus Andrassy de Szent-Király et Krasznahorka etc. dicta die 26. Junii 1816 in splendissima Panegyri Betlerini* (Košice: typis Stephani Ellingeri, 1816).

2 Cf. George F. Cushing, 'Books and Readers in 18th-Century Hungary', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 47:108 (1969), pp. 57–88; Béla Holl, 'Lo sviluppo del pensiero teologico alla luce del patrimonio librario del clero cattolico ungherese del primo periodo dell'Illuminismo', in Béla Köpeczi and Péter Sárközy (eds.), *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo: rapporti Italo-Ungheresi dalla presa di Buda alla Rivoluzione Francese* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982), pp. 211–224; András Tóth, 'Ungarische Bibliotheksgeschichte vom Frieden von Szatmár (1711) bis zum Österreich-Ungarischen Ausgleich', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 61 (1986), pp. 361–376; Gabriella Somkuti, 'Ungarische Büchersammlerinnen im 18. Jahrhundert', *Marginalien. Zeitschrift für Buchkunst und Bibliophilie*, 107:3 (1987), pp. 22–35; István Görgy Tóth, *Literacy and Written Culture in Early Modern Central Europe* (Budapest-New York: CEU, 2000); Péter Sárközy, 'Il "pre-illuminismo cattolico" e la crisi del riformismo illuminato in Ungheria', in Gaetano Platania (ed.), *Conflitti e compromessi nell'Europa « di centro » fra XVI e XX secolo* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2001), pp. 241–256; István Monok, 'La bibliophilie en Hongrie au XVIII^e siècle', *Art et métiers du livre*, 230 (2002), pp. 20–25; James P. Niessen, 'Museums, Nationality and Public Research Libraries in Nineteenth-Century Transylvania', *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 41:3 (2006), pp. 298–336; István György Tóth, 'Books Read, Books Told. Written Culture and Oral Culture in Early Modern Hungary', in Alfred Messerli and Roger Chartier (eds.), *Scripta volant, verba manent. Schriftkulturen in Europa zwischen 1500 und 1900. Les cultures de l'écrit en Europe entre 1500 et 1900* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2007), pp. 215–225.

Between 1979 and 2009, a series of studies conducted under my direction focused on listing and tracing books once held in private collections, which were reconstructed from surviving records, so as to better understand the intellectual arena in which writings of the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania were produced during the early modern period. Although our main interest was the study of the “literary space” and the development of literary genres, our need to understand the source material we were working with naturally directed us towards the history of the book, of book collecting and of reading cultures. The research initially covered the years 1500–1750, but the period was extended to 1850 in a second phase of the project.

For the period running up to 1750, I traced 3,100 book lists, of which four hundred remain to be published.³ For the period 1750–1830, 476 lists have turned up thus far, of which only seventy-three were printed.⁴ A mere nine were actual catalogues of private book collections, the other sixty-four constitute lists of recommended books drawn up by publishers, and were published as autonomous fascicules or included in journals. One should note that, for the latter period, the researcher is forced to have recourse to different sources requiring specific methodologies. Studies in church history and local history, domains that developed dynamically after 1989, while describing cities, administrative regions or the institutional organisation of the church, contain scattered information on the dissemination of texts and reading culture. Minutes taken on the occasion of the *canonica visitatio* or inventories drawn up at the occasion of property confiscation after the abolition of contemplative orders

3 The term ‘book list’ is used here in a broad sense: a list containing books. Only book lists comprising five or more items have been taken into account. Among those, the probate inventories of books of Saxon pastors and schoolteachers from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which were believed to have been lost, but were found in Nagyszeben, proved to be extensive and outstanding sources of information. The bibliographical descriptions of these book lists were published in the *Könyvtártörténeti füzetek* [Papers on the history of libraries] series, directed by István Monok (13 vols., Szeged: 1981–2019). Transcriptions of all the book lists came out in the *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez* [Documents on the history of intellectual movements, sixteenth–eighteenth centuries], an ongoing series directed by Mihály Balázs and Bálint Keserű (Szeged-Budapest: 1983–). An additional bibliographical volume and four more volumes of transcriptions are forthcoming. The forthcoming book in the *Adattár* series entitled *Corpus catalogorum inventariorumque librorum ad regnum Hungariae et principatum Transylvaniae spectantium, 1500–1750*, contains a statistical analysis of the sources of the period under consideration as well as of their contents.

4 A bibliographical overview of these published and unpublished catalogues and book lists that survive from the period between 1751 and 1850 will be published as an appendix to the series mentioned in footnote 3.

(*abolitiones*), or documents of state censorship may provide valuable information for our research.⁵

The history of the changing role of the Hungarian printing press, libraries, and reading culture clearly reflects the various changes the country went through.⁶ The Kingdom of Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality were occupied by the Ottoman Empire for a long period (1541–1699). The inhabitants then suffered the military campaigns that led to liberation and two subsequent wars of independence against Habsburg rule, led first by Imre Thököly and later by Ferenc II Rákóczi. Following the Peace Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, reconstruction of the country began from a defeated position within the Holy Roman Empire.⁷

The following pages contain an overview of the results of my research on early modern Hungarian and Transylvanian book collections. In the first part, I will present a typology of sources for the history of books, book collectors and reading, that indicates the characteristics (*differencia specifica*) of the different types of sources. The second part focuses on the contents of these sources and highlights what they tell us about the history of the book and the history of reading in early modern Hungary.

5 It is important to remember the claims made by the most prolific researcher of Hungarian library history, Béla Iványi, at the beginning of the 1940s that no one had ever methodically gone through the documents of the Helytartótanács [Royal Council of Governors] held at the Hungarian National Archives (*Revisio Librorum, 1731–1779, Departamentum revisionis librorum, 1784–1848*), the documents of the Archives of the Hungarian Royal Court Chancellery (*Conceptus expeditionum, Conceptus referadarum, Originales referadae*, sources or items concerning *impressio librorum, libri, typographiae*), or the inventories that were made at the time of the abolition of religious orders ordered by Emperor Joseph II, when several tens of meters of book catalogues and book inventories were prepared. However, historians of religious orders and local historians have used some of these (cf. János Herner and István Monok (eds.), *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából, Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése* (Szeged: JATE, 1983, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 11), pp. 145–148). It is important to highlight that countries in the Carpathian Basin or in the Carpathian Pannonian region cooperate more actively today than during the decades following World War II, and making access to sources (archives) difficult or impossible now occurs only with specific local leaders; research is no longer prohibited by law anywhere in these regions.

6 Apart from general history books, a number of important articles have been published on specific aspects. Cf. Andrea Seidler and Wolfram Seidler, *Das Zeitschriftenwesen im Donauraum zwischen 1740 und 1809. Kommentierte Bibliographie der deutsch- und ungarischsprachigen Zeitschriften in Wien, Preßburg und Pest-Buda* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz: Böhlau, 1988).

7 Cf. István György Tóth (ed.), *A Concise History of Hungary* (Budapest: Corvina, 2005); Ignác Romsics, *A Short History of Hungary* (Budapest: Osiris, 2016); Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (eds.), *Latin in the Crossroads of Identity. The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

A Typology of Sources

The typology presented here has been developed in the course of the aforementioned long-term research project on Hungarian literary culture. It has been commented on in several publications that have seen the light in this context.⁸

1. Book lists

1.1. Catalogues⁹

1.1.1. Catalogues compiled by or for the owner of the book collection

1.1.1.1. Handwritten catalogues

1.1.1.2. Printed catalogues¹⁰

1.1.2. Printed auction catalogues of private collections¹¹

1.1.3. Printed catalogues of institutional libraries

1.2. Book lists of private collections drawn up by officials

1.2.1. Estate inventories

1.2.2. Documents in probate proceedings for orphans

1.2.3. Testaments

1.2.4. Minutes for confiscation of property

1.2.5. Litigation documents (legal disputes, debts)

1.2.6. Minutes taken at the occasion of a *canonica visitatio*

1.2.7. Inventories of mixed purpose

1.3. Institutional library documentation regarding private collections and borrowed books

1.3.1. Donation records

1.3.2. Documents attesting to book loans

8 See for example, István Monok, *Könyvkatalógusok és könyvjegyzékek Magyarországon, 1526–1720. Forrástíplológia, forráskritika, forráskiadás* [Book inventories and book catalogues in Hungary, 1526–1720; source typology, source criticism and source publication] (Szeged: Scriptorum, 1993); István Monok, 'Lecteurs et lectures en Hongrie: quelques aspects d'une histoire originale', *Histoire et civilisation du livre, Revue internationale*, 1 (2005), pp. 267–276; István Monok, 'Die Buch- und Lesekultur in Ungarn der frühen Neuzeit, Teilbilanz der Ergebnisse einer langen Grundlagenforschung (1980–2007)', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Buchforschung in Österreich*, 101 (2008), pp. 7–31; István Monok, *Les bibliothèques et la lecture dans le Bassin des Carpates, 1526–1750* (Paris: Champion, 2010), pp. 219–224.

9 Here meaning an ordered list of books contained in a specific physical collection. In general these catalogues contain shelfmarks, but we know of only one occurrence before 1800 from Hungary.

10 Only two of this kind are known from before 1830.

11 Only seven such inventories are known from this period.

- 1.3.3. Lists recording books that members of monastic orders took to their cells
- 1.3.4. Inventories of books in private possession which were purchased by an institution
- 1.4. Printed publishers' catalogues
 - 1.4.1. Lists published in journals
 - 1.4.2. Separately printed book trade catalogues
- 1.5. Personal documents
 - 1.5.1. Diary entries about books purchased, desired, or needing to be bound
 - 1.5.2. Lists in letters
- 1.6. Other sources
 - 1.6.1. Personal book loan records
 - 1.6.2. Personal notes regarding book purchases
 - 1.6.3. Lists for binding books
 - 1.6.4. Invoices for book purchases
 - 1.6.5. Inventories as notes in a book
 - 1.6.6. Book lists as part of an estate inventory prepared by non-official persons
 - 1.6.7. Auto-bibliographies
- II. Other types of sources for the history of book collecting and reading
 - II.1. Letters
 - II.2. Literary texts
 - II.3. References in scholarly works
 - II.4. Traces in books
 - II.4.1. Marks of ownership
 - II.4.2. Marginalia and underlining
 - II.4.3. Old shelf-marks
 - II.5. Fragmentary data (book lists mentioning up to four books or vague references)

Analysing the Source Material: Early Modern Book Lists and the Thematic Composition of Private Libraries

I will now use a thesis-like structure to discuss the results of my research on the form and contents of early modern booklists from the Kingdom of Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality. The focal point will be the differences between western and eastern Europe when it comes to the production, the distribution and the reception of books (and book lists) during the early modern era.

Key Periods in the History of the Reception of Western Intellectual Trends in the Carpathian Basin

The time frame 1665–1830, the historical scope of this volume, does not correspond to relevant dates in Hungarian and Transylvanian reading history. For the history of reception of Western intellectual trends in the Carpathian Basin, the following dates are more important: 1480–1620, 1620–1720, and 1720–1830. These time frames, with the caveat that there can be significant differences between them, can be justified in several ways.

The time that elapsed between the publication of a book or the emergence of an international intellectual trend and its appearance in the Hungarian Kingdom increased over time. Before 1620, the reception of new books and ideas was almost immediate. However, around 1720 the delay was approximately 30 years and by 1830 it was half a century (though of course, there were always exceptional aristocrats and learned individuals who were aware of contemporary intellectual developments). It is easy to track this tendency when we compare different groups of readers. Let us for example consider a few Lutheran ministers and professors teaching in colleges. István Miskolci Csulyak (1575–1646) documented his collection containing 360 books. He bought many of its volumes himself on his study tours and the rest were also recent publications.¹² Miskolci Csulyak acquired the books he was interested in within one or two years after they were published. The library of Sámuel Kaposi Juhász (1660–1713) was also inventoried by its owner as part of a *diarium apodemicum*.¹³ This was a large collection containing 1,969 books, including some contemporary publications, most of which came from Kaposi Juhász's acquisition of older books. He was aware when studying abroad that his opportunities to purchase books would be limited once he returned home, and he preferred to buy not recent editions, but large numbers of older editions, which were presumably cheaper. More typical in terms of its size, the library of István Hányoki Losontzi (1709–1780), a schoolteacher in Nagykőrös, contained 187 books which were inventoried around 1739.¹⁴ In this case there

12 András Varga and István Monok (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I. 1533–1657* (Budapest-Szeged: JATE, MTA, 1986, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 13/1), pp. 61–78.

13 István Monok, Noémi Németh (Viskolcz) and András Varga (eds.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak III. 1563–1757, A Bethlen-család és környezete, Az Apafi-család és környezete, A Teleki-család és környezete, Vegyes források* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1994, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 16/3), pp. 223–265; Györgyi Bíró, István Monok and Attila Verók (eds.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak V. 1541–1750, Vegyes források* (Budapest-Szeged: MTA, SZTE, 2018, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 16/5), pp. 40–49.

14 Rita Bajáki, Hajnalka Bujdosó, István Monok and Noémi Viskolcz (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak IV. 1552–1740* (Budapest: OSZK, 2009, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 13/4), pp. 350–358.

is an average thirty-year-delay between the date of publication and the date of the inventory. The 292-item book collection of János Fábrián, a teacher from Békés, was recorded in 1800.¹⁵ Although the language constitution of the books in the small collection could be considered modern (besides the 207 books in Latin, 75 were in French, 5 in German and 3 in Hungarian), these had all been published almost a century earlier.¹⁶

The rate of literacy grew steadily. However, by the end of our period of study (1830), there were marked differences between the literate strata of society in terms of how fresh and up-to-date their reception of new scientific developments was. While in the first period (1480–1620) the typically Latin, German or Italian readings of a lawyer, minister or aristocrat were up-to-date to about the same degree, by the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a significant difference between how contemporary the intellectual orientation of an aristocrat was compared to that of a scholar. Latin and German orientations as well as archaic or outdated readings were characteristic of country or small-town intellectuals even in the first third of the nineteenth century, although it must be noted that a significant proportion of Hungarian books appeared in their readings from 1780 onwards, as well as, to a lesser extent, books in Slovakian and Romanian.¹⁷

Let us pick examples from these three periods to illustrate these phenomena. For the mid-sixteenth century, the following book lists from the middle of the sixteenth century lend themselves to comparison: the inventories of Baron Ferenc Zay (1553), György Perneszi, bailiff and member of the gentry (1560), Jakab Budai, clerk at the Royal Chamber (1561), Bishop János Kolozsvári (1562), and Ferenc Pesti Bornemissza, lawyer at the Chamber (1562).¹⁸ All of the above mentioned inventories indicate the presence of authors of the late medieval

15 Ádám Hegyi, “... azt közönséges helyen fel olvasni éppen nem tanácsos ...” *Az olvasás és a vallásellenesség kapcsolatai a Békési Református Egyházmegyében 1781 és 1821 között* (Debrecen: TREGy, 2018), pp. 296–303.

16 János Fábrián was accused of participating in the Jacobin movement, which may indicate modern thinking on the part of this collector. Cf. Hegyi, “... azt közönséges helyen, pp. 262–269.

17 István Monok, ‘Nationalsprachige Lesestoffe in Ungarn im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, in Bodo Guthmüller (ed.), *Latein und Nationalsprachen in der Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), pp. 137–150; István Monok, ‘Transformations linguistiques et thématiques dans les bibliothèques aristocratiques de la Hongrie du 18^e siècle’, in Frédéric Barbier (ed.), *Actes du symposium international Le livre, la Roumanie, l’Europe, 4^eème édition, 20 à 23 septembre 2011, Sinaia, Tome 1. Histoire et civilisation du livre* (Bucharest: Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, 2012), pp. 108–121.

18 Varga and Monok (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I. 1533–1657*, pp. 9–16, and Herner and Monok (eds.), *A magyar könyvkultúra múltjából, Iványi Béla cikkei és anyaggyűjtése*, pp. 54–55.

devotio moderna, a significant number of antique and especially Roman writers, as well as contemporary Humanists. Each of these book lists also contains the major publications of Protestant authors such as Philipp Melancthon, Martin Luther, and Heinrich Bullinger.

When we look at catalogues of private collections whose owners belonged to different strata of society in the second half of the seventeenth century, we see that some of the most important aristocrats, such as Ferenc Nádasdyor and Pál Esterházy, could afford to collect the most recent publications, besides aiming to build a library that covered all aspects of intellectual enquiry.¹⁹ Contemporary well-read merchants, doctors or lawyers, however, owned recent publications only during the time they were on a study tour. Apparently, after returning home, they only received information from abroad with some delay. This is notably the case for Sigismund Zimmermann, merchant in Eperjes (Prešov), who owned 398 books in 1687, Nicolaus Georgius Kiechel, notary in Buda whose 84 volumes were listed in 1694, and Henrik Keppel, physician in Tokaj whose collection of 99 books were inventoried in 1703.²⁰

If we were to compare the readings of an aristocrat and a village teacher at the end of the eighteenth or beginning of the nineteenth century, it would make no sense since they were incomparable. There were, of course, exceptions in each period, but these never formed an important group. Let us mention here Sámuel Gyarmathi (1751–1830), physician and linguist, or János Körmöczi (1762–1836), Unitarian Bishop.²¹ Some Hungarian aristocrats indeed became book collectors on the same level as their contemporary counterparts elsewhere in Europe. The Csáky family, for example, collected French Libertine rarities.²² Some of these collections were sold after the death of their owners

19 Noémi Viskolcz, *A mecénatúra színterei a főúri udvarban, Nádasdy Ferenc könyvtára* (Szeged-Budapest: SZTE, HEH, 2013), and István Monok and Edina Zvara, *Esterházy Pál könyvtára—Die Bibliothek von Paul Esterházy* (Budapest: MTA, 2019).

20 Gábor Farkas, Tünde Katona, Miklós Latzkovits and András Varga (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak, II. 1580–1721* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1992, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 13/2), pp. 118–128; *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak II. 1580–1721*, pp. 140–142; *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak II. 1580–1721*, pp. 159–163.

21 The inventory of the books of the first is dated 1830. Ottó M. Nagy, 'Gyarmathi Sámuel könyvei (1830)', *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 57:2 (1943), pp. 332–341. For Körmöczi, see the acts of the conference *Körmöczi János és a kortárs eszmei áramlatok* (Cluj-Napoca, 2013) in *Keresztény Magvető*, 120 (2014).

22 Alexander Eckhardt, 'Les livres français d'une bibliothèque privée en Hongrie au XVIII^e siècle (István Csáky et sa femme Júlia Erdődi)', *Revue des Études Hongroises et Finno-Ougriennes*, 3–4 (1923), pp. 145–147; Olga Granasztói, 'Lecteurs hongrois de livres français, Diffusion et réception de la littérature française en Hongrie vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle', in Frédéric Barbier and István Monok (eds.), *Les bibliothèques centrales et la construction des identités collectives* (Leipzig: Universitätsverlag, 2005), pp. 255–261.

at auctions that attracted a lot of interest. The library of Count Károly Imre Reviczky (1737–1793), polyglot diplomat and first translator of the Persian poet Hafiz, was such a collection. In 1784, the Count published a detailed catalogue in Berlin and a few years later, after ample negotiations, the collection was purchased by George Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer.²³

It is important to note that some of these private collections, that were sometimes specialised in specific themes, served as a basis for the constitution of public libraries that were universal in scope and played an important part in offering broad access to old and recent books. For example, the catalogue of the library of Ferenc Széchényi (1754–1820) was published in 1802 at the occasion of the donation of the books to the nation and marks the birth of the Hungarian National Library.²⁴ In the same period a national library was founded in Transylvania. Both libraries contained more than 10,000 volumes each.

In the middle period (1620–1720) secular topics were less relevant and ever more books on theology appeared in Hungarian book collections.²⁵ In the eighteenth century, history, geography, management and science became more dominant, although this characterised only the libraries of aristocrats and well-trained intellectuals. A good example of this is the library of the last Hungarian palatine, Lajos Ernő Batthyány (1697–1772). In 1743, 2,260 of

23 *Catalogue de mes livres, première partie contenant les auteurs classiques grecs et latins ...—Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina ...* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1784). After the Count's death, a second, augmented, edition was published: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Comte de Rewiczky, Contenant les auteurs classiques grecs et latins ...—Bibliotheca Graeca et Latina ...* (Berlin: Johann Friedrich Unger, 1794). See Ferenc Tóth, 'Charles Émeric de Reviczky, diplomate, penseur militaire et bibliophile de l'époque des Lumières', in Guy Saupin and Éric Schnakenbourg (eds.), *Expériences de la guerre et pratiques de la paix de l'Antiquité au XX^e siècle* (Rennes: PUR, 2013), pp. 169–180.

24 *Catalogus Bibliothecae Hungaricae Francisci Comitis Széchényi ...* (7 vols., 1799–1807); *Catalogus manuscriptorum: bibliothecae nationalis hungaricae Széchenyiano-regnicolaris* (3 vols., Sopron: typis haered. Siessianorum, 1813–1815; *Catalogus numorum Hungariae ac Transilvaniae Instituti Nationalis Széchenyiani*. (2 vols. and appendix, Pest: typis Matthiae Trattner, 1807–1810); Gariella Somkuti and István Monok (eds.), *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár és a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum alapító okirata—Litterae fundationis Musei Nationalis Hungariae et Bibliothecae Nationalis Széchenyianae* (Budapest: OSZK, 2002). István Monok, 'Le projet de Ferenc Széchényi et la fondation de la Bibliothèque nationale hongroise', in Barbier and Monok (eds.), *Les bibliothèques centrales*, pp. 87–100; Attila Verók, 'La coscienza culturale dei sassoni di Transilvania e la fondazione della Biblioteca Brukenthal', in Frédéric Barbier and Andrea De Pasquale (eds.), *Un'istituzione dei Lumi: la biblioteca. Teoria, gestione e pratiche biblioteconomiche nell'Europa dei Lumi* (Parma: Museo Bodoniano, 2013), pp. 229–241.

25 Katalin Péter, 'Golden Age and Decay in Intellectual Culture at the Turn of the Seventeenth Century', in Katalin Péter, Gabriella Erdély (ed.), *Studies on the History of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2018), pp. 149–178.

his books were inventoried. His son, Tódor Batthyány (1729–1812) collected books on mining, shipping and technology in general.²⁶ Another example of a specialised, technically-inclined, collection is that of Count György Festetich (1755–1819), a sympathizer with the Jacobin movement. When he became a *persona non grata* in Vienna, he endeavoured to create an environment for himself in Keszthely in which he could become one of the most well-educated patrons of culture.²⁷ In 1797, he founded *Georgikon*, one of the first farm management schools in Europe and made sure to provide books for the school. His own collection held many books related to agriculture and management, but his aim was to build a universal library.²⁸ Gergely Balla (c.1710–after 1772), lawyer and historian of Nagykőrös who also served as a judge for some time, can also be presented as a man interested in reading about modern management. He was reported to have a library of some 2,000 volumes although the inventory prepared in 1763 mentioned only 200.²⁹

From 1620 until 1830, readings were increasingly determined along confessional lines. While at the beginning of the seventeenth century, medieval, Humanist and contemporary piety formed an important part of private collections and readings, alongside the more secular interests of Humanism, by the middle of the eighteenth century—and still at the beginning of the nineteenth century—there were significant differences between the readings of a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Calvinist and a Unitarian. This applies not only to ministers, from whom this could be expected, but also for nobles and intellectuals connected to a particular church.

In Transylvania, the central collections also acquired a religious characteristic due to awakening national identity and the growing number of publications in the vernacular. The Roman Catholics in Transylvania were Hungarian. In 1798, Ignác Batthyány (1741–1798) offered his private collections (his library, museum and observatory) in Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia) “for the Roman Catholic community of Transylvania”.³⁰ In 1802 the Calvinist Count Sámuel

26 Ongoing doctoral research of Szabolcs Hursán (Eger: Eszterházy Károly University, 2019).

27 Cséby Géza, *Gróf Festetics György helye a magyar művelődéstörténetben, különös tekintettel a Magyar Műnerva könyvsorozatára és a Helikoni Ünnepekre* (PhD thesis, University of Szeged, 2013).

28 Károly Klempa, *A keszthelyi Festetich könyvtár* (Keszthely: Mérei, 1938); Karl von Klempa, *Die kulturpolitischen Bestrebungen des Grafen Georg Festetics* (Győr: Baross, 1939).

29 Kolozsvár, Erdélyi Református Egyházkerület Gyűjtőlevéltára [Central Archive of the Reformed Church in Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca], Bequest of Géza Nagy, Nr. 150.

30 Zsigmond Jakó, ‘Batthyány Ignác a tudós és a tudományszervező’, *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 107 (1991), pp. 353–375; Doina Hendre Bíró, ‘La Bibliothèque Batthyanaeum fondée à Alba Iulia par l’évêque de Transylvanie, le comte Ignace Batthyány’, in Barbier (ed.), *Le livre, la Roumanie, l’Europe*, pp. 122–139.

Teleki (1739–1822), Chancellor of Transylvania, similarly offered his collections, kept in Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureș), to the Hungarian Principality's congregation of Helvetian faith.³¹ In 1803 Samuel von Brukenthal (1721–1803), Teleki's successor as Transylvanian Saxon Chancellor, left his collections, kept in Nagyszeben (Sibiu), to the Transylvanian Lutheran Saxon community.³² As for the Romanians of Transylvania and their Uniate Church, their central collection was created at their seminary in Balázsfalva (Blaj).³³ It was based on the private collections of two of their bishops, Ioan Giurgiu Patachi (1680–1727) and Inocențiu Micu Klein (1692–1768).³⁴ Finally, the Greek-Eastern Romanians of Transylvania founded their collections in Bolgárszeg (Șcheii Brașovului), which today belong to Brassó (Brașov) and are in Alba Iulia. The first inventories were prepared between 1685 and 1699.³⁵

- 31 *Bibliothecae Samuelis com. Teleki de Szék, Pars 1–2* (Vienna: per Sam. Falka ... in Typographo Baumeisteri, 1796); *Bibliothecae Samuelis com. Teleki de Szék, Pars 3–4* (Vienna: typis Antonii Pichler, 1796–1819); Anikó Deé Nagy (ed.), *Bibliothecae Samuelis Com. Teleki de Szék pars quinta, libros inde ab anno MDCCCXIX post typis vulgatam catalogi partem quartam comparatos complexa* (Budapest-Târgu Mureș: Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae-Bibliotheca Teleki-Bolyai, 2002); Maria Turzai, 'Un trésor de l'époque des lumières en Transylvanie: la bibliothèque de Sámuel Teleki, à Tîrgu-Mureș', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, v:2 (1966), pp. 341–354; Anikó Deé Nagy, *A könyvtáralapító Teleki Sámuel* (Kolozsvár: EME, 1997).
- 32 Carl Göllner, *Samuel von Brukenthal, Sein Leben und Wert im Wort und Bild* (Bucharest: Kriterion, 1977); Attila Verók, *Die Gründung der Bibliothek Brukenthal und ihr Einfluss auf das Geschichtsbewusstsein der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, in Barbier and Monok (eds.), *Les bibliothèques centrales*, pp. 125–132.
- 33 The Uniate Church accepted papal primacy while keeping Eastern Greek rituals at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. Cf. Ioan Chindriș, 'Blajul iluminist, O analiză a structurilor culturale', *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologia* (Cluj Napoca), xxiii (1980), pp. 187–208; Johann Marte, Viorel Ionitã, Iacob Mârza, Laura Stanciu and Ernst Christoph Suttner (eds.), *Die union der Rumänen Siebenbürgens mit der Kirche von Rom.—Unirea românilor transilvãneni cu Biserica Romei* (2 vols., Bucharest: Editura Enciclopedică, 2010–2011).
- 34 See Iacob Mârza, 'Das Schulzentrum Blasendorf der Kern einre rumänischen Bibliothek in der Aufklärung', in Barbier and Monok (eds.), *Les bibliothèques centrales*, pp. 155–162; Magdalena Tampe, 'Din inceputurile Bibliotecii de la Blaj, despre inventarul manuscris din 14 iunie 1747', *Biblioteca și cercetarea*, 111 (1979), pp. 126–132; Ioan Chindriș, 'Unirea cu Roma, și scuola Ardeleană', in Ioan Chindriș (ed.), *Scoala Ardeleana, II*. (Oradea: Editura Episcop Vasile Aftenie, 2007), pp. 9–60; Iacob Mârza, 'Biserică, politică, și cultură la episcopul Ioan Giurgiu Patachi', *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, 11/11 (2007), pp. 48–67.
- On Klein, see Ioan Chindriș, 'Biblioteca lui Inochentie Micu-Klein', in Ioan Chindriș, *Cultură și societate în contextul Școlii Ardelene* (Cluj-Napoca: Cartimpex, 2001), pp. 45–76.
- 35 Bíró, Monok and Verók (eds.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak v. 1541–1750*, pp. 227–242; Eva Mârza, 'Die Bibliothek der Metropole von Alba Iulia', in Barbier and Monok (eds.), *Les bibliothèques centrales*, pp. 133–154.

The Specificities of Hungarian Reading Culture

The specificity of Hungarian reading culture was due to the lack of books in the Carpathian Basin. Few books were published there, and an organised book trade was established only around 1830. The last statement is true even if the number of books published in Hungary grew steadily: 951 titles have been recorded for the sixteenth century, 7,000 for the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century the number of the titles increased to 35,000.³⁶ In the sixteenth century a significant proportion (7–8%) of all European books featured in at least one copy on our contemporary book lists. The proportion of foreign European books available in Hungary would never again reach a comparable level, not even today.

The observation which has been made that Hungarian intellectuals of the early modern period had a broader horizon in terms of general knowledge than their western European counterparts, but that their knowledge concerning their expertise was not as deep, can also be explained by the lack of access to books.³⁷ While there were specialised bookshops in university towns in Western Europe, the first shop to specifically offer books in the Hungarian Kingdom appeared only in the nineteenth century.³⁸ Before this, only itinerant merchants, book binders and printers sold books there, and in the second half of the eighteenth century agents from the larger publishing houses in Venice, Augsburg, etc. also visited the country from time to time. As a result, intellectuals bought, received and read whatever books they could get hold of.³⁹

Relatively few stock inventories of book merchants or book binders survive from before 1750, although we are not completely empty-handed. The stock of Dionysius Cramer, book merchant of Boroszló (Wrocław), was documented when he died in Körmöcbánya (Kremnica) in 1579, and the stock of Hans Gallen was inventoried in Kassa (Košice) in 1583.⁴⁰ We also have records for the

36 V. Ecsedy Judit, *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kéziszajtó korában 1473–1800* (Budapest: Balassi, 1999), p. 125.

37 István Monok, 'Cultural Ideals: Changes in the Pattern of Knowledge (from the Point of View of Reading History)', *Hungarian Studies*, 31:2 (2017), pp. 251–270.

38 Cf. György Kókay, *Geschichte des Buchhandels in Ungarn* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1990).

39 István Monok, 'Leser oder Sammler? Die Veränderung der Buchsammel- und Lesege-wohnheiten an der Wende des 17–18. Jahrhunderts', *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 12 (1997), pp. 127–142.

40 Viliam Čičaj, István Monok and Noémi Viskolcz (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak III, Besztercebánya, Körmöcbánya, Selmecebánya* (Budapest-Szeged: OSZK, SZTE, 2003, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 13/3), pp. 223–227, and Varga and Monok (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak I. 1533–1657*, pp. 22–35.

bookbinders who also acted as merchants, Elisabeth Oberland, who died in Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) in 1666, Georg Steinhübel of Lócse (Levoča), who passed away in Kassa (Košice) in 1699, and Gaspar Wiszt, deceased in 1714.⁴¹ From the first half of the eighteenth century the inventory of assets of Thomas Claarwein, Bavarian art dealer and book merchant (1717), itinerant bookseller Johann Schwartz (1729), and bookbinders Joseph Matzenauer (1738) and Erzsébet Pécsi (Elisabetha Eberhardin) (1740) are known, as well as the list of publications of Johann Georg Nottenstein, printer in Buda (1732–1734).⁴² From the middle of the eighteenth century we have printed book lists of publishers and in the German and Hungarian periodicals that were launched at the end of the century recommended reading lists were published. Furthermore, we have documents from the nineteenth century which prove that printed books were copied by hand because there was no other way to acquire them. It was moreover a common phenomenon that the readings of nobles and wealthier burghers depended on the students whose study tours abroad they financed. Titles were not selected by the future owners, who only provided a general thematic description of what they were interested in, leaving the student or a bailiff to purchase books for them on the Western European book market.⁴³

In considering the inventories of itinerant merchants' stock we gain a clear picture of the (presumed) needs of an average literate reader, typically a burgher and a town-dweller. Handlers could not carry with them folio-sized books on

41 Čičaj, Monok and Viskolcz (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak III*, pp. 61–68; Farkas et al. (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak II. 1580–1721*, pp. 287–293; István Monok, 'Lesestoffe in Leutschau im Vergleich, XVI–XVII. Jahrhundert', in Wynfrid Krieglleder, Andrea Seidler and Jozef Tancer (eds.), *Deutsche Sprache Kultur und Presse in der Zips* (Bremen: Édition Lumière, 2007), pp. 157–169. On Wiszt, see Hedvig Gácsi et al. (eds.), *Kassa város olvasmányai, 1562–1731* (Szeged: JATE, 1990, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 15), pp. 76–79; István Monok, 'Lesestoffe deutscher Bürger in Kaschau in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Zeitschrift für Mitteleuropäische Germanistik*, 4:2 (2014), pp. 127–144.

42 Bajáki et al., *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak IV. 1552–1740*, pp. 254–255, 286–288, 320–324, 339–346, and László Czeglédi, Tamás Kruppa and István Monok (eds.), *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak V. 1643–1750* (Budapest: OSZK, 2010, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 13/5), pp. 13–18.

See also István Monok, 'Die Rolle der bayerischen Buchdruckerkunst in der Rekatolisierung Ungarns', *Ungarn Jahrbuch*, 28 (2005–2007), pp. 369–375; István Monok, 'Deutsche Buchhändler in Ofen und Pest in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts', in Wynfrid Krieglleder, Andrea Seidler and Jozef Tanzler (eds.), *Deutsche Sprache und Kultur im Raum Pest, Ofen und Budapest, Studien zur Geschichte, Presse, Literatur und Theater, sprachlichen Verhältnissen, Wissenschafts-, Kultur- und Buchgeschichte, Kulturkontakten und Identitäten* (Bremen: Édition Lumière, 2012), pp. 153–158.

43 Monok, 'Lecteurs et lectures en Hongrie', pp. 268–269. This can also be seen in the chapter by Róbert Oláh in this volume.

specialised subjects like science. Therefore, their stock consisted primarily of books for daily devotional practice as well as schoolbooks. It is very important to note that it included Hungarian as well as German literature. Hungarian poetry written by Bálint Balassi (1554–1594), János Rimay (1570–1631), Péter Beniczky (1603–1664), or István Gyöngyösi (1629–1704) published during this period usually came out in small formats.

Due to the lack of books available for purchase in the region, the role institutional libraries played in erudite education was more important than in Western Europe.⁴⁴ What someone read during their secondary education defined their reading taste for the rest of their lives. From the point of view of source typology, the catalogues of institutional libraries should be set apart. However, when analysing reading culture, they should be studied along with the inventories of private book collections. Even more so because many private collections survived within institutional libraries as separate collections of books donated by a certain owner; they were listed as such in the catalogue and, quite often, the bookshelf itself (*theca*) was named after the donor. As an example, let us mention here the 1688 catalogue of the Reformed Church College of Nagyenyed (Aiud) where the terms *Theca Csernátoni*, and *Theca Basirii* indicate the books Lutheran minister Pál Csernátoni (1633–1679), and Isaac Basire (1607–1676), Prebend of Durham, donated to the College.⁴⁵ The book catalogue of the Franciscan monastery in Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu Ciuc) from 1727 listed the books that were kept in each friar's cell.⁴⁶ In this sense, these institutional collections can be considered to reflect private readings as well, since we can tell what Guardian László Ferenc Bögözi (1687–1756), Kristóf Istvánffy (1693–1756), and other paters who lived there read.

Due to the general lack of books, opening private libraries for shared use played an even more important role in the Hungarian Kingdom than in the West.⁴⁷ The first such library we know of operated as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, namely that of the vicarages in Szepes.⁴⁸ From the

44 Monok, 'Lecteurs et lectures en Hongrie', pp. 274–275.

45 István Monok, Noémi Németh (Viskolcz) and Sándor Tonk (eds.), *Erdélyi könyvesházak II, Kolozsvár, Marosvásárhely, Nagyenyed, Szászváros, Székelyudvarhely* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1991, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 16/2), pp. 177–190; István Monok and Noémi Németh (Viskolcz), 'Isaac Basire könyvei a nagyenyedi református kollégium könyvtárában (1679–1680)', *Magyar Könyvszemle*, 108 (1992), pp. 256–264.

46 Edina Zvara (ed.), *Katolikus intézményi gyűjtemények Magyarországon, Ferences könyvtárak, 1668–1750* (Budapest: OSZK, 2008, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 19/3), pp. 63–70.

47 For an example in a western context, see the chapter by Laurence Brockliss in this volume.

48 Florian Holik, 'Die erste gelehrte Gesellschaft in Ungarn', *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 2 (1923), pp. 383–399; Eva Selecká Mázra, *A Középkori Lőcsei Könyvtár* (Szeged: Scriptum, 1997);

sixteenth century, members of Humanist circles shared their books with one another, such as the collection of Hans Dernschwam (1494–1569) in Selmecebánya (Banská Štiavnica).⁴⁹

Smaller book-sharing household circles existed from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that could be identified due to the *et amicorum* notes in the books.⁵⁰ We also know of *bibliotheca publica* collections in the Protestant towns of Besztercebánya (Banská Bystrica) (c.1600), Kőszeg (1614), and Kassa (Košice) (c.1670).⁵¹ Furthermore, several reading clubs existed in the eighteenth century.⁵² The first public library in the modern sense of the word was founded in Pécs in 1764 by Catholic Bishop György Klimó (1710–1777).⁵³

The Influence of Changing Contexts

It is important to emphasize that the majority of the Hungarian Kingdom and Transylvania was under Ottoman rule for 150 years. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Ottoman Turks had destroyed the institutional system which had previously been comparable to those in other European kingdoms.

András Vizkelety, 'Die Fraternitas xxiv plebanorum civitatum regalium in Oberungarn und der Handschriftenbestand Zipser Pfarreibibliotheken', in Nathalie Kruppa (ed.), *Pfarreien im Mittelalter, Deutschland, Polen, Tschechien und Ungarn im Vergleich* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 2008), pp. 327–338.

- 49 Jenő Berlász, Katalin Keveházi and István Monok (eds.), *Die Bibliothek Dernschwam, Bücherverzeichniss eines Fugger-Agenten in Ungarn* (Szeged: JATE, 1984).
- 50 Geoffrey D. Hobson, 'Et amicorum', *The Library*, fifth series, IV:2 (1949), pp. 87–99; István Monok, 'L'uso pubblico dei libri nell'Ungheria del Cinque e Seicento', *La Bibliofilia*, CXXIV:2 (2012), pp. 215–229.
- 51 Čičaj, Monok and Viskolcz, *Magyarországi magánkönyvtárak III.*, pp. 13–16; Tibor Grüll, Katalin Keveházi, Károly Kokas, István Monok, Péter Ötvös and Harald Prickler (eds.), *Lesestoffe in Westungarn II, Forchtenstein (Fraknó), Eisenstadt (Kismarton), Güns (Kőszeg), Rust (Ruszt)* (Szeged: Scriptorum, 1996, *Adattár XVI–XVIII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, 18/2), pp. 34–39; Gácsi et al., *Kassa város olvasmányai, 1562–1731*, pp. 115–187. See also István Monok, 'Die Rolle der Fachbibliotheken im Kampf um die Meinungsfreiheit der wissenschaftlichen Forschungen. Eine europäische Geschichte mit ungarischen Beispielen', in Ágnes Fischer-Dárdai, István Lengvári and Éva Schmelczler-Pohánka (eds.), *University and Universality. The Place and Role of the University of Pécs in Europe from the Middle Ages to Present Day* (Pécs: PTE, 2017), pp. 217–227.
- 52 Heinz Stanescu, 'Deutschsprachige wissenschaftliche und Lesegesellschaften der achtziger Jahre des 18. Jahrhunderts in Siebenbürgen und im Banat', in Erik Amburger, Michal Ciešla and László Sziklay (eds.), *Wissenschaftspolitik in Mittel- und Osteuropa, Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaften, Akademien und Hochschulen im 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Camen, 1976), pp. 187–195.
- 53 Gábor Csajághy, 'Klimó György könyvtáráról', in Miklós Boda, Katalin Kalányos, Mikós Surján and Tibor Tüskés (eds.), *A könyv- és könyvtárkultúra ezer éve Baranyában, Tanulmányok* (Pécs: JPE, 2000), pp. 91–94.

Buda and Pest could only reunite and once again become the capital of the Hungarian Kingdom in 1825, almost one and a half centuries after the Ottoman Turks were expelled from the country in 1686, through the act of moving the diet from Pozsony (Bratislava) to Pest in 1825. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, it took a century and a half to rebuild the towns and the villages, while both the Kingdoms of Hungary and Transylvania were integrated into the Habsburg Empire. This also resulted in the destruction of Protestant institutions.

From a book historical point of view, it is important to note that, during the latter period, Western partner institutions, such as religious orders, secular churches, and Protestant churches, helped their counterparts in Hungary with books, especially those written in Latin, since this was still the official language in Hungary. However, from the eighteenth century onwards, modern books were no longer published in Latin, therefore the continuing dominance of Latin as an official language and *lingua franca* among students and scholars contributed greatly to developing and reinforcing an archaic taste in reading in Hungary and Transylvania.

In conclusion, our longstanding and ongoing research on the surviving records of private book collections in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality has helped us to gain a deeper and broader insight into its reading culture and the way it was influenced by social, economic, religious and political factors. Studying, analysing and interpreting the source material has also allowed us to take a more specific book historical approach to our original research question. The material form and the particularities of the different book lists we encountered, as well as the fortune of the collections they describe resulted in a typology of sources and in challenging traditional distinctions between 'public' and 'private' libraries.

From Extensive Learned Libraries to Modest Book Collections: Research on Danish Private Book Collections of the Long Eighteenth Century

Jonas Thorup Thomsen

The present chapter provides an overview of Danish research on private book collections and libraries with particular regards to the different sources available. Scholarly interest in Danish private book collections has a long history with different traditions and waves of research.¹ In the nineteenth century, the focus was primarily on book collections of the elite,² but throughout the twentieth century, this interest gradually widened to include book collections of all strata

1 I wish to thank Charlotte Appel and Karsten Christensen for their comments on earlier versions of the present article. Any shortcomings are my responsibility alone.

Research on private book collections and libraries in Denmark has mostly been the domain of librarians and book historians, and the vast majority of it has been published in Danish. For a general introduction to Nordic library history (but not much on private collections), see Svend Dahl (ed.), *Nordisk håndbog i bibliotekskundskab* (3 vols., Copenhagen: Nordisk Videnskabeligt Bibliotekarforbund, 1957–1960). A two-volume introduction to Danish library history entitled *Dansk Bibliotekshistorie* was published in 2021 (I am thankful to Nan Dahlkild for providing me with this information). For a comprehensive list of Danish research on book history (excluding library history, which was intended for a third volume that was never published) up until 1950, see Johannes Lehm Laursen, *Dansk litteratur om bogvæsen. En bibliografi* (2 vols., Copenhagen: Dansk Bibliografisk Kontor, 1955–1956). For research done from 1950 to 1990 (again excluding library history), see Ingrid Ilsøe, 'Litteratur om dansk bogvæsen trykt 1950–1990. Tryk, bind og boghandel ca. 1482–1920', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 31 (1992), pp. 143–198, or Ingrid Ilsøe, 'Printing, Book Illustration, Bookbinding, and Book Trade in Denmark, 1482–1914', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1985), pp. 258–280. For research between 1990 and 2005 see Henrik Horstbøll, 'A Survey of the History of the Book and Libraries in Denmark since 1990', *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Bok- og Bibliotekshistoria*, 86:2 (2006), pp. 165–203. For research up until 2013, see Anders Toftgaard, 'Princely Libraries, the Readings of the Common Man and the Entry of the Book Cover into Literary Studies', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 20 (2013), pp. 159–181.

2 See, for instance, Christian Bruun, *Det store Kongelige Bibliotheks Stiftelse under Kong Frederik den Tredie og Kong Christian den Femte* (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1873); Ellen Jørgensen, 'Danske adelige Biblioteker i det 17. Aarhundrede med særligt Henblik paa den teologiske Literatur', *Teologisk Tidsskrift for den danske Folkekirke*, 3:8 (1917), pp. 244–50.

of society,³ and from the late 1990s research began using theoretically-informed, book-historical approaches as points of departure.⁴ Most research has been local and regional—sometimes national—but very rarely have Danish book collections been put into a broader, transnational context.

One should immediately be aware of the spatial and linguistic borders that, during the period in question, differed from those characterising Denmark's present state. During the long eighteenth century (1665–1830) the country was part of a conglomerate state where the king ruled over the twin kingdoms of Denmark and Norway as well as the (mostly German-speaking) duchies of Schleswig and Holstein and several overseas territories. The Danish language was the primary language of the kingdom of Denmark as well as the northern half of Schleswig, and it was the official written language of Norway. Thus, Denmark and Norway made up a common book market, where no national borders separated Danish and Norwegian authors and readers.⁵ This lack of frontiers is illustrated by the fact that the most popular author of eighteenth-century Denmark was the Norwegian-born Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754), who became a professor at the University of Copenhagen and published his work in that city. However, the focus of this chapter is on research relating to Denmark within its present day geographical and linguistic borders, and research regarding Norway will only be covered when it has direct consequences for the former.

As for other types of frontiers, as elsewhere in Europe, early modern boundaries between Danish private and public collections were not as clear as they are today. The notion of 'private collection' as used in this article refers to books in

3 See, for instance, Frits Heide, 'Bidrag til Spørgsmålet om den danske Almues Læsning i det 18. Aarhundrede', *Danske Studier*, 1918, 36–47; Folmer Elle Jensen, *Pietismen i Jylland. Studier over jyske Menighedstilstande, særlig paa Landet, omkring Midten af det 18. Aarh* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1944).

4 See, for instance, Henrik Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie. Det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500–1840* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1999); Charlotte Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (2 vols., Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, 2001).

5 Books published in Denmark-Norway were subject to censorship from the state during the entire period, with the exception of the years 1770–1773, when censorship was abolished. However, restrictions were quickly reintroduced, see Jesper Jakobsen, 'Christian Gottlob Proft og de utilladelige skrifter. Bogforbud i årene efter trykkefrihedsperioden', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 51 (2012), pp. 289–310; Henrik Horstbøll, 'Bolle Willum Luxdorphs samling af trykkefrihedens skrifter 1770–1773', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 44 (2005), pp. 371–414; Henrik Horstbøll, Ulrik Langen, and Anders Stjernfelt, *Grov Konfækt. Tre vilde år med trykkefrihed 1770–73* (2 vols., Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 2020).

private ownership held by individuals, such as learned aristocrats, clergymen, merchants and peasants. This definition excludes several institutional libraries that existed during the long eighteenth century. Thus, research on the diocesan libraries, the libraries of grammar schools, the libraries of churches, and the Queen's Reference Library is not taken into consideration.⁶

Bibliographical work done by librarians at Det Kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library, Denmark) has resulted in the creation of centralised and indispensable tools for research concerned with private book collections and libraries. Hence, this chapter begins with a short introduction to this work, in particular the creation of a Danish national bibliography. The ensuing section will deal with sizeable learned libraries of the long eighteenth century, followed by some paragraphs on book collections owned by people who did not belong to the educated elite. Next, after an overview of Danish research from the 1990s onwards inspired by new book-historical developments in Europe, the chapter concludes with a description of the field as it is today, offering perspectives for future research.

The Bibliographical Work at the Royal Library

Danish book history began as an auxiliary discipline for literary history before it became a tradition in its own right. Literary historians used bibliographical studies as a tool for their own work, though some of this published research can best be characterised as book historical in focus. One such author was the royal librarian and literary historian Rasmus Nyerup (1759–1829), who examined popular reading culture in his seminal *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* (1816).⁷ Nyerup became the founder

6 For research on diocesan libraries, see Hans Michelsen, 'Sjællands Stiftsbibliotek', *Historisk Årbog for Roskilde Amt* (2012), pp. 67–88; Karsten Christensen, 'Bogbind i Sjællands Stiftsbibliotek. Nogle eksempler fra de ældre samlinger', *Historisk Årbog for Roskilde Amt* (2012), pp. 113–122. On grammar school libraries: Bjørn Kornerup, *Ribe Katedralskoles Historie. Studier over 800 Aars dansk Skolehistorie* (2 vols., Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1947–1952); Karsten Christensen and Birger Munk Olesen, 'To pergamenthåndskrifter fra det 13. århundrede i Aalborg Katedralskoles bibliotek', *Aalborg Katedralskole* (1983), pp. 51–55. For libraries of churches, consult Niels Peter Stilling, *Politikens bog om Danmarks kirker*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Politiken, 2004); Nationalmuseet, 'Danmarks Kirker' <<http://danmarkskirker.natmus.dk/>> (last accessed 20 November 2020). For the Queen's Reference Library, see Klaus Kjølse, *Hendes Majestæt Dronningens Håndbibliotek 1746–1996* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1997).

7 Rasmus Nyerup, *Almindelig Morskabslæsning i Danmark og Norge igjennem Aarhundreder* (Copenhagen: Thiele, 1816).

of a tradition at the Royal Library, fully established during the nineteenth century and similar to the British discipline of analytical bibliography.⁸

The most significant achievement of this school was the gradual creation of a Danish national bibliography. Librarian and historian Christian Bruun (1831–1906) started this process during the last decades of the nineteenth century with the publication of his *Bibliotheca Danica*—a national bibliography in four volumes.⁹ With its essential, subsequently published, supplements it is still today the most comprehensive bibliography of early modern Danish books and hence an excellent tool for the identification of titles in early modern collections.¹⁰ This short title catalogue includes all Danish books published between 1482 and 1830 kept in the collections of the Royal Library, the Library of the University of Copenhagen, and Karen Brahe's Library in Odense.¹¹ Christian Bruun included books printed in Denmark or in Danish and followed the topical categorisation system used by the Royal Library.¹² As in other countries, some publications did not find their way into the collections of these libraries: mostly ephemera, popular print, and further editions of titles already included. Furthermore, some books were lost because

8 Jens Bjerring-Hansen and Torben Jelsbak, *Boghistorie* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2010); Charlotte Appel, 'Bogmarkedets og læsningens historie ca. 1500–1700 i nyere europæisk forskning. En introduktion', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 32 (1993), pp. 185–241.

9 Christian Bruun, *Bibliotheca Danica* (4 vols., Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1877–1902).

10 In 1914, Lauritz Nielsen produced two supplements with additional titles identified after Bruun finished his work. In 1948, H. Ehrencron-Müller published a supplement covering the period 1831–1840 as well as books published in the duchies Schleswig and Holstein. In addition, between 1961 and 1963, Erik Dal published a new edition in five volumes including Nielsen's supplements (entitled Supplement A and B) and his own further supplement (C) (Erik Dal (ed.), *Bibliotheca Danica* (5 vols., Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1961–1963).

11 Danish Noblewoman Karen Brahe (1657–1736) donated her library containing some 3,400 printed books and 1,150 manuscripts to Odense Adelige Jomfrukloster—a women's convent. This extant private library is now part of Roskilde Library. In 2006, the Royal Danish Library and Copenhagen University Library merged into a single institution, and in 2017, this institution merged with the State and University Library in Aarhus to become a combined national library under the name the Royal Danish Library.

12 This system comprised sections for: theology; law; medicine; philosophy; pedagogy; the fine arts; political science; mathematics; dynamics, statics and mechanics; astronomy; physics; meteorology, hydrography and geology; chemistry; natural history; commercial science; crafts and industry; housekeeping; agronomy; veterinary science; horticulture, forestry, hunting and fishing; warfare, maritime affairs and naval warfare; construction; geography and travel; history; linguistics, literature and periodicals (Erik Dal, 'Bibliotheca Danica 1482–1830', in Axel Andersen (ed.), *Danske Opslagsværker* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1977), vol. I, pp. 225–298).

of the great fire of Copenhagen in 1728, which incinerated large parts of the University Library. However, since legal deposit of all publications printed in Denmark has been in effect since 1697,¹³ and as printing and publishing activity was concentrated in Copenhagen,¹⁴ the Royal Library's collections contain most books published in eighteenth-century Denmark.¹⁵ These circumstances ensure that the *Bibliotheca Danica* lists most books printed in early modern Denmark and it has been an excellent tool for the identification of early modern books ever since its first edition.

Christian Bruun's successors continued the bibliographical work into the following century. Between 1919 and 1935, historian and librarian Lauritz Nielsen (1881–1947) published another national bibliography: *Dansk Bibliografi 1482–1600*, which includes Danish books found in libraries outside of Denmark. Nielsen provided detailed bibliographical descriptions of all publications as well as information about all extant copies identified so far.¹⁶ The prolific writer and librarian Erik Dal (1922–2006) contributed to the creation of a Danish national bibliography with his 1982 book on the Danish provincial press, *Dansk Provinsbogtryk gennem 500 år*.¹⁷ This book was followed by a six-volume bibliography compiled by Grethe Larsen and edited by Dal entitled *Danske provinstryk 1482–1830*, published between 1994 and 2001.¹⁸ Dal's successor

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- 13 Henrik Horstbøll and John T. Lauridsen, *Den trykte kulturarv. Pligtaflevering gennem 300 år* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 1998).
- 14 Until around 1730, there were only scattered and disjointed printing activities outside of Copenhagen, and even though presses were established in most cathedral cities during the eighteenth century for the printing of newspapers and schoolbooks, most activity was still concentrated in Copenhagen, where the number of active printers gradually grew from five in 1659 to 25 in 1826. See Erik Dal, *Dansk Provinsbogtryk gennem 500 år: en boghistorisk skitse i elleve streger* (Odense: Bogtrykkerbladets Forlag, 1982); Harald Ilsøe, *Bogtrykkerne i København og deres virksomhed ca. 1600–1810: en biobibliografisk håndbog med bidrag til bogproduktionens historie* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1992).
- 15 Charlotte Appel has estimated that *Bibliotheca Danica* contains three quarters of all editions of Danish books published in the seventeenth century, while its coverage of the eighteenth century is likely better. Henrik Horstbøll is less optimistic, giving a figure of between half and two-thirds. However, they both estimate that at least one edition of around 90% of books are contained in the pages of *Bibliotheca Danica*. Horstbøll has also compared it favourably to national bibliographies of other countries (Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*; Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*).
- 16 This bibliography (originally consisting of two volumes and a register) was later republished in a new edition with several supplements by Erik Dal (Lauritz Nielsen and Erik Dal, *Dansk Bibliografi: med særligt Hensyn til dansk Bogtrykkerkunsts Historie*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen: Det kongelige Bibliotek, 1996)).
- 17 Dal, *Dansk provinsbogtryk gennem 500 år*.
- 18 Grethe Larsen and Erik Dal, *Danske provinstryk 1482–1830. En bibliografi* (Copenhagen: Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 2001).

Harald Ilsøe (1933–2019) had a similarly diverse and productive research output through his long career. His 1992 book *Bogtrykkere i København* continued where Lauritz Nielsen's bibliography had stopped (in the year 1600), but with different source material: primarily the sales catalogues of Copenhagen printers from 1600–1810. This book, in his own words “a bibliographical handbook” of printers, combined biographical information and business details such as print capacity with a detailed list of their print output, and accompanied these with references to bibliographies such as the *Bibliotheca Danica*.¹⁹

Considered together, the above works form a comprehensive national bibliography of an international standard, and researchers working with Danish book collections have excellent tools for the identification of early modern books. The tradition at the Royal Library has shaped Danish book history through the librarians' many investigations into the library's collections.²⁰ The value of their bibliographical work cannot be overstated, and it is indispensable for any researcher interested in private book collections and libraries of eighteenth-century Denmark. Many royal librarians have also contributed with research on private book collections, especially on those of the learned elite.

Extensive Libraries of the Learned Elite

During the long eighteenth century, Danish noblemen collected books to an extent not seen before, and they created large learned libraries comparable in size to the largest in Europe. These libraries have deservedly received much attention from researchers. However, there has been an even greater interest for the preceding period, as the time between the Danish reformation (1536) and the introduction of absolutism (1660) has traditionally been regarded as the apogee of the power of the nobility.²¹ Thus, cultural historians have exhibited a predilection for this period's nobility and their libraries.²²

19 Ilsøe, *Bogtrykkerne i København*.

20 Since 1954, much research has been published in the Royal Library's journal *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*. English abstracts are available from 1973 onwards.

21 The period is often referred to as *adelsvælden*, which translates to ‘aristocratic government’. For a general introduction to this period, see Knud J.V. Jespersen, *A History of Denmark*, 2nd ed. (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

22 For example, Peter Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau. A Bibliography* (Copenhagen: Society for Danish Language and Literature, 2004); Susanne Outzen and Karsten Christensen, *Birgitte Gøye & Herluf Trolles bøger* (Vordingborg: Museum Sydøstdanmark, 2016).

Researchers of private book collections in eighteenth-century Denmark have a wide range of excellent sources at their disposal. Hundreds of private libraries of the long eighteenth century can be studied through the collections of the Royal Library, as books from these collections ended up here either as donations or purchases. While these collections have not been kept separately, and many books have later been eliminated as duplicates, large parts of the Royal Library's holdings can be traced back to these eighteenth-century private libraries and allow material studies of these collections.²³

Other sources open up to a book world far beyond the Danish nobility. In 1660s Copenhagen, auctions of private book collections began taking place regularly. Many of the collections put up for auction belonged to the nobility and higher strata of the clergy and they were of a scope that required printed auction catalogues. About 1,500 of these catalogues are still extant. Some are just a few pages long, while others cover 500 pages, but they are all excellent sources—not just to document the second-hand book trade, but also to study the many private book collections of the time.

One of the first scholars to acknowledge the value of these auction catalogues was the above-mentioned Christian Bruun, who studied a collection of printed catalogues kept at the Royal Library. In his 1873 book *Det Store Kongelige Bibliotheks Stiftelse*, about the founding of the Royal Library, he touched upon these private collections.²⁴ He studied 200 catalogues from 1661–1699, of which about 190 were auction catalogues, and found that the collections were of such international character when it came to the languages represented by the books that they could have belonged to learned men of any nationality. Books in Danish were the exception, not the rule. The owners belonged to the highest strata of society: noblemen and high clergy; their collections were extensive—with the library of high court judge Jørgen Seefeld (1594–1662), containing 26,000 volumes, being the largest. With some pride, Christian Bruun exclaimed that this Danish nobleman might have owned the most extensive private collection of the seventeenth century. With his book, Bruun unlocked a new field of research that would use auction catalogues as a source

23 For an overview of these collections and a general history of the Royal Library, see Harald Ilsøe, *Det kongelige Bibliotek i støbeskeen. Studier og samlinger til bestandens historie indtil ca. 1780* (2 vols., Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 1999); Erich Christian Werlauff, *Historiske Efterretninger om det store kongelige Bibliotek i Kiøbenhavn* (Copenhagen: Samfundet til den danske Literaturs Fremme, 1844). Specifically on eliminations of duplicates, see Harald Ilsøe, 'Bøger der gik den anden vej. Historien om hvad der blev af Det kongelige Bibliotheks dubletter', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Bibliotheks Samlinger*, 37 (1998), pp. 11–62.

24 Bruun, *Det store Kongelige Bibliotheks Stiftelse*.

for studying early modern book collections. Moreover, he left an unpublished annotated list of auction catalogues from the period 1650–1800.²⁵

Since the Scandinavian languages are mutually intelligible, much past and present research crosses national borders; book history is no exception. The writings by the Swedish book historian and librarian Otto Walde (1879–1963) are a good example. He contributed to early research on Danish learned private collections with his major work from 1920, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten*—a two-volume study on books taken to Sweden as spoils of war.²⁶ Other publications treating Danish libraries include articles in the journal *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, a pan-Nordic periodical on the history of the book and of libraries.²⁷ His work on books found at the collections of Skokloster Castle in Sweden that were taken from Denmark as spoils of war, offered valuable knowledge concerning the provenance of early modern books and especially those lost among European book collections due to war spoliations. Walde would have a long-lasting influence on students of Danish private libraries.

One of the researchers inspired by the works of Walde was historian and librarian Ellen Jørgensen (1877–1948), with her 1917 article on seventeenth-century libraries of the Danish nobility. She found that, within these collections, contemporary literature dominated and, as Christian Bruun had already observed, Danish books were a minority. Going into more detail about the individual titles than Bruun, she examined the confessional trends to which the theological books belonged. She found that works by Luther were surprisingly few and that Philippist and Reformed theology was as common as orthodox Lutheran works were, even though the period she examined is often regarded as dominated by Lutheran orthodoxy.²⁸ Carl Sophus Petersen (1873–1958) was another royal librarian who used printed auction catalogues to study private book collections. He was the first to look for books of specific authors

25 Bruun's manuscript is being prepared for publication by the Royal Library; I am thankful to Anders Toftgaard for this information. For the most comprehensive overview of auction catalogues today, see Harald Ilsøe, *Biblioteker til salg. Om danske bogauktioner og kataloger 1661–1811* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 2007). More on this book follows below.

26 Otto Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten. En kulturhistorisk-bibliografisk studie* (2 vols., Uppsala, Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1916–1920).

27 The original journal ran from 1914 to 1997. It was briefly revived in the new millennium being published from 2001 to 2007 under the slightly modified name *Nordisk Tidskrift För Bok- och Bibliotekshistoria*. Otto Walde, 'Om bokanteckningar som källor och behovet af proveniens-kataloger', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 5 (1918), pp. 77–111; Otto Walde, 'Studier i äldre dansk bibliotekshistoria', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 19 (1932), pp. 1–66.

28 Jørgensen, 'Danske adelige Biblioteker'.

across different collections in his examination of works by Ludvig Holberg in contemporary book collections (1720–1723). In his investigation, which also touches on methodological challenges of this type of source material, he gives a detailed description of several book collections mostly belonging to noblemen but a few of them also to pastors.²⁹

One of the most extensive, systematic studies of private libraries of the Danish elite is Lauritz Nielsen's *Danske Privatbiblioteker gennem Tiderne* from 1946, covering the first decades of the long eighteenth century. Nielsen examines seventeenth-century private libraries that primarily belonged to the nobility, and a smaller fraction of them to members of the high clergy and some high-ranking officials and scholars. Nielsen, eager to write the history of early modern Danish bibliophilia, had planned to publish studies on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but died one year after publishing the first volume.³⁰ His main interest were the collections that were important according to their size and value, and to the status of their owner. In his descriptions of these private libraries, Nielsen described the books following the catalogues. Through various sources, he described how and where the libraries were kept, who had access to them and how they were used. While Nielsen covered the beginning of the long eighteenth century, literary historian Knud Frederik Plesner (1898–1968) covered the last decades of the long eighteenth century in his 1957 *Danske bogsamlere i det nittende århundrede*.³¹ He argued that the book collections of the nineteenth century were under-researched and examined almost 300 auction catalogues from the period for his overview of that century's collections. He left his annotated survey of these catalogues to the Royal Library as a continuation of Christian Bruun's manuscript mentioned above.

While no investigation focusing on the eighteenth century exists that is similarly systematic to Nielsen and Plesner, an overview of the whole period 1661–1811 has been published by Harald Ilsøe in his 2007 *Biblioteker til salg*.³² In the introduction of his book, Ilsøe offers a history of Danish book auctions. Inspired by book auctions in Amsterdam and beginning already in 1661, they were some of the earliest book auctions organised outside of the Netherlands.³³

29 Carl Sophus Petersen, *Afhandling til dansk Bog- og Bibliotekshistorie* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1949).

30 Lauritz Nielsen, *Danske Privatbiblioteker gennem Tiderne. 1. Indtil Udgangen af det 17. Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen, 1946).

31 Knud Frederik Plesner, *Danske bogsamlere i det nittende århundrede* (Copenhagen: Forening for Boghaandværk, 1957).

32 Ilsøe, *Biblioteker til salg*.

33 Auctions were held earlier in Leuven and Helmstedt—in 1636 and 1659, respectively (Bert van Selm, *Een menigte treffelijcke boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1987), p. 11).

Ilse estimates that the 1,500 extant auction catalogues only document parts of the period's book auctions.³⁴ Besides this brief history of Danish book auctions, the main part of the book presents a selective bibliography of about 430 book auctions, based on extant auction catalogues and other sources, such as notices in newspapers and accounting records. Encompassing a vast amount of material in one single volume, it contains many rather short descriptions. Moreover, Ilse provides references for each collection when available. This book is an indispensable handbook to all researchers using Danish auction catalogues as their source material.

While the private, learned libraries of the eighteenth century have not been investigated as a whole, the *individual* libraries of learned men have received much scholarly attention ever since Christian Bruun's work based on auction catalogues in 1873. Four important private libraries from the first half of the period have been described in detail. Lauritz Nielsen and Harald Ilse have both studied the library of university professor Peder Hansen Resen (1625–1688).³⁵ Christian Kaaber has examined bishop and hymn-writer Thomas Kingo's (1634–1703) book collection.³⁶ Knud Larsen thoroughly investigated the library of high-ranking official Frederik Rostgaard (1671–1745) in his *Frederik Rostgaard og bøgerne* (1970) and in 1997, Carl Johan Ballhausen studied the library of Professor Hans Gram (1685–1748).³⁷ From the second half of the eighteenth century, libraries that were even more impressive were put up for auction. The largest, with an estimated 200,000 titles, was the one owned by Count Otto Thott (1703–1785). For good reasons, it has always received much scholarly attention and still does so today. Among the latest articles on this collection are those by Harald Ilse, Stig T. Rasmussen, Ruth Bentzen (1932–2014)

34 Ilse, *Biblioteker til salg*, pp. 12–13. Ilse did not give an estimate of the total amount of book auctions of the period. While the majority of printed catalogues probably survive, many lesser auctions took place, which did not require a printed catalogue, instead the organisers relied on the circulation of a manuscript. This was also the case for auction sales of personal effects held all over the country. These auctions often contained books, and handwritten auction protocols can be found among the probate inventories of the period, more on these below.

35 Nielsen, *Danske Privatbiblioteker*; Harald Ilse, 'Peder Resens nordiske bibliotek, katalog, bibliografi og boghandel i sidste halvdel af 1600-tallet', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 30 (1991), pp. 26–49.

36 Christian Kaaber, 'Bispens bibliotek. Thomas Kingo og hans bøger', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 57 (2018), pp. 117–130.

37 Knud Larsen, *Frederik Rostgaard og bøgerne* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1970); Carl Johan Ballhausen, 'Bogauctionen 1749 over Hans Grams trykte bøger', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 36 (1997), pp. 253–260.

and Anders Toftgaard.³⁸ Thott's contemporary Peter Frederik Suhm (1728–1798) was also an avid collector and his library, which he opened to the public, contained an estimated 100,000 volumes.³⁹ In 1898, Christian Bruun wrote a biography on Suhm in which he also deals with his library.⁴⁰ Suhm and his library have been the subject of several articles, most recently by Gerhard Munthe.⁴¹

Clerical Libraries, Urban Book Collections and Books Owned by Peasants

While there has of course been much interest in the impressive libraries of the elite, researchers have also paid attention to privately-owned libraries that allowed wider public access and book collections of people belonging to other social groups of eighteenth-century Denmark. Just as Suhm opened his private library to the public, many other efforts were made to create libraries open to the public. Librarian Helge Nielsen (1919–1999) dealt with such libraries from the period 1770–1834 in his study *Folkebibliotekernes forgængere* (1960), an ambitious synthesis on the prehistory of Danish public libraries.⁴² Nielsen analysed the efforts made during this period to enlighten the population and explored all the libraries that were established for the 'common man' and libraries owned by the growing middle class. While all of the libraries Nielsen dealt with do not necessarily fall under the definition of 'private' used in this article, some do: for example, Suhm's library. While his investigation did not

38 Harald Ilsoe, 'Hvordan så Otto Thotts bøger ud?', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 35 (1996), pp. 65–93; Stig T. Rasmussen, 'Otto Thotts orientalske håndskrifter identificeret på grundlag Det Kgl. Biblioteks arkiv', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 37 (1998), pp. 299–324; Ruth Bentzen, 'Lord Harley og grev Thott. En studie i nogle af Det Kongelige Biblioteks bind og bøger fra Harleys og Thotts bogsamlinger', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 44 (2005), pp. 277–369; Anders Toftgaard, 'Landkort over en samling. Hvad katalogposterne kan fortælle om Otto Thotts håndskriftsamling—og om katalogisering', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 58 (2019), pp. 129–160.

39 K.F. Plesner, 'Bibliofiliens historie', in Svend Dahl (ed.), *Nordisk håndbog i bibliotekskundskab* (1958), vol. II, pp. 370–395.

40 Christian Bruun, *Peter Frederik Suhm. 18. oktober 1728–7. september 1798. En Levnetsbeskrivelse* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1898).

41 Robert L. Hansen, 'Peter Frederik Suhm og hans bibliotek', *Bibliotek og Forskning*, 12 (1963), pp. 7–33; P.M. Mitchell, 'P.F. Suhms "Fornødent Bibliothek"', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Bok- och Biblioteksväsen*, 60 (1973), pp. 1–34; Gerhard Munthe, 'Suhm og Norge', *Bibliotekshistorie*, 1 (1985), pp. 7–29.

42 Helge Nielsen, *Folkebibliotekernes forgængere. Oplysning, almue- og borgerbiblioteker fra 1770'erne til 1834* (Dansk Bibliografisk Kontor, 1960).

include analysis of the lending practices of the libraries' users, his comprehensive investigation still proves an indispensable reference work in the domain.

Helge Nielsen's book is one example of the influence of social history and *history from below* on research on private libraries. A widening of the research field to include the book collections of people outside the so-called elite gradually took place from the late nineteenth century onwards. This research was based on new types of sources, such as the growing number of probate inventories in the long eighteenth century, a result of the increased regulation of the probate system by the growing absolutist state beginning in 1661. Danish historians have long appreciated the value of probate inventories as a source for cultural and economic history.⁴³ In the nineteenth century, many historians interested in agrarian history began using probate inventories to document the cultural and economic history of early modern peasants. This sparked a new interest in book ownership among classes whose book collections had hitherto not been the object of research.

From the late nineteenth century on, researchers began to pay attention to the book collections of ordinary clergymen such as pastors and parish clerks.⁴⁴ The author, librarian, and politician Frederik Barfod (1811–1896) was the first to use clerical probate inventories as a source for studying book collections owned by pastors. His 1887 article 'Nogle præstelige Bogsamlinger', a modest title best translated as "Some clerical book collections", examined the book collections of 26 pastors in the countryside of Zealand through clerical probate inventories from 1689 to 1729.⁴⁵ While Barfod, inspired by agrarian history, was primarily interested in the total value of the estates and the relative value of the book collections, he also studied the titles the pastors owned. Perhaps his most interesting conclusion was that the collections, mostly made up of Latin and some Danish books, contained more books in Dutch than in German.

Georg Hansen's (1916–1992) cultural history of eighteenth-century pastors in Denmark published in 1947 includes an appendix listing the most common secular books found in 160 clerical probate inventories.⁴⁶ While historian Troels Dahlerup's (1925–2006) article on books owned by a rural dean from the

43 Johan Jørgensen, *Skifter og testamenter* (Dansk Historisk Fællesforening, 1968).

44 Already in 1874, historian D.H. Wulff published an article on the book collections of pastors based on an unusual source—a bishop's register of books owned by his subordinate pastors from 1553 (D.H. Wulff, 'Biskop Oluf Chrysostomus's Fortegnelse over Præsternes Bøger i Vendelbo Stift', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 3:1 (1874), pp. 165–212).

45 Frederik Barfod, 'Nogle præstelige Bogsamlinger', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 3:6 (1887), pp. 792–797.

46 Georg Hansen, *Præsten paa Landet i Danmark i det 18. Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen: Det danske Forlag, 1947).

middle of the seventeenth century is formally just outside the period considered in our present study, his methodological discussions deserve mention.⁴⁷ Dahlerup asks why some books ended up in the inventory, while some did not, and he is perhaps the first to connect book collections to professional habits such as those linked to the pastor's involvement in the school system. He also made excellent contributions to the field of literacy studies, examining literacy rates in early modern Denmark.⁴⁸

The researchers mentioned above contributed to the historiography of private book collections by widening the object of investigation from the colossal learned collections of the highest strata of society to those of ordinary clergymen. The scholars presented in the following paragraphs widened this scope even further by including book collections owned by people without university training, arguably a much more significant leap.

While, as early as 1884, the historian, librarian and archivist Oluf Nielsen (1836–1896) examined a small sample of book catalogues from the year 1719, it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that researchers began to pay attention to urban book collections.⁴⁹ Historian Jørgen Olrik (1875–1941) was the first to use probate inventories to investigate urban book collections: a list of books contained in twenty inventories is to be found in his study on urban homes in the market town of Helsingør.⁵⁰ Following Olrik, other researchers contributed with investigations of book ownership in different market towns in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Denmark: V. Woll (1868–1958) examined the town of Kerteminde (on the Island of Funen), Palle Birkelund (1912–2012) focused on Aarhus (Jutland), Holger Rasmussen (1915–2009) studied Odense (Funen), and Johan Jørgensen (1924–1969) worked on Kalundborg (Zealand).⁵¹ They all paid particular attention to probate inventories of local bookbinders, thus contributing to a reconstruction of the local

47 Troels Dahlerup, 'Provsten i Lumby hr. Oluf Andersen og hans bibliothek', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 7 (1961), pp. 348–358.

48 Another study of an individual pastor's book collection was published by Hans Michelsen in 1995, but as this pastor died in 1588, his book falls outside the scope of this article (Hans Michelsen, *Peder Sørensen: en præst og hans bøger* (Roskilde: Roskilde Stiftsblad, 1995)).

49 Oluf Nielsen, *Kjøbenhavn paa Holbergs Tid. Kulturhistoriske Billeder fra Begyndelsen af det 18. Aarhundrede* (Copenhagen: Forlagsbureauet i Kjøbenhavn, 1884).

50 Jørgen Olrik, *Borgerlige Hjem i Helsingør for 300 Aar siden* (Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad, 1903).

51 V. Woll, 'Om Borgerskabets Læsning i det 17. Aarhundrede', *Aarvog for Historisk Samfund for Odense og Assens Amter*, 22 (1934), pp. 591–595; Palle Birkelund, 'Noget om Læsning—og lidt om Boghandel—i Aarhus', *Aarbøger udgivne af Historisk Samfund for Aarhus Stift*, 32 (1939), pp. 17–43; Holger Rasmussen, *Bøger og bogbindere i Odense før 1694* (Odense, 1959); Johan Jørgensen, 'Bogsamlinger i Kalundborg i slutningen af det 17. århundrede', *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger*, 7:4 (1961), pp. 359–371.

supply of books in each town. Influenced by the rising trend of social history, they were all interested in the differences between book collections of people from diverse social backgrounds. While Woll found that only the upper-middle class owned what could be properly called collections, Birkelund was interested in the books owned by the urban population at large, and he found considerable differences between what he described as an educated upper class and a less educated middle class in his survey of 406 inventories (of which 110 listed books with titles).⁵² Out of these early investigations, Rasmussen's was the most ambitious study in scope, as he set out to describe not just the book collections but also the whole book market in a Danish market town. In his investigation of about one hundred probates (of which fourteen contained books), Jørgensen drew comparisons between his results, in which he divided the book owners according to their trade, and the research that came before him. All these historians used probate inventories as their primary sources and their methodological discussions gradually deepened.

Throughout the previous two centuries, researchers have also studied the book world of peasants. The first to look into this world was librarian and historian Erich Christian Werlauff (1781–1871), who did not study actual book ownership but, instead, studied the books accessible to and printed for the common man.⁵³ The first researcher to study the actual book collections of peasants was Frits Heide (1883–1957).⁵⁴ His analysis of no fewer than 1,300 probate inventories from eighteenth-century Zealand resulted in an article published in 1918, which documented book ownership of peasants living on the land belonging to two manors. He found that 98 out of the 1,300 inventories contained books, of which he identified the vast majority as 'religious'.⁵⁵ The differences in these collections led him to conclude that there were significant social disparities among peasants, and he described what he called a 'peasant aristocracy'. Heide was also the first historian to reflect on how these inventories were made. According to him, a scribe would write down the titles while somebody else dictated, except the very complex titles, copied verbatim from the book handed to him. Heide also made the point that some titles might represent the same copy circulating in the same area through generations.

In continuation of Heide's work, theologian and church historian Folmer Elle Jensen (1885–1973) studied probate inventories of peasants from the latter

52 Birkelund did not count inventories with entries such as "some old books".

53 Werlauff, *Historiske Antegnelser*.

54 Heide, 'Bidrag til Spørgsmålet om den danske Almues Læsning'.

55 Only eight inventories contained any 'verdslige', meaning 'secular', books, according to Heide's own definition.

half of the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ He studied 337 inventories in a specific area of Western Jutland and compared this sample with his more extensive study of 1,040 inventories scattered across Jutland. He found that book ownership was much more widespread than in Heide's studies, arguing that peasants in Jutland (and especially Western Jutland) were more likely to own and read books than peasants on Zealand.⁵⁷ His research, which resulted in several articles and a book, had a clear theological focus, resonating with his background in ecclesiastical history. He was particularly interested in confessional trends represented in the peasants' book collections, concluding that Pietism was not as widespread in Jutland as hitherto assumed. In contrast, orthodox, penance-focused literature dominated the collections. Elle Jensen argued that the large proportion of religious literature was due to clerical auctions as the primary way in which peasants acquired books. Books certainly circulated in this manner, as he showed in his 1959 article on clerical auction catalogues, but peasants also purchased books through travelling book peddlars and book sales in churches, as Birkelund had pointed out six years before the publication of Elle Jensen's first article.⁵⁸

New Developments in Book History

While all the contributions mentioned above may still be worth consulting, most of them can be characterised as quite specialised investigations—not attempts at broader book historical syntheses. While, in other countries, new developments in book history took place in the 1980s—especially in the French tradition of *Histoire du livre*, where scholars such as Roger Chartier and Robert Darnton developed book history as an interdisciplinary field of research solidly

56 Folmer Elle Jensen, 'Vestjydsk Bondelæsning i Stavnsbaandstiden', *Jyske Samlinger*, 5:6 (1943), pp. 251–264; Jensen, *Pietismen i Jylland*; Folmer Elle Jensen, 'Bøger i gamle Skifteprotokoller fra Hads Herred', *Aarbøger udgivne af Historisk Samfund for Aarhus Stift*, 1959, pp. 170–178.

57 Henrik Horstbøll has since then criticised this comparison for not taking into account the different periods and background of the book owners in these investigations (Henrik Horstbøll, "Nedsivningsteori", kultursammenstød og kulturhistorie. Kampen mod bondesamfundets husholdningshorisont i Danmark i det 18. århundrede', *Den jyske historiker*, 26 (1983), pp. 76–98.) While these criticisms are certainly valid, Charlotte Appel argues that Elle Jensen might very well be on to something, as her studies indicate more widespread literacy in Jutland than in Zealand in the seventeenth century (Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*).

58 Birkelund, 'Noget om Læsning'.

grounded in theory⁵⁹—these developments did not reach Danish book history until the 1990s, when Henrik Horstbøll and Charlotte Appel introduced these new book-historical developments into the Danish tradition with their respective doctoral theses.⁶⁰

Historian and librarian Henrik Horstbøll took an interest in early modern Danish popular print, which resulted in his thesis *Menigmands medie*, published in 1999.⁶¹ Building on an older Danish tradition of studying popular literature established by Rasmus Nyerup at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and drawing inspiration from new book historical approaches especially from the French tradition, Horstbøll mapped out printed matter that had the ‘common man’ as its intended reader in Denmark during the period 1500–1840. Horstbøll’s primary source materials were the bibliographies *Bibliotheca Danica* and *Dansk Bibliografi* and their supplements. He contrasted these with other sources such as booksellers’ catalogues and inventories, auction catalogues and records from subscription libraries. He studied the book formats of popular print and the moral worldview found in chapbooks.

Concerning private book collections, Horstbøll’s main contribution is his investigation of the subscription libraries in the latter half of the eighteenth century. After Helge Nielsen’s research on private libraries in 1960, he was the first to examine this type of sources in detail and the first to examine the contents and languages of the books in these libraries. He found a decline of French language books and a rise of the genres of fiction and biography. In a separate article, he examined the age of the books based on their earliest date of publication and found that the share of older titles grew in the period studied.⁶² Horstbøll thoroughly studied which literature was available for the ‘common man’ in early modern Denmark. However, his chosen source material did not allow him to study how it reached its intended readers.

Also concerned with popular print, cultural historian Charlotte Appel took a different approach. Her two-volume thesis entitled *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* is a thorough enquiry into reading, literacy, book

59 Chartier and Darnton, of course, drew on earlier work in the French tradition from the 1960s onwards.

60 The Danish *doktorgrad* (higher doctorate) is not to be confused with the PhD, but is a separate degree based on a major published work (generally 600–1,000 pages long, and with extensive English summaries) of research defended against two peers. It is mostly achieved by established scholars.

61 Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie*.

62 Henrik Horstbøll, ‘De “Små historier” og læserevolutionen i 1700-tallet’, *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 33 (1994), pp. 77–99.

ownership, and the print market of seventeenth-century Denmark.⁶³ Her investigation of approximately 2,400 probate inventories from several Danish market towns is still *the* major work on urban book ownership and book collections in seventeenth-century Denmark. After thorough methodological reflections, Appel examined the inventories using three different approaches. Firstly, a general overview of urban book collections listed in probate inventories through three generations of book owners 30 years apart. Here, she found a growth in the rate of urban book ownership and a dominance of books in Danish and German. Secondly, she mapped different topics and genres of specific books, finding a rise of secular imprints and devotional literature aimed at the individual rather than the collective. Thirdly, she examined a range of specific book collections with varying sizes (from the very small containing three to six books, to larger collections of 25–99 books). She also examined where these books were kept in the respective homes and compared book ownership across gender and occupations. Through these chapters, she drew comparisons with most of the research mentioned above, assembling a very comprehensive picture of book ownership in towns of seventeenth-century Denmark. Moreover, she compared her results with findings from other European countries, putting the Danish case into an international context.

The Field in 2020: State of the Art and Perspectives

As shown above, the history of Danish book collections of the eighteenth century is a fairly well-researched topic, although some sources still hold much untapped potential. During the last twenty years, archivists and librarians have made considerable efforts to digitise sources and make them available online.

The Royal Danish Library has digitised its catalogue, meaning all titles are searchable in its online catalogue, and information about provenance has been entered as metadata.⁶⁴ Likewise, its collection of Danish books printed before 1601 has been digitised and made available in the database *Early European Books*, with books from the seventeenth century soon being added.⁶⁵ The Danish National Archives have made handwritten probate inventories and auction catalogues from around 1650 until around 1910 publicly available.⁶⁶

63 Appel, *Læsning og bogmarked*.

64 Jarle Rui Aadna, 'Synliggørelse af proveniens i kbs bøger', *Magasin fra Det kongelige Bibliotek*, 25:3 (2012), pp. 28–33.

65 For more details, see Toftgaard, 'Princely libraries'.

66 Rigsarkivet, 'Arkivalieronline—Skifter' <<https://www.sa.dk/ao-soegesider/da/collection/theme/30>> (last accessed 20 November 2020).

Along with published auction catalogues, these sources offer great tools for researchers interested in private book collections.

There is still much activity at the Royal Library, and research with new focuses and approaches is published every year in *Fund og Forskning*.⁶⁷ Regarding the extensive learned collections of the elite, Harald Ilsøe's 2007 *Biblioteker til salg* serves as an excellent overview of the extant catalogues, and many of the large private libraries of the eighteenth century have not yet been described in much detail. Further studies, such as a systematic investigation into the languages, genres and authors of the books these libraries contained would be most welcome, and Ilsøe's book combined with the unpublished notes of Christian Bruun and Knud Frederik Plesner offer the perfect foundation for such endeavours.

Book collections held by churches also offer excellent opportunities for further research, as many have not yet been studied in detail. While not traditionally regarded as private collections, the boundary between the book collection of an early modern pastor and the library of the parish church was often vague. A systematic investigation of books found in churches would be a welcome addition to the field. Book collections such as these are generally hard to study, as the collections themselves have often disappeared. However, extraordinary sources sometimes allow research on ordinary libraries. In a 2012 article, Charlotte Appel examined such a source: a collection of inventories of the books in village schools presented to a bishop on his visitation journeys in Northern Jutland in the 1750s.⁶⁸ As many pastors established and improved on these book collections, they also give us an insight into their private collections. Appel found that most schools had only a few books because it was generally the responsibility of parents to supply schoolbooks. She found a high degree of continuity in the schoolbooks listed, and new government-sanctioned curriculum only gradually found its place on the bookshelves. More research on this topic remains to be done.

For extensive, systematic investigations of multiple book collections, probate inventories still hold great potential. As shown above, Danish researchers have not been afraid of using this type of source. However, since Appel's work at the beginning of the last decade, broad syntheses based on this type of material have been missing in Danish research. While Appel thoroughly

67 For example, Henrik Horstbøll, 'En bogtrykker og boghandler i København. Claude Philiberts forbindelse med Société typographique de Neuchatel 1771–1783', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 51 (2012), pp. 311–335; Harald Ilsøe, 'Bogbind med historie', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 55 (2016), pp. 257–273.

68 Charlotte Appel, 'Bøger i 1700-tallets nordjyske landsbyskoler', *Fund og Forskning i Det Kongelige Biblioteks Samlinger*, 51 (2012), pp. 233–259.

covered book ownership in the seventeenth century, especially in towns, research on the eighteenth century is still lacking. Apart from a few smaller studies mentioned above, book ownership in the countryside has not been covered either. It seems as if the field of research on book ownership has stagnated in the last decade. Appel's work inspired the Norwegian book historian Gina Dahl to conduct several systematic investigations into the book collections of the Norwegian clergy based on clerical probate inventories.⁶⁹ Danish researchers have only studied book collections of the Danish clergy sparingly, which is surprising, considering the increased attention given to the important role pastors played in the early modern world in Danish research, especially in connection to research relating to the long Reformation and the shaping of confessional culture.⁷⁰ Dahl's work in turn inspired the 2022 PhD thesis by the present author, who conducted a similar investigation into the book collections of Danish clergymen in the long eighteenth century based on probate inventories and local auction catalogues.⁷¹

In conclusion, Danish research on private book collections and libraries has a long tradition that goes back to the nineteenth century. Researchers have long worked on the collections of the Royal Danish Library, and their fundamental bibliographical work is an excellent foundation for further research. Some of the large-sized learned collections of the eighteenth century have been studied in detail, but many are still virtually untouched, and larger, systematic investigations based on printed auction catalogues still hold potential, as do the libraries of churches and parish schools, sources permitting. Urban book collections have been thoroughly studied, while researchers have paid less attention to book collections of peasants and clergy in the countryside. The forerunners of public libraries such as subscription libraries have been examined well, but studies of actual lending practices based on library ledgers are still mostly missing. Combined with probate inventories and auction catalogues, this type of source material probably offers the best opportunities for future research. It is also vital to see Danish book collections and libraries

69 Gina Dahl, *Book Collections of Clerics in Norway, 1650–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Gina Dahl, *Books in Early Modern Norway* (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Gina Dahl, *Libraries and Enlightenment. Eighteenth-Century Norway and Outer World* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2014).

70 See among others Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen, *Når det regner på præsten. En kulturhistorie om sognepræster og sognefolk 1550–1750* (Højbjerg: Hovedland, 2009); Charlotte Appel and Morten Fink-Jensen (eds.), *Religious Reading in the Lutheran North. Studies in Early Modern Scandinavian Book Culture* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011); Nina Javette Koefoed et al. (eds.), *Religion som forklaring? Om kirke og religion i stat og samfund* (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2018).

71 The thesis was successfully defended in June 2022.

of the eighteenth century in a greater, transnational perspective. Comparisons with the book collections of other European countries as well as studies of specific transnational exchanges probably hold the most potential for future research in this field.

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‘The Cornerstone of Scholarship’: Library Catalogues in Late Imperial China

Fan Wang

Private Libraries and Library Catalogues: An Overview

The spread of printing (both geographically and across the social spectrum) in late Imperial China (1368–1911) was accompanied by a concomitant rise in the number of private libraries. In the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), 897 people left written records of their book collections and collecting activities, more than those in the Song and Yuan Dynasties (960–1368) combined. Of these documented collectors, 231 allegedly owned more than 10,000 fascicles, and at least eight more than 70,000 fascicles. In the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), the number of documented private libraries rose to 2082, more than in all previous dynasties combined; of these, 543 contained more than 10,000 fascicles, and at least 74 contained more than 100,000.¹ The proliferation of books led not only to considerable growth in the size and number of private libraries, but also to an expansion of the range of books they contained as well as the social and cultural functions they assumed: as a locus of knowledge production, a site of scholarly collaboration and exchange, an expression of the private self, a gateway to prestige and power.

As Walter Benjamin compellingly observed, “if there is a counterpart to the confusion of a library, it is the order of its catalogue”.² To chart the rapidly evolving world of books, collectors compiled catalogues increasingly varied in format, elaborate in organisation, and diverse in purpose. There are 167 known catalogues of private libraries from the Ming Dynasty, of which forty-eight survive in full manuscript or printed copy; and of the 670 known library catalogues from the Qing Dynasty, 350 have survived.³ This chapter focuses on catalogues of private libraries in the long seventeenth and eighteenth century (roughly from the 1550s to the 1810s). The first part of the chapter presents

1 These statistics are drawn from the invaluable lists of private library catalogues compiled by Fan Fengshu in *Zhongguo sijia cangshu shi* (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 2001).

2 Walter Benjamin, trans. Henry Zohn, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 2007), p. 60.

3 Fan, *Zhongguo*, pp. 251–263, 428–475.

an overview of these extant catalogues, outlining their various formats, their organisational structures, and their different types. Some are shelf-lists that functioned as finding mechanisms, while others focus on rare books. Some catalogue books by subject, or genre, or association with geographical area or historical period. Some were compiled for inheritance purposes, others are legal documents (e.g. inventories of confiscated properties of fallen officials), and yet others were compiled for commercial purposes (e.g. sale catalogues of private libraries, often made by the owners and circulated among friends and colleagues).

Most of these extant library catalogues are simple inventory lists, with entries that provide only the title of the book and the number of its volumes or fascicles. A few eccentric collectors in the late Ming Dynasty, such as Qi Chenghan (1563–1628) and Xu Bo (1563–1639), experimented with the table-format. Though this practice never gained momentum among private collectors, it inspired some imperial librarians in the eighteenth century, who adopted the table-format when drawing up a shelf catalogue for the magisterial “Complete Library of the Four Treasuries”, a collection of 3,461 books in 36,381 volumes compiled by 361 scholars from 1773–1782 under the imperial edict of Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799). Perhaps the most peculiar library catalogue from the late imperial period is the one compiled, or more precisely, composed by Gu Guangqi (1766–1835) for the collection of rare Song Dynasty (960–1276) editions assembled by his friend and fellow bibliophile, Huang Pilie (1763–1825). From 1792 to 1802, drawing upon his profound knowledge of the book trade (as a bookseller and publisher himself) as well as his extensive networks with collectors, book dealers, and scholar-officials, Huang managed to acquire more than one hundred fiercely sought-after Song imprints. To commemorate this feat, he invited Gu Guangqi to catalogue these treasures, not in lists or tables but in rhymed parallel prose, a highly formal and ornate genre in the Chinese literary tradition. The result is both a literary curiosity and a delightful variation on traditional cataloguing practices. Restricted by rhyme schemes, metrical patterns, and sentence lengths, Gu’s beautifully worded catalogue, however, does not make an easily consultable record, nor does it contain much bibliographical information. To redress this lack, Huang Pilie added an extensive line-by-line interlinear commentary, detailing full titles, date of publication, size and style of script, number of characters in each column, number of columns per page, and the presence of commentary. Sometimes he included anecdotes about a book’s provenance or publication history, how he came across it, how it compared with other editions, and so forth. This rhymed catalogue, complemented by Huang’s expert commentary, constitutes one of

the most singularly formatted, thoroughly annotated bibliographical works in pre-modern China.

In another contribution to the present volume, Joseph Black notes that the main sources used for the *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (PLRE) project are inventories, catalogues, and wills, with other records occasionally edited from transportation lists, donations, purchase records, and lists of books seized in raids. The variety, though certainly not the quantity, of sources available for Chinese book historians of the late imperial period is more limited by comparison. To begin with, there are few extant records—wills or other legal documents—about bequests of books. Since primogeniture was not the norm, properties were usually divided up between the male children upon the death of the patriarch—that is, if the family chose not to stay as a unified unit. But, so far as I know, the only documented case of an inventory of books explicitly and exclusively compiled for inheritance purpose was the one made by Wan Shihe (1517–1587), which, unfortunately, does not survive.⁴ Was a library customarily divided equally among the sons? Or would the eldest boy receive the largest proportion? Or maybe the entire library would go to the son with the strongest scholarly tendencies, regardless of seniority? Without relevant records, we can only speculate. Of course, some collectors, like many of their western counterparts, abhorred the idea of breaking up their libraries. For instance, Fan Dachong (1540–1602) stipulated in the family rulebook—a ritually binding document blessed by the ancestors and endowed with tremendous moral power in late imperial China—that the family library would be collectively owned and managed by all family members, and under no circumstances be divided. Against all odds, through five hundred years of social upheavals and political turmoil, his order was followed by every succeeding generation, until the government took the collection over in 1949.⁵ Other collectors, in fear of their books falling into the hands of ‘unfilial sons’ (meaning sons who did not share their father’s bibliographic obsession) choose to donate them instead to clan schools. This way, their books could remain in the extended family and have a better chance of survival. But records of donations, too, are scarce, and the only one we know of is the booklist compiled by Sun Xingyan (1753–1818) upon his bequest of part of his private library to the Sun lineage school, a list that will be discussed in greater detail below.⁶

4 Fan, *Zhongguo*, p. 259.

5 Fan, *Zhongguo*, p. 310.

6 Sun Xingyan, *Sunshi citang shumu* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936), p. 3.

Late imperial China certainly had its share of disgraced officials, and the properties seized upon their fall constituted a semi-regular source of revenue for the imperial court. The records—admittedly scanty—of these seizures also provide us with valuable information about material culture of the period and the book collecting habits of some of the richest, most powerful individuals China has ever seen. For example, when the estates of Yan Song (1480–1567) were confiscated, the executors compiled an inventory that contains more than 60,000 words.⁷ As expected, pride of place goes to jewellery, antiques, and works of art, but the inventory also lists eighty-eight rare books, among which are forty Song imprints (now we can better understand the pride Huang Pilie took in his 109 Song editions), thirty Yuan (1279–1368) imprints, two high-prestige historical works containing 277 and 544 fascicles respectively, first Ming editions of two canonical historical works, and a collection of rare manuscripts on occult subjects. While these rare books were listed individually, in the same manner as paintings and calligraphy scrolls, the common editions in Yan Song's possession were summarily lumped together: we are told merely that he also owned 5,852 sets of Confucian classics, history, philosophy, and literature, and 914 sets of Buddhist and Daoist scriptures. The cursory treatment of these common editions suggests the relatively ready availability and affordability of books in early sixteenth-century China: the executors seemed neither surprised nor impressed by the size of Yan's library. Interestingly, while the executors noted that the scriptures would be donated to temples 'to be chanted in worship', and the 5,852 sets of non-religious books distributed among government schools across the empire, the destination of the rare books was left unspecified. We do not know if they were inventoried separately from the common editions because Yan Song stored them separately, or because, given their exponentially higher monetary value, the executors considered them less books than artefacts, and therefore more on a par with the antiques, works of art, and jewelry. In any case, the inventory provides an early instance of bibliographic distinctions being made between rare imprints, manuscripts, and common editions, a practice that would become more common over the next two centuries and eventually become a cataloguing norm.

Indeed, as Hilde de Weerdts notes, none of the three extant catalogues of private libraries from the Song Dynasty specify if a title listed was published in print or manuscript form.⁸ But, over the course of the seventeenth and

⁷ *Tianshui bingshan lu* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937).

⁸ Hilde de Weerdts, 'Byways in the Imperial Chinese Information Order', in Peter Kornicki and Cynthia Joanne Brokaw (eds.), *The History of the Book in East Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 257–259.

eighteenth centuries, boosted by the emerging interest in philology and the newly felt urgency to restore the textual integrity of foundational Confucian texts, scholar-collectors became increasingly attuned to nuanced differences between editions and between imprints and manuscripts, textual discrepancies having proved to have paradigm-shifting implications for contemporary understandings of Confucian orthodoxy. In *Principles of Book Collecting*, the first systematic treatise on book collecting in China, Sun Congtian (1692–1767) suggests that collectors record ‘whether a book is a Song edition, a Yuan edition, a Ming edition, a contemporary edition, a manuscript copy of Song or Yuan date, an ancient manuscript copy, a manuscript copy of Ming date, or a recent manuscript copy.’⁹ To further foreground the exceptionality of manuscripts and rare imprints, he advised those with the financial means to store their rare books in a separate room, or better still, a separate building, and to compile a special catalogue apart from the general inventory:

With rare books, a book collector should clearly indicate whether his books were published in the Northern Song or in the Southern Song Dynasty, or whether they were printed in the Song, Yuan, or Ming Dynasty (from the blocks originally cut in Song times); he should also record the colophons, seals, and names of previous collectors, and whether the books are complete or incomplete, collated or uncollated. The same applies to Yuan editions, which must be kept in a separate cabinet. Their cataloguing should be done in the same manner. The cabinets, containing Song and Yuan books, must be locked and should not be opened without your permission. Finely transcribed manuscript copies, ancient manuscript copies, manuscript copies of Song and Yuan dates, and rare books are also to be catalogued in the same style. He must distinctly record the names of the scribes, and the colophons, seals, and names of previous collectors to whom they once belonged, and indicate also whether a given book is complete or not, whether it is ‘not for lending’, whether it is a traced manuscript copy of a Song edition, and whether the original printing-blocks still exist or not. If the book is collated, write down the name of the collator; also indicate whether the book is an original copy or a transcription. Enter all these items of information in one volume.¹⁰

9 Sun Congtian, *Cangshu jiyao* (Taipei: Guangwen shuju, 1968), p. 26. All translations in this article are my own.

10 Sun, *Cangshu jiyao*, pp. 27–28.

Containing information about scribes and collators, transcriptions of colophons left by previous owners, and sometimes the textual affiliations between different editions, this model of catalogue offers a trove of copy-specific data, illuminating the features and histories of rare books that were not just texts but material artefacts whose value lay not only in their contents but also in the quality of the paper used, the aesthetic appeal of the script, the colour, texture, and smell of the ink, and the cultural prestige of those who once owned and read it. The increasingly elaborate differentiation between manuscripts and imprints also sheds light on the evolving relationship between manuscript and print, the convoluted web of their interpenetration and interdependence formed during long co-existence. Indeed, the discussion of nuanced distinctions and affiliations between manuscripts and imprints was only made possible, and necessary, by a print culture sufficiently well-established to have assumed its own defining characteristics.¹¹

A few catalogues of rare books appeared in the first half of the seventeenth century, including *The Catalogue of Books of Song and Yuan Dates in Chuanshi Tower* by Xu Qianxue (1631–1694), *The Catalogue of Books of Song Date in the Possession of Ji Cangwei* by Ji Zhenyi (1630–?), and *The Catalogue of Books of Song Date in Shugu Hall* by Qian Zeng (1629–1701). But these catalogues contain only minimal information on the bibliographical features of individual copies. Interestingly, the first annotated catalogue of rare books that includes extensive and systematic notes along the lines suggested by Sun Congtian is a sale catalogue drawn up by Mao Yi (1640–1713) between 1699 and 1708 when he was negotiating an en bloc sale of some books in his family library. To advertise their exceptional merits (and justify his high asking prices), Mao Yi provided each item with a detailed description of its condition, provenance, transmission, and distinctive bibliographical characteristics. One innovation he initiated was the hitherto unprecedentedly refined treatment of different types of

11 Hilde de Weerdts argues that the lack of distinction between manuscript and printed editions in library catalogues of the Song Dynasty indicates the ubiquity of print. That is, print 'was in and of itself not noteworthy in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century catalogs', and 'was mentioned only when a particular printed edition had unusual features in comparison to other manuscript or printed editions'. My study of private catalogues of the Ming-Qing period leads me to propose the opposite: instead of indicating the ubiquity of print, the lack of differentiation between manuscripts and printed editions in fact suggests that print was still in its infancy in the Song Dynasty and too underdeveloped for book collectors of that time to consider systematically the complex dynamics between print and manuscript culture. After all, print could not possibly be more ubiquitous in the Song Dynasty than in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and the Ming and Qing period witnessed the development of a keen awareness of the distinctions between manuscript and printed editions. See De Weerdts, 'Byways', pp. 257–259.

manuscript copies. Mao Yi divided manuscripts into ancient manuscripts and contemporary manuscripts, with the latter being further subdivided into six categories, traced manuscripts of Song or Yuan books, regular manuscript copies of Song or Yuan books, fine manuscripts, and manuscripts by famous hands. Initially designed as a pricing strategy, these divisions were later adopted by literati collectors in cataloguing their rare books. Though motivated by commercial concerns, the format and approach of *The Catalogue of Treasured Rare Books of Jigu Pavilion* exerted a profound influence on textual and bibliographical scholarship in the mid- and late-Qing Dynasty, and contributed to the formation of an 'edition-oriented mentality' which set collectors and scholars of this period apart from their medieval counterparts.

Scholar-collectors' fascination with rare books, as reflected in their cataloguing practice, was also a byproduct of the proliferation of print from the sixteenth century onwards. As books became more readily available to a broader section of the population, the mere act of possessing them ceased to function as an adequate marker of cultural sophistication. The quality of the books in one's collection, rather than their sheer number, increasingly came to define the intellectual status of the owner and differentiate him from indiscriminating cultural imposters. Having differentiated 'books easy to acquire' from 'books hard to come by' in the opening of 'An Essay on Tianyige Library', Huang Zongxi (1610–1695) proceeded to ridicule those who failed to recognize this distinction, and expelled from the ranks of book lovers those who boasted about owning a sizable library, which in fact contained only 'commercially produced books that could be easily bought in bookstores'.¹² In a similar vein, Cao Rong (1613–1685) in 'Covenant on the Circulation of Ancient Books' lamented the downside of the flourishing of print and the consequent overabundance of books, which, like 'a blinding haze of coal smoke', clouded people's judgement. To search for rare editions among the profusion of commercially available imprints had become as challenging as 'collecting precious jade in the deep mountains'.¹³ As a result, it became imperative for the cultural elite to reassert their privileged position by rewriting the rules of book collecting, shifting the locus of prestige from the size of a library to the quality and rarity of its holdings. To own a complete set of Confucian classics no longer marked one as culturally refined; to own it in a Song or Yuan edition did.

12 Huang Zongxi, 'An Essay on Tianyi Pavilion', reprinted in Ye Changchi (ed.), *Poems and Prose Accounts of Book Collecting* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 315.

13 Cao Rong, 'A Covenant on the Circulation of Ancient Books', reprinted in *The Collection of Jueju Poems on Book Collecting, A Covenant on the Circulation of Ancient Books, The Covenant of Ancient Pleasure Club, and Ten Covenants of Book Collecting* (Shanghai: Gudian wenxue chubanshe, 1957), p. 24.

Apart from special catalogues of rare books, scholar-collectors also compiled separate catalogues for books associated with a certain place, published in a certain period, or most common of all, on a certain subject. For instance, Mei Wending (1633–1721) compiled a list of works on astronomy and mathematics; Zhu Yizun (1629–1709) meticulously catalogued Confucian texts; and Lv Tiancheng (1580–1618) and Qi Biaoqia (1602–1645) drew up annotated catalogues of vernacular plays, which include such detailed analyses that they were (and still are) read in their own right as critical studies of drama. The practice of cataloguing books by subject dated back to the first century when Liu Xin (c.50 BCE–23 CE), a curator of the imperial library, adopted a classification system that divided books into six major categories: Confucian classics, philosophy, literature, military, astronomy/geomancy/mathematics, and medicine/alchemy. This classification scheme was eventually replaced by the *sibu* system in the seventh century, which divides books into four categories, namely Confucian classics, history, philosophy, and literature. *Sibu* was by far the predominant method of classification throughout pre-modern China.¹⁴ Despite various revisions and expansions over succeeding centuries, it remained the basic framework for the organisation of books and knowledge in China until the late nineteenth century, when Western learning began to challenge traditional Chinese taxonomies.¹⁵

How were books arranged on the shelves, or, as some collectors preferred, in cabinets? In *The Ten Commandments for Book Collecting*, Ye Dehui (1864–1927), one of the last classically trained bibliographers of the old order, summarizes traditional advice on how to arrange one's library. According to Ye, a library should be divided into six sections: Confucian classics, history, philosophy, literature, collectanea (a category discussed below), and rare books. Within each section, books would be arranged chronologically, with those belonging to the same school of thought next to one another for easy consultation. In the case of anthologies and collections, the date of composition takes precedence over the date of compilation. Anthologies of writings by people hailing from the same city or county should be grouped according to geographic proximity. Besides subject matter, chronology, geography, and edition, size should also

14 The *sibu* system was first adopted in the bibliographical section of the official history of the Sui Dynasty (581–618) compiled by scholar-officials in the early Tang Dynasty (618–907).

15 See Lianbin Dai, 'China's Bibliographic Tradition and the History of the Book', *Book History*, 17:1 (2014), pp. 1–50. According to Dai, among the earliest attempts to systemize both European and Chinese knowledge into a unified catalogue was *Guyue Cangshulou shumu* by Xu Shulan (1837–1902), who employed both traditional Chinese categories and newly introduced European ones.

be factored in. Pocket books that measure less than five *ts'un* (about the size of a European octavo) and large-format books that measure more than one *chi* (folio-sized) should be put in specially designed cabinets. Finally, to highlight their political and cultural significance, the following books should be stored apart from the rest of the collection: imperially commissioned editions, Buddhist and Daoist scriptures, and books on western learning.¹⁶

In the late imperial period, scholar-collectors created new categories in their catalogues to accommodate the increasing variety of available books. For example, collectanea was first proposed as an independent subcategory by Qi Chenghan (d. 1628) in *The Four Principles of the Organization of My Library in the Year of Gengshen*. As Qi observes, ‘collectanea did not constitute a subcategory in their own right in ancient times, but they have been rapidly growing in number and popularity these days.’¹⁷ Unlike traditional anthologies that gathered published works in a given genre or domain, from a given time period, or by authors originating from the same place, collectanea yoked titles of varied natures and origins without necessarily presenting any thematic, chronological, or geographical coherence. They also differ from *leishu*—often translated as ‘classified encyclopedia’ for lack of a better term—in that they contain texts in their entirety instead of excerpts. In effect, collectanea are designed to facilitate the accumulation, preservation, and circulation of texts on a broad range of subjects rather than to organize and manage information on a given subject. With their heterogeneous accumulations of titles, collectanea defied integration into existing categorisation frameworks and called for innovative cataloguing strategies. Qi Lisun (1625–1675), a grandson of Qi Chengah, further revised his grandfather’s system of classification. In his own library catalogue, he elevated the status of collectanea from a secondary category under ‘philosophy’ to a primary category on par with classics, history, philosophy, and literature. The emergence of collectanea as an independent secondary category in the early seventeenth century and its quick rise to the level of a primary category attested to the steadily growing popularity, availability, and intellectual prestige of these comprehensive compilations.

Other collectors adopted idiosyncratic subject classification systems that reflected their intellectual interests, moral convictions, and political stances. For instance, the library catalogue of Mao Kun (1512–1601), a military strategist and Confucian scholar, would have confounded many of his contemporaries.

16 Ye Dehui, *The Ten Covenants for Book Collecting*, reprinted in *Collection of Jueju Poems*, pp. 39–44.

17 Qi Chenghan, *Four Principles of Organizing My Books*, online: <ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=757272&remap=gb>.

After establishing his reputation as a major literary scholar with his immensely popular *Anthology of Essays by the Eight Masters of the Tang and Song*, Mao embarked on a brilliant military career characterised by strategic daring. In the final years of the reign of the Emperor Jiajing (r. 1522–1566), he served as counselor to Hu Zongxian (1512–1565), the powerful general-minister in charge of maritime campaigns against Japanese pirates. His dual accomplishments in literature and military strategy were mirrored in both the contents of his library and the way it was catalogued. Apart from titles in the categories of Confucian classics, history, and literature, he owned a substantial number of books on military art, mathematics, diplomacy, and the so-called ‘concrete studies’—a rising intellectual movement in the late Ming that emphasised statecraft, administrative practicality, and, as its name suggests, concrete political action as opposed to moral-metaphysical speculations; the category of ‘philosophy’ is a conspicuous absence in his library catalogue.¹⁸ To further indicate his endorsement of this emerging school of thought, Mao assigned books on ‘concrete studies’ to a separate category on an equal footing with the more established categories—a defiant bibliographic gesture in keeping with his character and his successful political and military career.

Mao Kun was not alone in expressing intellectual sympathies through defiance of bibliographic conventions. Instead of following the traditional *sibu* system, Lu Shen (1477–1544) categorised his books under thirteen headings: Confucian classics and their related commentaries; works of neo-Confucian scholars; official histories; ancient texts that do not fall into the categories of classics and histories; philosophy; prose collections; poetry collections; encyclopedias; miscellaneous histories; geography; rhyme books; philology and medicine; divination, geomancy, mathematics, astrology, alchemy, and Daoist mysticism.¹⁹ So far as I know, he was the only book collector in late imperial China to combine philology and medicine into one category. His justification was that ‘great philological achievements can only be attained by those who have studied since an early age, just as fast recovery from illness can only be achieved by those who seek medical help promptly. The same rule applies to both disciplines.’²⁰ Lu’s unorthodox classification scheme was in keeping with his nonconformist approach to learning. On one occasion he observed that ‘ancient books should be read and used to serve one’s own interests and purposes’, and a scholar should not blindly follow popular opinions as ‘a short

18 Zheng Yuanqing, *Hulu jingji kao* (Taipei: Guangwen chubanshe, 1969), pp. 317–319.

19 Bian Yongyu (ed.), *Shigutang shuhua kao* (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renming meishu chubanshe, 2012), vol. 2, pp. 115–116.

20 *Shigutang shuhua kao*, pp. 115–116.

person who cheers with others in the audience without even knowing what is happening on the stage'.²¹ Evidently he did not see the need to follow the popular *sibu* method either.

Even those who adhered to the *sibu* classification framework sometimes introduced refinements that reflected their own intellectual agenda. For instance, Zhu Mujie (1518–1587), a member of the Ming imperial family, followed the *sibu* system by organizing his books into four categories: Confucian classics, history, philosophy, and literature. But his conformity to bibliographic conventions ends here. Thirteen Confucian texts had been canonised as 'The Thirteen Classics' since the end of the Song Dynasty. By the time Zhu Mujie built his library, it had become a norm to divide the category of 'Confucian classics' into thirteen subcategories, one for each of these texts and their extensive commentary traditions. But Zhu Mujie divided his Confucian classics into only eleven subcategories, incorporating books on 'The Gongyang Tradition' and 'The Guliang Tradition' into the subcategory of 'The Spring and Autumn Annals' instead. The downgrading of these two culturally significant texts marked a contentious intellectual position that would not go unnoticed by Zhu's fellow scholars. Among other unconventional alterations, the most intriguing is Zhu's treatment of *The Book of Music*, an early Confucian text lost during the massive book-burning launched by the first emperor of China (259–210 BCE). Zhu accords this work its own subheading. Of course, the lost *Book of Music* itself did not feature in the category. In fact, most of the titles listed under its namesake subheading bear no relation to *The Book of Music*, or even to Confucianism in general. Instead, they comprise ballads, anthologies of the musically oriented *yuefu* poetry, books on the melodic models and formal tunes of traditional Chinese drama, and collections of *sanqu*, a form of poetry whose tonal patterns derive from folk songs. To place vernacular genres rooted in popular culture under 'Confucian classics' was deeply provocative in the sixteenth century. In late imperial China, it was a commonplace that music (at least the right kind of music) was endowed with a morally transformative power. Many Confucian scholars devoted themselves to the elaboration of the relationship between music, morality, and governance. Putting musically oriented vernacular literature side by side with Confucian classics, Zhu Mujie argued for the potential affinity between the two, and by implication, pointed to the civilizing and moralizing influence of vernacular works, works customarily considered as cheap entertainment that corrupted the young and misled the ignorant.

21 *Shigutang shuhua kao*, pp. 115–116.

Whereas Zhu Mujie promoted works of vernacular literature by classifying them under the heading of Confucian classics, Gao Ru (c.1514–1563) exalted them to the category of ‘history’, the second most prestigious in the *sibu* scheme. In the annotated library catalogue he compiled from 1534 to 1553, Gao created three new subcategories under the heading of history, namely ‘unofficial history’, ‘private history’, and ‘short history’.²² Fifty-nine plays appear under ‘unofficial history’, thirteen novellas, collections of short stories, and librettos under ‘short history’, and two historical romances—*Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Water Margin*—under ‘private history’. In the early sixteenth century, simply to own seventy-four vernacular works would be considered eccentric, and to categorize them as ‘history’ was a bold cultural statement. Gao justified his categorisation by foregrounding thematic connections between traditional histories and historical romances. In the entry on *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, he notes that:

(The book) is compiled by Luo Guanzhong (c.1330–1400) on the basis of *Sanguo zhi* (*The Records of the Three Kingdoms*) written by Chen Shou (233–297). Deriving from official histories and incorporating fictive and anecdotal sources ... it is therefore neither vulgar nor fake, and is easy to read and understand. It chronicles tens of thousands of historical events that happened in the span of a hundred years in a style devoid of both the ancient solemnity of official historians and the flippancy of oral storytellers.²³

Interestingly, *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*, the most authoritative historical work on the three-kingdom period (184/220–280 CE) and a staple in private libraries in late imperial China, was not listed in Gao’s catalogue. Its absence—all the more striking given his family background in the Imperial Guard and his personal interest in military strategies—leaves *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* as the only work he owned that systematically treats the subject. One cannot but speculate that Gao Ru considered *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, its literary and fictive embellishments notwithstanding, to be a legitimate historical substitute for *The Records of the Three Kingdoms*. Putting *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and *The Water Margin* in the same category as official histories, Gao Ru not only recognised the historicity of historical romances, but also implicitly called attention to the constructed literariness of traditional historical narratives. His classification scheme, anticipating the

22 Gao Ru, *Baichuan shuzhi* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), pp. 58–63.

23 Gao, *Baichuan shuzhi*, p. 63.

rise of vernacular novels, pointed up the permeability of generic distinctions between history and fiction.

Library Catalogues: Texts in Their Own Right

One revelation of these catalogues is that educated elites in late imperial China engaged with a range of books much broader than we tend to expect. Rather than poring over the prescribed philosophical works, histories, and classical literature central to the Confucian curriculum and dominant in contemporary discourses, they owned books in areas as diverse as medicine, law, geography, cartography, astrology, divination, geomancy, mathematics, agriculture, architecture, and military studies. These books, existing outside of the state-patronised Confucian orthodoxy and certainly beyond the expertise of a typical Confucian scholar, nevertheless appeared with great consistency in private libraries. Their presence reminds us that many scholars (at least those lucky enough to land official posts) were also governors, judges, diplomats, and, in times of war, generals and strategists. They were the administrators of the empire, and they turned to their books for practical knowledge of the legal system, the construction of hydrological projects, and the logistics of grain transportation as much as for classical allusions or metaphysical insights. Catalogues of private libraries thus open up an unsuspected vista into the world inhabited by late imperial elites, who read more broadly than they let on in their own writings and who struggled to balance a contemplative life with a life of action.

Take for example the private library of Qian Qianyi (1582–1664), one of the foremost scholar-officials in his time. According to his library catalogue, Qian owned 2,894 books categorised under seventy-three headings, with books under each heading stored in a separate cabinet.²⁴ Besides the usual Confucian classics, histories, literary works, and philosophical treatises, his library contained thirty-five works on mathematics, thirty on astrology, seventeen on divination, six on physiognomy, forty-eight on geomancy (an alarming number of which were dedicated to choosing an auspicious burial site), another forty-eight on an arcane branch of divination associated with the *Book of Changes*, 144 medical works ranging in focus from typhoid and surgery to pediatrics, midwifery, and obstetrics, five on translation (one on Korean, one on Mongolian, the rest on languages of the ethnic groups on the empire's western frontier), nine on the geography, history and culture of Korea, nine on Vietnam, and five on

24 Qian Qianyi, *Jiangyunlou shumu* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936).

Japan. Qian was also the first scholar-collector who classified books written or translated by Jesuit missionaries under a separate category: the previous norm was to incorporate such books into existing categories alongside their Chinese counterparts. Under 'Catholicism', a heading that reflected the religious status of the authors more than the subject matter of their works, Qian listed seven titles, including two books written in classical Chinese by Matteo Ricci (1552–1610); an introduction to world geography by Giulio Aleni (1582–1649); a book by Diego de Pantoja (1571–1618) on how to overcome the seven sins; a phonetic Latin-Chinese dictionary compiled by Nicolas Trigault (1577–1628); a treatise on earthquakes by Nicolò Longobardo (1559–1654); and a large anthology comprising nineteen works by Jesuit missionaries, including ten scientific treatises and nine on religious and philosophical subjects. Apparently, Qian kept up to speed about the kind of work Jesuit missionaries were doing in China and the kind of ideas they were advocating. We do not know his position on Catholicism, or rather the version of it preached by the Jesuits—characterised by considerable accommodations to Confucianism—but the inclusion of their books in his library nevertheless debunks the stereotype of Confucian scholars as intensely inward-looking, deeply suspicious of the new and scared of the unfamiliar. Whether he endorsed or challenged the Jesuits' messages, he was prepared to engage them in conversation. His library catalogue also gives us some idea about the reach and influence of Jesuit missionaries among Chinese elites: if they had the attention of someone like Qian, they had found their way into the very centre of late Ming intellectual life. Qian Qianyi had the misfortune to live in interesting times, serving in important military roles through the collapse of the Ming dynasty and the ascension of the Manchu Qing: other books in his library reflect his active official career. He owned altogether 238 titles on military studies, covering subjects from routine drilling operations, the art of archery, and fire weaponry to river defense, maritime logistics and defense, coastal cartography, and hydrology. His is the library of a minister who performed administrative duties and conducted diplomacy, a military leader who organised armies and drew battle plans, as well as a scholar who wrote poetry and contemplated the moral teachings of ancient sages.

People do not always read the books they own; nor do they always admit to owning the books they read. So far as I know, not a single documented book-collector listed *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (the most infamous erotic novel in pre-modern China) in their catalogues, even though we know from their correspondence and diaries that they not only read the book but sometimes hand-copied it and wrote comments in the margins.²⁵ Salacious

25 The earliest surviving edition of *The Plum in the Golden Vase* contains a preface dated to 1617. But the novel had been circulated in manuscript among a small coterie of literati

literature was not the only category excluded. Contemporary works, especially single-authored literary collections, also rarely found their way into catalogues of private libraries. Once again, the problem was not lack of availability. Rather the opposite: literati customarily sent copies of their collected writings (often in manuscript or privately printed at their own expense) to friends, colleagues, and mentors. The profusion of laudatory colophons and prefaces they wrote for each other reveals the networks through which such titles were circulated, exchanged, and disseminated. From time to time, established scholars would even complain about the contemporary works that inundated their studios, most of which were presented by people seeking endorsements, comments, or patronage.

Clearly, catalogues of private libraries in late imperial China were not straightforward inventories. They documented not what a library actually contained but what its owner considered worthy, what he would like to be known for reading and collecting among peers and by posterity. In other words, these records were carefully curated to project an image, an image of a serious scholar, a capable official, a man of impeccable taste and flawless character. The self-fashioning efforts of book-owners turned out to be warranted. Catalogues of private libraries were much sought after and widely circulated (in both manuscript and print). By the sixteenth century, they had become a distinctive bibliographic category in their own right, one regularly featured in library catalogues. We know that Zhu Mujie, the advocate of vernacular literature discussed above, owned twenty catalogues of private libraries; the inventory of the book collection of Huang Yuji (1619–1691) contained forty-two. Then, as now, people wanted to know what others read, how they organised their books, and what titles or editions were once available but no longer extant. Far from being produced for private use, library catalogues were, from the start, intended for the public eye. For instance, Qian Qianyi's library catalogue was widely circulated in manuscript before its publication in print in 1850. Due to his stature in the intellectual world, it soon became a fashion for scholars and collectors to copy it out (preferably in one's best handwriting) and use it as a buying guide. Over time, copies transcribed, collated, or edited by famous scholars became themselves hot commodities: in 2004, a copy of the catalogue transcribed and bearing a long colophon by Wu Yifeng (1742–1819) was sold for

elite since the late sixteenth century. In 1596, Yuan Hongdao (1568–1610) wrote to Dong Qichang (1555–1636), making inquiries about where to find a copy of the second half of the book so that he could make a copy himself. In his diary, Yuan Zhongdao (1570–1624), Yuan Hongdao's brother, commented on the artistic achievement of the novel with unrestrained enthusiasm. Though Dong and both of the Yuan brothers were high-profile book collectors of their time, none of them mentioned *The Plum in the Golden Vase* in the catalogues of their private libraries.

\$62,400 at an auction in China. The circulation of private library catalogues also served a special function in late imperial China. In *The Covenant on the Circulation of Ancient Books*, Cao Rong (1613–1685) suggested that collectors exchange their library catalogues with one another to identify titles missing from their collections but in the possession of others. The owners of these books could then hire scribes to make finely transcribed manuscript copies and trade them for copies of books they lacked. His proposal was put into practice by a number of collectors in the seventeenth century, who formed ‘book clubs’ and regularly met to exchange catalogues and transcriptions.

Book collectors in late imperial China compiled library catalogues to impose order on the unprecedented abundance of texts engendered by the advent of print. Cataloguing therefore constitutes a discursive means to conceptualize and organize the world of books. Through the arrangement of titles in catalogues (and on shelves), collectors set books in dialogue with one another, evoking significant comparisons and generating new meanings. Instead of merely functioning as inventories that document book ownership, catalogues of libraries in late imperial China served a broad range of didactic and epistemological purposes. In the first catalogue of the imperial library, Liu Xin mapped out the genealogies of scholarly disciplines, identified the origin and development of various schools of thought, and offered detailed analyses of the strengths and limitations of specific editions of the classics. The general principles of cataloguing which he laid down continued to influence scholars and bibliographers for the next two thousand years. Featuring elaborate classification schemes and sometimes extensive annotations, library catalogues in late imperial China were often read as standalone scholarly treatises. For early readers, they were texts in themselves, not just lists of texts.

Library catalogues were also used as study guides. For instance, young students often resorted to those with detailed entries for individual titles as a survey of the textual and intellectual field and the connections between different branches of knowledge. One scholar in the eighteenth century went so far as to argue that the study of library catalogues constituted ‘the cornerstone of scholarship’, without which ‘young scholars would be at a loss’ and ‘all readings would be done to no avail’.²⁶ Some catalogues were even designed with pedagogical purposes in mind. In 1800, Sun Xingyan compiled the *Inventary of the Sun Family Library* to categorize the books he donated to his family’s ancestral temple—a place that doubled as the clan school. In the preface, he noted that ‘the titles selected here are representative works of different schools of

26 Wang Mingsheng, *Shiqi shi shangque* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1937), p. 6.

thought to be used for the education of young boys in the (Sun) clan.²⁷ He then delineated the twelve categories into which he divided the books, the origin and evolutionary trajectory of each category, and their fluid relationship with one another. He elevated philology, epigraphy, astronomy, geography, medicine, and law—all considered secondary disciplines in the *sibu* system—to the status of primary categories on par with Confucian classics, a classification system that corresponded with his own intellectual interests and neatly mapped the curriculum he developed when teaching at the prestigious Academy of Gujing. Interestingly, to facilitate learning for beginners, Sun listed the titles within each category in order of increasing difficulty, while presenting the categories themselves in order of their decreasing relevance to Confucian classics. Catalogues like this not only impose order on the world of books, but also dictate the order in which they should be read.

Who Were They? The Demographics of Private Book Collectors in Late Imperial China

Scholar-officials dominated the landscape of book collecting in late imperial China. Of the 231 collectors who owned more than 10,000 fascicles in the Ming Dynasty, all were scholar-officials with the exception of five doctors, four merchants, three non-office-holding scholars, two publishers, one bookseller, one academy teacher, and twenty-six recluses—an occupation popular among the culturally sophisticated and politically disillusioned. Among the 543 collectors who owned more than 10,000 fascicles in the Qing Dynasty, alongside the majority of scholar-officials were seventeen non-office-holding scholars, fourteen academy teachers, one bookseller, three professional book collectors, one bibliographer, eleven merchants, nine doctors, two painters, four diplomats, one translator, and interestingly, only two recluses.²⁸ The demographics of book collectors in the Qing period reveals some of the broader social and cultural developments of the time, such as the increasingly significant role played by private academies in Qing intellectual life; the falling out of fashion of the recluse way of life; the expansion of contacts with foreign nations, which led to the rise in power of people in charge of dealing with them (diplomats, translators, export merchants etc.); the growing proportion of classically educated men who either opted out or were pushed out of a career in office; and the professionalisation of scholarship in general and book-collecting in particular.

²⁷ Sun Xingyan, *Sunshi citang shumu* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshu guan, 1936), p. 3.

²⁸ Fan, *Zhongguo*, pp. 168–187, 271–320.

This last trend allowed for the emergence of professional book collectors like Bao Tingbo (1728–1814), who built a whole career on his library, publishing high-quality facsimile editions of the rare titles in his possession, cultivating networks with prominent scholars and officials, and even receiving an honorary degree for donating rare editions to the imperial court and helping out with the compilation of *The Complete Library of the Four Treasuries*, a pet project of Emperor Qianlong.

Records of women's book ownership from this period are considerably scantier than those of their male counterparts. However, there are 3,750 documented women writers in late imperial China, and if this number is any indication of female literacy, it would not be uncommon for women, especially those of genteel background, to be able to read fluently.²⁹ Though no records survive of women's libraries or library catalogues, the plays, novels, paintings, and woodblock illustrations of the period give the impression that the presence of books was an expected feature in a gentry woman's boudoir, suggesting that women were not only readers but also book-owners. The books they read, contrary to our assumption, were not confined to the usual conduct manuals that preach female virtues and dictate ladylike behaviour. Instead, they read broadly, educating themselves on subjects ranging from Confucian classics, literature and art to history, religion, and philosophy. We know from their memoirs and epitaphs that they were often tutored from an early age, and the curricula designed for girls were not much different from those for their brothers—at least until the boys reached the age when they started training for the imperial examination. The learning of these women, acquired over years of formal schooling and private reading, was most eloquently testified by the range and complexity of allusions in the tens of thousands of poems they have left us. It is unclear if unmarried women customarily had access to their father's library or the family library. But in an episode in *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (written in the mid-eighteenth century) one young lady recounts that when she was seven or eight years old, she used to sneak into her grandfather's library to read plays and romances—books deemed inappropriate for the innocent eyes of young girls. And Wang Zhenyi (1768–1797), one of the first female mathematicians and astronomers in China, inherited her grandfather's entire library (seventy-two cabinets of books in total). Some married women in this period enjoyed full access to their husbands' libraries. For instance, Shen Cai, the concubine of Lu Meigu (c.1761), served as his librarian, and as such was in charge of organizing and cataloguing his private collection. Many of Lu's books that still survive today bear astonishingly erudite and

29 Hu Wenkai, *Lidai funv zhuzuo kao* (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), p. 12.

insightful colophons written by Shen in her exquisite calligraphy. Similarly, Yao Wanzhen, married to Zhang Rongjing (c.1802), shared her husband's bibliophile passion. Not only did Zhang name his library after his wife, but several of the rare Song editions in his possession were inscribed with Yao's handwritten poems, and stamped with her collector's seal. After marrying Liu Rushi (1618–1664) (the Chinese Veronica Franco), Qian Qianyi built her a two-storied mansion, with the first floor serving as their living quarters and the second as a library where his 2,894 books were stored in 73 cabinets. According to a memoir of Liu penned by one of Qian's students, Liu was of great assistance to Qian in his scholarly work, often looking up references for him and fact-checking his manuscripts—tasks that would have involved frequent use of his library. Their story deeply resonated with the late Ming fantasy of companionate marriage between intellectual equals, a fantasy in which the library was often figured as the ultimate locus of domestic bliss, where mutual love was made all the sweeter by a shared love of books.

On an individual level, catalogues of private libraries reflect a book-owner's intellectual affinities, political affiliations, interests, tastes, and ambitions; collectively, they shed light on patterns of book ownership, the emergence of new genres and new subjects (e.g. the titles introduced into China by Jesuit missionaries), and the rise and fall of intellectual movements, such as the ascendancy of philology over neo-Confucian moral philosophy over the course of the eighteenth century. How can we use these catalogues as sources that do not merely corroborate what we already know but reveal histories we did not suspect and challenge what we assumed? How do we read them not only as a trove of bibliographic information but also as stories of human drama, of love and friendship, loss and perseverance, obsession and pain? And how do we make the silences, erasures, and absences that lurk under deceptive comprehensiveness speak to us across the distance of time and space? This chapter ventures some thoughts along these lines and hopes to show that critically informed 'reading' of library catalogues offers us valuable insights into a world of books inhabited by people who read many titles that we no longer read, and often read in different ways and for different purposes from our own.

PART 4

Building a Field of Study



The *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (PLRE) Project: An Overview

Joseph L. Black

In 1649, at the age of 40, the Northamptonshire diarist Elizabeth Isham (1609–1654) made a list headed “A note of my mothers Bookes in the Chest” of thirty books belonging to her mother, Judith (Lewin) Isham (1590–1625); on the other side of the same piece of scrap paper she listed nineteen books belonging to her sister, also named Judith (1610–1636).¹ Her mother had died twenty-four years earlier, her sister thirteen years. By the time she made these lists, Elizabeth Isham had also collected her own library of over one hundred books, a substantial one for England in the period, especially for a female owner.² After so many years, it would seem natural for Isham to have incorporated her mother’s and sister’s books into her own growing library. But the wording of these notes suggests that Isham thought it important to maintain the integrity of these collections: to her, these remained “my mothers Bookes” and “my Sister’s Bookes” long after the deaths of their owners. That she could even make these lists indicates that Isham had kept her sister’s books together somewhere in Lamport Hall, the family manor, just as she had kept her mother’s books together for a quarter century in their book chest. Elizabeth Isham’s autobiographical writings, not published in the period but recently receiving a great deal of scholarly attention, reveal that shared experiences with books and reading played a central role in her relationships with both her mother and sister.³ In her stewardship of their collections, Isham registers the importance

1 See Joseph L. Black and Fan Wang, ‘Judith Isham (née Lewin)’ and ‘Judith Isham’, in R.J. Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Joseph L. Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, vol. 9 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2017), pp. 179–189 and pp. 201–208. Full references are provided to editions in the PLRE print volumes only to acknowledge the work of contributing editors; editions by project editors Joseph L. Black and/or R.J. Fehrenbach are identified in-text by their PLRE numbers.

2 See Joseph L. Black, Erica Longfellow, and Jill Seal Millman, ‘Elizabeth Isham’, in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 9, pp. 319–345.

3 For Isham’s writings, see Elizabeth Clarke and Erica Longfellow (eds.), ‘Elizabeth Isham’s Autobiographical Writings’, in *Constructing Elizabeth Isham* <www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/isham/>. For recent discussions of Isham’s reading, see Edith Snook, ‘Elizabeth Isham’s “own Bookes”: Property, Propriety, and the Self as Library’, in Leah Knight, Elizabeth

not only of individual books as repositories of personal association, but also of private libraries in their own collective right as sites of memory and identity. To Isham, “my mothers Bookes’ and ‘my Sister’s Bookes” existed not as stray individual volumes but as collections, collections shaped by and imbued with the interests, concerns, and tastes of their memorialised owners.

The booklists associated with all three women in the Isham family are available in the *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* (PLRE) project, the major and ongoing editorial project devoted to the history of private book ownership in early modern Britain. As Elizabeth Isham recognised, book collections can signify in ways that books within a collection considered individually do not. The mandate of PLRE is to anchor books in a specific place and time, and to situate them in the context of other books owned by the same person. Of course, in the Renaissance, as now, people neither own all the books they read nor read all the books they own. But projects like PLRE rest on the well-grounded assumption that possession is in itself legible. Books speak to us through time not only through their contents but also through the company they kept in their early modern owners’ chests, shelves, cupboards, parlours, and closets.

The PLRE Project

Established by R.J. Fehrenbach in the late 1980s, PLRE has so far completed editions of 450 Renaissance (pre-1700) booklists. The apparent exclusion of, say, Scottish or Irish lists suggested by the use of ‘England’ in the project’s name is a function of terminology used in the 1980s, when the project was founded: our mandate is British, either by owner (including lists associated with British owners living abroad) or by location (including non-British owners who left records of collections they maintained in Britain). Recent additions to the PLRE database include libraries with Scottish, Irish and early American associations. Of these 450, 299 are available in the project’s ten print volumes (1992–2020), and at the time of writing a further 150 or so ‘appended lists’ are available through the project’s publicly accessible online database, PLRE.Folger <plre.folger.edu>, a project of the Folger Shakespeare Library (Washington, DC). PLRE.Folger also includes all records in the ten print volumes. Collectively, the database comprises more than 19,750 edited records representing over 23,500 books.

Sauer, and Micheline White (eds.), *Women’s Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain: Ownership, Circulation, Reading* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), pp. 77–93; Isaac Stephens, *The Gentlewoman’s Remembrance: Patriarchy, Piety, and Singlehood in Early Stuart England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 144–185.

Of the edited lists, eighty-four date before 1550 (with thirty-two of those dating before 1520) and 195 date from 1550–1600. The owners include almost seventy women, and editions of additional collections associated with women owners are in progress. The libraries included in the PLRE print volumes range in size from a couple of dozen books up to about five hundred; most range between about thirty to two hundred volumes. Each list is prefaced by an introduction that sketches what we know about the owner and then unpacks the library, outlining its nature, shape, and elements of interest. These introductions are not currently available on PLRE.Folger, but we are working on the possibility of adding links to them from the online database entries.

As the project's name implies, PLRE focuses on privately owned books: we do not edit booklists associated with institutions or with the book trade (stationer inventories, etc.). Our cut-off date is about 1650 (1700 for women owners): soon after that date private libraries start to grow exponentially in both size and number. There is also far more evidence by the later seventeenth century of self-conscious book collecting: booklists rapidly become different in both kind and content from those made before the middle of the century. Our sources so far are all manuscripts, mainly inventories, catalogues, and wills. But the project has also edited transportation lists, donations, purchase records, and records of books seized in raids: in the online PLRE database, booklists are searchable by eighteen categories of manuscripts. Sometimes, as with the Ishams, we know the contents of a library because somebody listed their books on a convenient piece of paper or on a blank page in a book. Our main requirement is that the list represent a contextually complete collection, a snapshot of the books associated with a given owner at a given place or moment. We include libraries reconstructed from surviving books, but not stray individual provenances: a book may be signed and dated, but unless we can situate it among other books associated with the same owner it falls outside our mandate.

For example, when Sir George Shirley (1559–1622) listed fifteen books under the heading “A note of all the bokes I have” on a blank endpaper of his copy of Erasmus, *Opus de conscribendis epistolis* (Basle: Johann Froben, 1522. USTC 625966) now held by the Folger Shakespeare Library (call nr. 220–608q), the list represented not all the books he would ever own but all the books he had with him as a young student at Oxford in the mid-1570s (PLRE 281). As such, the collection is culturally informative: the books represent a well-chosen selection of standard works suitable for a young gentleman-scholar looking for guidance on matters of logic, rhetoric, and style. The same books would be interpretatively invisible if included in an omnibus listing (if one had been made) of all the books Shirley kept later in life in his nine manors in five counties. Similarly, the library of thirty-seven books the merchant adventurer Nathaniel Brading

(d. 1645) had with him when he died in Madagascar en route to the East Indies likely comprises only a selection of the books he owned at home in the Isle of Wight (PLRE 275). But it is the selection he chose to carry with him when he moved halfway around the world for an extended posting. Read in that context, the presence of titles such as Ovid's *Tristia* and Timothy Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy*, and even of an unidentifiable 'booke of musicke' or standard works of devotion and the Christian life, acquire a resonance they would not otherwise generate if discovered in a list of his library at home. When the radical Baptist Hanserd Knollys (1598–1691) fled England for New England in 1638, he left behind a collection of ninety books that was seized and inventoried (PLRE 260). Again, that list does not represent the only library Knollys would ever compile: after all, he would live and publish actively for another fifty years as a central figure in the development of Baptism as an organised movement. But this collection, with its core of Presbyterian, Semi-Separatist, and Separatist publications, reveals the foundations of Knollys' theological and intellectual formation just before his turbulent three-year ministry in New England. The seized collection does lack a Bible: nearly broke and on the run, Knollys seems nonetheless to have kept a small selection of his most personally important books with him as he boarded ship to cross the Atlantic. Occasionally, situating booklists as collections in context enables us to read absence as well as presence. Other forms of selective but in themselves complete booklists edited by PLRE, such as purchase orders and records of different libraries associated with the same owner at different times, are discussed below.

Editorial Process

Volumes 1 through 7 of PLRE (1992–2009) focused on editing the complete surviving archive of inventories from Oxford University, creating a companion archive to E.S. Leedham-Green's edition of Cambridge University inventories in the same period.⁴ These university archives are centrally valuable resources for early modern intellectual and reading history, but they represent a narrow range of book owners: a largely clerical male elite. Upon completing the Oxford inventories, PLRE moved in new directions. We shifted away from the traditional book centres of London, Oxford, and Cambridge to the provinces. We found libraries associated with underground communities, Catholic or

4 E.S. Leedham-Green (ed.), *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

radical Protestant. We continued to edit booklists associated with the social and political elite, because they are the owners most likely to leave behind documentation of their possessions. But we also edited booklists associated with lawyers, physicians, diplomats, craftsmen, merchants, servants, soldiers, a baker, a writer, and a spy in addition to an increasingly large cohort of women.

Almost none of the books mentioned in any of these lists survive. We work instead with lists of titles, often recorded in an early modern scrawl, abbreviated to the point of mystical opacity, garbled through mishearing with lists created by dictation, or catalogued by running heads, popular titles, binding titles, descriptive titles, or (a particularly challenging category), descriptive titles in languages other than that in which the book was actually published. To identify the books, we do the best we can with the information a list provides. Many titles are completely unidentifiable, such as “ten old pamphlets”. Others can be identified only by very broad category: a grammar, a sermon, a proclamation. Sometimes we know the author but not the title; or know the title but face a range of possible editions and places of publication. Over the years, PLRE has developed a series of protocols that regularise levels of uncertainty, imposing a uniformity that helps make whatever information an entry does provide findable within the database from which the PLRE print volumes were always generated, and which is now in itself available for online searching through PLRE.Folger.

PLRE embraced the digital turn beginning in 2008. With the support of the Folger Shakespeare Library, which designed and maintains the site, PLRE added to its series of print volumes a publicly accessible version of all the records the project has generated. PLRE.Folger allows for multiple term searches in sixteen fields in addition to full text, including fields associated with the owner as well as with books. The site also includes behind the scenes editorial and administrative components (such as our working databases of ‘uniform titles’ and ‘uniform names’; all data entry and editing is now done online). For books, searchable fields include original entry as transcribed from the manuscript source; format (if identifiable); title; title cross-reference (such as the original title for translations); author name; translators, editors, other contributors; place of publication; stationers when known; date or possible date range; STC or Wing numbers for British books; language(s); subject; appraised value (if appraised); current location of actual book (if known); and an annotation field. Subjects are searchable by twenty-four major categories. The project has also attached many hundreds of sub-category classifications to all books in our core database, and we continue to search for effective ways of making those additional classifications searchable. For book owners, the database includes name, birth and death dates, social status, and an ‘identifier’ field currently

containing more than sixty terms mainly related to profession or vocation but that also includes gender. Additional search fields include type and date of booklist, the collection's original location (county or city), and the location of the manuscript source.

The 150 or so 'appended' lists available in PLRE.Folger but not included in the print volumes often represent book collections too small to justify appearing in print. But PLRE believes that one book can constitute a 'library' if it is the only book that person owned or had with them in a given place or time. We edit these small collections because they can be informative in their own way about book, reading, and social history, especially when considered in the aggregate. The project has also started using PLRE.Folger to incorporate, with permission, booklists already published elsewhere, but formatted to be effectively searchable within PLRE's aggregated whole. The long-term goal is to make PLRE.Folger the most comprehensive resource possible for edited early modern British booklists.

Discoveries

One of the pleasures of the editing process is the surprising or serendipitous discovery, the single presence in a list that reveals something interesting about the book trade, the owner, or the cultural role of a given text when encountered in a given context. For example, the presence of the two-word entry "Doctor Faustus" in an Oxford inventory of 1589 indicated that the German *Faustbuch* was available in English translation before 1592, the date of the earliest extant edition, *The historie of the damnable life, and deserved death of doctor John Faustus* (STC 10711 and USTC 512189). The subsequent discovery of an entry for 'Doctor faustus lief & deathe' in a 1590 inventory of the library of a London apothecary confirmed the existence of this lost earlier edition. These two booklist entries solved decades of speculation by theatre historians by showing that the play by Christopher Marlowe, *The tragicall history of D. Faustus* (STC 17429 *et seq.* and USTC 3001643) could have been written earlier than 1592, since his source was available at least three years earlier.⁵ A different kind of story is told by the copy of Ovid's *Ars amatoria* listed as shelved, perhaps hidden, between two copies of the Geneva Bible in the collection of

5 The entries are PLRE 150.36 and PLRE 263.157: see R.J. Fehrenbach, 'A Pre-1592 English Faust Book and the Date of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*', *The Library*, seventh series, 2.4 (2001), pp. 327–335, and Fehrenbach, 'Another Pre-1592 Copy of the English Faust Book', *The Library*, seventh series, 20.1 (2019), pp. 395–396.

a deceased college manciple at Oxford (PLRE 108.89). In 1586, a “book written in Italian verse, *de Inferno Purgatorio et Paradiso*” was found hidden under a woodpile in the yard of a suspected Catholic recusant in a village in Oxfordshire (PLRE 245.17). Dante is not normally considered a Counter Reformation writer. But in this context, classified among a group of “Popish books” that included secretly printed English pamphlets, the works of Thomas More, and a range of recent works by the heavyweights of the Catholic Reformation, the *Divine Comedy* becomes the cultural equivalent—for the compilers of this booklist at least—of Cardinal Bellarmine’s formidable polemic. The list Elizabeth Isham made of her mother’s books contains an intriguingly unexpected presence in a collection otherwise predominantly devotional: Christopher Marlowe’s erotic epyllion *Hero and Leander* (PLRE 270.18). A near contemporary, Lady Anne Southwell (1573–1636), dismissed *Hero and Leander* as a “busye nothing” that scandalised the art of proper poetry.⁶ Yet here is Marlowe, in a booklist headed by the austere presence of three folio volumes by the godly William Perkins; the entry for Marlowe even shares a line in the manuscript with Isham’s pattern book for needlework or embroidery, that quintessential reflection of early modern women’s cultural work. We can only speculate when and how Marlowe made his way into this chest of books in a Northamptonshire manor, or what its owner made of this poem, so different (it would seem to us) from the other books in her collection. But Marlowe’s presence here reminds us that any library, looked at as a collection, with the books jostling one another on a shelf, in a cupboard, or locked in a trunk, can retain the power to surprise, to raise questions, to challenge the generalisations that spring initially to mind when we see a list that, as in this case, gives pride of place to the theological works of William Perkins.

Reading the PLRE Archive

More generally, the PLRE project’s current archive of 450 edited, searchable early modern private libraries feels sufficiently substantial in range and quantity to provide scholars with the data needed to start moving beyond the

6 Jean Klene (ed.), *The Southwell-Sibthorpe Commonplace Book: Folger Ms v.b.198*, Renaissance English Text Society, vol. 20 (Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 1997), p. 5. A booklist associated with Lady Anne Southwell is available in PLRE.Folger (PLRE Ad3). Two copies of STC 17414 (USTC 513687), the 1598 edition of *Hero and Leander*, were discovered in the family library at Lamport Hall in the nineteenth century: one eventually went to the British Library, the other to the Huntington Library. Neither contains evidence to associate it with Judith (Lewin) Isham, but it seems likely that one of them was originally her copy.

individual case studies that continue to define much book-historical research. What kinds of questions can we start asking of these collections not only as individual libraries but also as collections in the aggregate? What kinds of evidence do they collectively provide? For example, notwithstanding all the scholarship in recent decades on the history of books and reading, early modern English literature and history continue all too often to be discussed as if early modern readers only read books printed in England, or only books in English, or only recently published books, or only the books we would have read had we been alive at the time, on the assumption that our canon was their canon. But the records in PLRE confirm what book historians have long noted: the early modern book trade was transnational and multilingual, and early modern British book owners were more cosmopolitan in their tastes than many now seem ready to acknowledge. Only about one third of the books found in PLRE are printed in England; only about one quarter are in English. Not surprisingly, most of the non-English books are in Latin: the database confirms that Latin remained the dominant working language for scholars and clerics at least through the mid-seventeenth century. The percentage of English books in clerical libraries is about 18%, lower than the collective average of 25%; in the scholars' libraries it is much lower, only about 6%. Then, as perhaps now, scholars simply did not own books that non-scholars found interesting or useful.

Books in French constitute about 5% of the database. Somewhat unexpectedly, books in French, or any Continental vernacular, are rare presences in the libraries of English scholars and clerics. Once their libraries are excluded, the percentage of French books in those remaining jumps to a significant 13% of the total. Many of these books cluster in areas such as contemporary European history, including memoirs and correspondence, current politics, political theory, mathematics, agriculture, medicine, and moral philosophy. These are the subjects on which non-clerical English readers, including women, looked to French authors for expertise. English book owners also relied on French translations of many classical works and works from other Continental vernaculars, a reminder of the role of French translation as a cultural conduit through which many classical and Continental texts entered England. Occasionally, the presence of French books reflects not so much early modern habits of 'reading for action' as conscious cultural identification. For example, more than two-thirds of the books in the thirty-two-volume library of Edward Arundell (d. 1586) are in French. Most of the remainder are in Latin, and his only two books in English also face toward the Continent: a history of Italy and a translation of Antonio de Guevara's *Dial of Princes* (PLRE 262). Arundell was

a member of a prominent Catholic family, and his books constitute the late sixteenth-century French library of a cultured gentleman who happened to live in Cornwall but whose sense of cultural affiliation, perhaps as a consequence of his Catholicism, lay across the Channel.

The database also includes more than 200 books in Italian: if what you wanted was military strategy, the English thought, go to the Italians. Italian Bibles were popular, possibly for language practice. Italian and Spanish books are also both well represented in contemporary history, politics, and literature: Boccaccio, Guarini, Machiavelli, Petrarch, and Tasso all appear frequently. There are over forty books in Dutch, mainly in the libraries of émigrés. Excluding polyglot dictionaries, there are only fourteen books in German in the entire database, and most appear in one eccentric library from 1568 (PLRE 261): if there was one thing everyone in Renaissance England could agree upon, it was that life was too short to learn German.

Subject classifications fall largely into expected patterns, Theology is by far the most popular category, representing almost 40% of the total records. Perhaps a little surprisingly, literature (13%) outnumbers history (11%), with philosophy (8.5%), law (7%), medicine (6%), the trivium of grammar (5%), rhetoric (4%), and logic (2.5%), science (2.5%), politics (2.5%), geography (1.5%), and mathematics (1.5%) rounding out the twelve subject categories represented by at least 200 entries. Language breakdowns within categories reflect language representation overall, with the occasionally revealing statistic: history in French is one and a half times as common as history in English, for example, reflecting the role of French writers as authoritative commentators on contemporary events. History in Latin of course remains far more popular than either. Latin similarly dominates in the other categories, though less so in theology than in other subjects. English comprises 36% of the theology (versus 25% of the books in all subjects together), reflecting the pervasive presence in the non-scholarly libraries of vernacular Bibles, liturgies, sermons, and other devotional works. Books in PLRE are often classified as falling under more than one major category, though the double counting does not affect the relative distributions between categories.

Latin also predominates in literature, comprising almost 70% of the books in that category. Most of course are Greek and Roman writers, with Ovid, Virgil, Terence, Homer, Horace, Seneca, Lucian, Aesop, Plautus, Martial, and Euripides leading. PLRE classifies letters and orations under literature (as well as under law, history, or politics as appropriate), so Cicero, Demosthenes, and Pliny the Younger are also strongly represented. The most popular neo-Latin writers are represented by texts such as Erasmus' *Colloquia*, *Adagia*, and *Apophthegmata*,

the *Egloge* of Baptista Spagnoli (Mantuanus), Paulo Manuzio's *Epistolae*, Conrad Lycosthenes' *Apophthegmata*, Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera navis*, Marcellus Palingenius' *Zodiacus vitae*, and Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*.

Literature in English comprises about 22% of the category's total—but many of these books are classical literature in English translation, and quite a few are English translations of such early modern Continental writers as Bandello, Boccaccio, Guarini, Montaigne, Tasso, and Du Bartas. To the disappointment of English literary scholars, English literature per se is an uncommon presence in these lists. The canon is certainly represented: Chaucer, Shakespeare, Jonson, Donne, Herbert, Marlowe, Sidney, and Spenser all appear in the database, but with the exception of Jonson—a situation with which he would be pleased—they are present so far in single-digit numbers (four to seven entries each; Jonson appears in thirteen). Writers such as George Gascoigne, George Chapman, Robert Greene, Samuel Rowlands, Thomas Overbury, Francis Quarles, and Nicholas Breton all appear as often as the canonical heavyweights. In addition to Jonson, Shakespeare, and Marlowe, English dramatists include such relatively familiar names as John Marston, John Lyly, Thomas Middleton, Philip Massinger, James Shirley, and Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher—though often not their better-known plays. But they jostle for place in these collections with dramatists far less familiar even to specialists in the field. The presence of plays by (for example) Carlell Lodowick, Robert Chamberlain, John Cooke, John Day, Thomas Drue, William Haughton, Barten Holyday, Cosmo Manuche, Lewis Machin, Shakerley Marmion, Thomas May, Robert Mead, and Thomas Nabbes exemplifies the disjunction between the works that histories of reading and reception often implicitly assume consumed the attention of contemporaries, and the rich range of works actually sitting on their shelves. Similar disjunctions could be replicated in many subjects.

The most frequently represented authors across all categories? The top three will probably come as no surprise to any reader of this volume: Aristotle (almost 700 entries, including commentaries), Cicero (over 450, including commentaries), and Erasmus (just under 400). The small cluster of other authors represented in over 100 entries is potentially less easily guessed: Calvin, Galen, Augustine, Ovid. The remaining authors represented by more than forty entries each comprise a culturally revealing and occasionally unexpected mix of the classical and the contemporary, with a strong emphasis in the early modern side on theology. In descending order from Virgil (just under 100 entries), early modern British private libraries often contained works by Philipp Melanchthon, Plutarch, Heinrich Bullinger, Jeronimo Osorio da Fonseca, Demosthenes, Theodore Beza, Horace, Aquinas, Homer, Pierre de La Ramée (Petrus Ramus), Seneca, John Jewel, Niels Hemmingsen, John Foxe,

and Pietro Martire Vermigli (Peter Martyr). They owned more copies of Girolamo Cardano (thirty-nine entries) and William Perkins (thirty-seven) than of Martin Luther (thirty-six), and Luther just edges out the Catholic polemicist Robert Parsons (thirty-four). They owned almost as many copies of Thomas Becon (twenty-one) as Francis Bacon (twenty-four), and more Bartholomaeus Keckermann (nine) than any English poet or playwright other than Ben Jonson.

Many of the names in this group reflect the over-representation in PLRE of scholarly and clerical libraries, though some of the less expected names here remind us that early modern scholars, like their successors, often relied on commentaries, guides, compilations, summaries, and popularisations. The list of well represented authors will evolve as the project continues to add more records from a wider range of book owners and from more libraries formed in the seventeenth century. Thirty-three of the forty booklists represented in the two most recent print volumes of PLRE, for example, date from the seventeenth century: these lists add a great deal of English publications to the database (literature, history, popular devotion, classical and Continental texts in translation, practical books in a wide variety of fields), reflecting the pervasive shift in these decades away from Latin and toward the vernacular, especially as book ownership in itself became generally more prevalent.

At least one of the expected names in this list of popular authors, however, is present not because of but despite the preponderance of scholarly libraries in PLRE. It has long been a commonplace of writing about Renaissance England that John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (the 'Book of Martyrs') was culturally ubiquitous: we are often told that if somebody owned just two books, they would be the Bible and Foxe. One might assume in consequence that copies of Foxe would appear often among the university inventories. In fact, the 162 Oxford scholars and officials in PLRE collectively owned just one copy of Foxe in English (PLRE 103.2). In addition, only three copies appear in Cambridge university inventories, two of those in the exceptionally large library of the collector Andrew Perne.⁷ So, the absence of Foxe from the Oxford inventories is not a function of cultural difference between the two universities. Scholars, apparently, simply were not interested in this book. But copies of Foxe in English appear in forty-one other lists in PLRE—including ten women owners, and fourteen among the seventy-five provincial book-owners surveyed in Norwich alone. The valuations for the copies of *Acts and Monuments* in these wills range from thirteen to fifteen shillings, a great deal of money for

7 Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, 2.353. A third scholar owned a copy of an abridgement.

the artisans and yeoman farmers in the Norwich group. Foxe often takes pride of place as the first book listed in these wills and inventories, and several of these libraries indeed consist of one Bible and one Foxe. One entry, reading “A boocke of martirs and a deske”, provides a glimpse into the book’s social functions: this copy was owned by the innkeeper George Ormsby, who kept his Foxe with its customised desk in a common room for the edification of his guests at The George in Norwich (PLRE 211.1).

Libraries of Renaissance Women: Some Preliminary Data

Has the number of edited booklists in PLRE reached the point of making it possible to start reading for patterns of book ownership within subsets of owners? As mentioned earlier, Elizabeth Isham, her mother, and sister are but three of the nearly seventy women now represented in the project; collectively these women owned almost 2000 identified books. Is this sample of a sufficient size to start exploring the kinds of books women owned, their access to book-based knowledge or information networks, their cultural, religious, or political interests, the similarities or differences between their collections and those of early modern men?⁸

In broad terms, the booklists associated with early modern British women confirm widespread assumptions about women’s reading in the period: their books are predominantly theological and predominantly vernacular. PLRE categorises almost 70% of the books associated with women as theology. In comparison, theology constitutes only 35% of the thousands of books associated with men—a substantial proportion, but only half as predominant. Furthermore, the kind of theology that appears in women’s booklists tends to the devotional more than the theological per se: the women’s lists are well populated with vernacular prayers, sermons, meditations, commentaries, and popular guides to the Christian life, many of them the best-sellers of their age. About 90% of the theology owned by women is in English, whereas books in English constitute only 30% of the theology in men’s collections, a reminder of the limited educational opportunities offered most women.

However, while some women’s libraries are indeed dominated by devotional bestsellers, others remind us of the need to take care when unpacking these collections. Lady Mary Grey (1545?–1578), for example, was by some calculations the legal heir of Queen Elizabeth after the execution in 1553 of

8 For a more detailed survey, see Joseph L. Black, ‘Women’s Libraries in the *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* Project’, in Knight, Sauer, and White (eds.), *Women’s Bookscapes in Early Modern Britain*, pp. 214–230.

Lady Mary's sister, the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. Mary's royal lineage consequently made her marriage a royal concern, so when she secretly married the Queen's Sergeant Porter she was separated from her husband and placed under house arrest for many years. Like many women's libraries in the period, her collection of about thirty books can fairly be described as 'largely theological' (PLRE 253). But three of Lady Mary's books comprise radical Presbyterian polemic, secretly printed books suppressed by a royal proclamation. She also owned works by several prominent early evangelical figures. Two of her French books address the persecution of the Huguenots, revealing her up-to-date interest in the state of reform on the Continent as well as in England. The decidedly reform-minded character of these writings is in line with the patronage activities of Katherine Willoughby, dowager Duchess of Suffolk (d. 1580), the relative Grey was living with; Willoughby had provided important support to Protestant publications since the 1550s. Lady Mary's theological books can therefore be read as constituting a tradition of radical Protestantism with roots in Edwardian reform, one maintained over decades by a community of interconnected authors, patrons, publishers, editors, translators, and book owners. To label a collection like hers 'largely theological' does little justice to its social, personal, and religio-political legibility, and erases the personal distinctiveness that historians tend reflexively to accord men's libraries.

Of course, many women's libraries conform more obviously to traditional expectations. Elizabeth Isham's sister Judith owned nineteen books, all works in English of popular theology. The same is true of the eighty-volume library of Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester (d. 1659) (PLRE Ad81). The twenty books in the 1594 library of Lady Dorothy Cockayne (PLRE 275) are all theological other than a book of legal statutes, an unidentified "cronicle history", and the mid-Tudor perennial *Mirror for Magistrates*. Forty-eight of the fifty-two books in the 1647 library of Lady Elizabeth Ireton (PLRE 281) are theological, with the remaining four comprising two medical books (one on childbirth, the other a manual of home remedies) and two unidentified books in French. Nonetheless, libraries like these can be compared to tease out nuance. Religious issues were fiercely contested from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Even in libraries lacking explicitly polemical works, decade-by-decade shifts on subjects of religio-political controversy can be traced through the sermons and popular devotional writings in these collections. Elizabeth Ireton's husband John, for example, was Lord Mayor of London under Oliver Cromwell; the regicide Henry Ireton was her brother-in-law. Not surprisingly, her collection is well stocked with writers from the hotter end of the theological spectrum.

A cluster of five works in French in the library of Elizabeth Isham offers another way to read the presence of books that could seem unremarkable if

encountered in a different context. Their focus again is devotional, including a French Testament, a grammar, and a catechism. But one obvious motive for owning books in a language other than English is language learning and reading practice. What better way to learn a language than to read familiar works like the Bible? Isham's diary reveals an active pursuit of self-understanding. The presence of these French works classified as theology seems likely to have been motivated by intellectual and linguistic as much as by devotional considerations. A 1638 list of books owned by Lady Anne Hamilton in Dublin (PLRE Ad80) also seems conventional enough at first glance: her fourteen books are mostly theological.⁹ But they include a Greek New Testament and a devotional work in French along with a French dictionary. However aspirational these possessions (especially the Greek Testament), their presence widens our sense of Lady Alice's perspective on the role of books in devotional practice.

Like the theology that dominates many women's libraries, the non-theological books in these collections can also be described as 'books for use'. The conjunction of physical with spiritual health is a common feature in many of these booklists, the result of the household medical and other caregiving responsibilities accorded women in this period. Books of recipes, distillations, preservation, and preparations—often manuscripts—constitute a related subject cluster, as do the books on gardening and herbals that appear regularly. These books remind us of the sophisticated knowledge base anchored in natural history that underlies domestic work in such areas as physic, cosmetics, perfumes, and food preparation. In 1647, Lady Margaret Heath (PLRE 296) owned two copies of a folio herbal, as well as books on physic, surgery, natural history, gardening, and orchards.¹⁰ The 1649 library of Lady Anne Holles (PLRE 298) contains books in all of these interconnected categories: herbals, natural history, medicine, recipe books, and surgery in English, French, Latin, and Italian, as well as important books on Italian cookery by Cristoforo di Messisbugo and Giovanni Rossetti.¹¹ Entries for pattern books for needlework, embroidery, or sewing remind us of a different area of women's cultural domain. These 'work books' are the type of publication likely to get used to pieces, like books of cookery, books for children, or books of popular devotion: many of the 'books for use' that women owned are also books with very low rates of survival. They

9 Published in Raymond Gillespie, *Seventeenth-Century Dubliners and their Books* (Dublin: Dublin City Public Libraries, 2005), p. 22 and incorporated with permission into PLRE.Folger.

10 Mark Empey, 'Lady Margaret Heath (née Miller)', in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 10 (2020), pp. 263–284.

11 Joseph L. Black and Leah Knight, 'Lady Anne Holles (née Stanhope)', in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 10, pp. 293–322.

are also the kinds of books that inventory-makers might omit from lists due to their poor condition, or overlook entirely because they were kept in parts of the house separate from other books. Even more so than with men's lists, the possibility of exclusions needs to be kept in mind when reading booklists associated with women.

But even as they share some elements, these women's libraries can also be as different from one another as any group of men's libraries, or more similar to some men's libraries of the period than to many collections compiled by their female contemporaries. The formidably learned Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley (d. 1589) owned about fifty books (PLRE Ad77), mostly Greek, with some Hebrew, Latin, and French. Few Oxford and Cambridge scholarly libraries can match her collection for its sheer power to intimidate intellectually: among the relentlessly serious history, theology, politics, medicine, and rhetoric the one item of light reading is the notoriously difficult Pindar, in Greek.¹² Of the 164 books in the substantial library of Lady Anne Holles, seventy are in French, about the same number in English, about thirty in Italian, and five in Spanish. In addition to works of theology, medicine, botany, and cookery, her library includes an eclectic range of history, politics, philosophy, literature, science, and mathematics. The subjects and authors Holles collected in European vernaculars are the same as those that appear on the shelves of prominent seventeenth-century diplomats and statesmen such as Sir Thomas Roe (PLRE 274) and Sir Edward Conway (PLRE 266 and 290): she read her world through the same informational lens these male statesmen were using.¹³ The remarkable library of Lady Elizabeth (Talbot) Grey, Countess of Kent (d. 1651) (PLRE 299) is similarly broad in its intellectual and cultural range: her library of 190 titles includes sixty-seven works in Italian as well as others in Spanish, Latin, and French.¹⁴ More than ninety of her books are works of literature, and she owned about as much history as theology, as well as an interestingly

12 Edited by Caroline Bowden, 'The Library of Mildred Cooke Cecil, Lady Burghley', *The Library*, seventh series, 6.1 (March 2005), pp. 3–29, and incorporated with permission into PLRE.Folger. For a discussion, see Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), pp. 18–44.

13 Philip Palmer, 'Sir Thomas Roe', in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 9, pp. 225–308; Daniel Starza Smith, 'Sir Edward Conway [Inventory (1610)]', in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 9, pp. 103–147; Joseph L. Black and Daniel Starza Smith, 'Edward Conway, Viscount Conway and Killultagh [Inventory (1631)]', in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 10, pp. 127–180.

14 Tara L. Lyons, 'Lady Elizabeth Grey (née Talbot), Countess of Kent', in Fehrenbach (gen. ed.), Black (ed.), *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*, vol. 10, pp. 323–359.

eclectic range of works in a variety of other subjects. Examined in the aggregate, the women's libraries in PLRE both confirm and challenge assumptions about women's reading in the period.

The Legibility of Book-Lists: Two Case Studies

Finally, booklists in PLRE Volume 10 associated with the diplomats and statesmen Sir Robert Sidney, second Earl of Leicester (1595–1677) and Sir Edward Conway (c.1564–1631) exemplify the value of editing booklists as self-contained documents, even when multiple documents contain overlapping information about books associated with a given owner. Robert Sidney's library of about 4,800 volumes was one of the larger private libraries of the period, and the manuscript catalogue of his library has been edited, with a full historical introduction, in a project separate from PLRE.¹⁵ The two related documents that do appear in PLRE (PLRE 292A and 292B) are bills from London booksellers that illuminate the process of building a library this size in seventeenth-century England. One, from Richard Whitaker, dates from 1631/1632 and lists forty-one titles; the other, from the well-known George Thomason of the 'Thomason Tract' collection of British civil war pamphlets now housed in the British Library, dates from 1650 and lists forty-three. As documents of the seventeenth-century English book trade these are both rare survivals: no other purchase orders appear to survive from either Whitaker or Thomason. Many of the books listed in these two documents can be found in the catalogue of the Sidney family library: they are edited separately in PLRE not for the titles they 'add' to those in Sidney's library catalogue but for the light they shed on bookselling in the period, a subject about which less is known than printing and publication. How did seventeenth-century book owners get hold of the books they owned? What did they pay for them? What kinds of books did given booksellers in the period market and distribute?

One thing these purchase orders reveal, for example, is that in their role as agents for a large-scale purchaser, these two booksellers appear to have had different specialisations. The Whitaker list consists primarily of recent English publications: Sidney left England for an embassy to Denmark in September 1632, and part of his preparation evidently was to order from Whitaker current news-books, recent publications about Gustavus Adolphus and the Swedish army, and a work by the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe. The Thomason list on the

15 Germaine Warkentin, Joseph L. Black, and William R. Bowen (eds.), *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place circa 1665* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

other hand consists almost entirely of Continental publications, some recent, but many dating back to the sixteenth century. Sidney looked to Thomason for copies of books published in Amsterdam, Augsburg, Barcelona, Basle, Bologna, Florence, Frankfurt, Geneva, Lisbon, Lyon, Milan, Paris, Rome, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Venice: they are the acquisitions of a learned, curious reader with wide interests looking to understand the contemporary world.

The booklist associated with Sir Edward Conway in PLRE Volume 10 is the second list of Conway's books the project has edited. PLRE 266 lists the 213 books Conway transported home in 1610 from Brill (Brielle/Den Briel) in the Netherlands, where he had been serving as the English Lieutenant-Governor. PLRE 290 lists the 286 books Conway maintained at his London residence at his death in 1631. Together these two booklists number 464 different books, with only thirty-five titles duplicated across the two collections. The collection catalogued in 1610 pre-dates most of Conway's significant state appointments, which would eventually include membership in the Privy Council and being made Secretary of State. These books reflect the needs and interests of a talented soldier with intellectual and professional ambitions who was preparing himself for future responsibilities and potential opportunities. The 1631 library reflects Conway's interests and concerns as they developed over his subsequent political career. The differences between the two collections are revealing. Not surprisingly for an aspiring and then practicing diplomat, both of Conway's collections are multilingual: books in French, Latin, English, Italian, and Spanish appear in both libraries, and the 1631 library also includes works in Dutch and German. But by 1631 the learning aids (grammars and guides to conversation and pronunciation) found in the 1610 collection are gone, presumably no longer needed. Over the intervening years they had been replaced with an assortment of dictionaries that reflected the linguistic demands Conway faced as a statesman with an international portfolio: Spanish-English, Latin-French (four different dictionaries), Dutch-French, Greek-Latin, Latin, and polyglot. Books on courtiership are also largely gone by 1631: Conway evidently had learned what he needed to know on the subject. Many of the works that addressed current events of the early seventeenth century have been eliminated as no longer useful. The focus of the theology has expanded from controversy, much of it in vernaculars, to include a solid core in Latin of standard commentaries, histories, and other foundational works (including a copy of the Quran).

The proportion of language representation in Conway's two collections also shifts, with French and Latin both overtaking English by 1631. The French books largely comprise contemporary history, politics, letters, memoirs, and French translations of classical and contemporary European historians. As

mentioned earlier, the same authors and titles appear on the shelves of diplomats and statesmen such as Robert Sidney and Sir Thomas Roe, and they also fill the library of Lady Anne Holles. For Conway, as for Sidney, Roe, and Holles, these are the books English readers considered the best guide for an up-to-date understanding of the contemporary European world. Italian books added after 1610 offer a similar profile as Conway's French collection, only instead of history and politics they are dominated by military history and strategy: the soldier in Conway clearly valued Italian expertise on the subject. Of the thirty-five books Conway retained from his 1610 collection, the majority are in French, reflecting the general prominence of French books in the catalogue. As a group they epitomise the interests reflected in the 1631 library as a whole: contemporary history, translations of classical historians, some theology, agriculture, medicine, military history, and strategy. The major change by 1631 from the 1610 library is the comparative absence of literature, including the almost complete absence of English literature. Not only was literature a major element of the 1610 collection, but as the owner of literature in manuscript by writers such as John Donne and Ben Jonson, the younger Conway had enjoyed significant literary connections. But perhaps for the statesman Conway, 'reading for action' did not include the literary.

The unusual survival of these two substantial, and substantially differing, booklists associated with the same owner from different periods of life reminds us that personal libraries are not static or simply accretive. Collections shrink as well as grow, are packed and unpacked, relocated, reshelfed, and reconsidered; they evolve to meet their owner's evolving needs, purposes, interests, and contingencies. Any given booklist offers a snapshot of the books kept by their owner in a given place and time, and any 'unpacking' of early modern collections should consider the potential implications of space, place, and context as well as the authors and titles the collection contains. As Elizabeth Isham reminds us, all book collections are individual: each particular combination of titles and authors reflects the interests, desires, and personal history of its owner. The PLRE project has made it easier to compare these collections with one another and to see what stories each collection can tell. The hope is that aggregating as many of the surviving records as possible will make it easier for scholars to trace larger patterns of book ownership, patterns that will help anchor the history of books and reading in the specifics of the volumes kept on shelves or in trunks in the households of their early modern owners.

Philosophers' Private Libraries (1600–1800)

Giovanna Granata

The History of Ideas and Private Libraries

In a famous paper presented in 1889 at the meeting of the recently-founded *Gesellschaft für deutsche Literatur*, Wilhelm Dilthey proposed the creation of literary archives to collect and preserve the papers of philosophers, persons of letters, and scholars.¹ He emphasised the importance of these sources for a philosophical historiography not only focused on ideas discussed in books, but which would also shed light on the preliminary stages of works, and the dynamics of the writing process. In his opinion, only a systematic commitment to the creation of archival institutions could put a stop to the natural tendency of such materials to break up and disperse, thus avoiding the risk of incalculable losses. A basic statement reinforced this conviction: the capacity of private persons in preserving these corpora was weak compared to that of public institutions which, however, received them only in special cases where there was a close personal relationship to the author.

The concept of literary archives is today well consolidated, although it does not correspond to the systematic and capillary institutional setup that Dilthey contemplated.² At the time he wrote, it was undoubtedly little less than utopian. Only four years had passed since the constitution of the Goethe-Archiv in

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- 1 The text of the conference has been published: Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Archive für Literatur', *Deutsche Rundschau*, 58 (1889), pp. 360–375, now in Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 15: Ulrich Herrmann (ed.), *Zur Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Portraits und biographische Skizzen. Quellenstudien und Literaturberichte zur Theologie und Philosophie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), pp. 1–16. Dilthey returned to the subject in another article in the same year of the conference, 'Archive der Literatur in ihrer Bedeutung für das Studium der Geschichte der Philosophie', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2 (1889), pp. 343–367, now in Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4: Hermann Nohl (ed.), *Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels und andere Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Idealismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 555–575.
 - 2 For a recent discussion concerning literary archives and questions raised by Dilthey's reflection, see Petra-Maria Dallinger, Georg Hofer and Bernhard Judex (eds.), *Archive für Literatur. Der Nachlass und seine Ordnungen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), and David C. Sutton and Ann Livingstone (eds.), *The Future of Literary Archives: Diasporic and Dispersed Collections at Risk* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018).

Weimar, which he cited as the first significant experiment of what he proposed. It was to be strengthened and extended from a family archive to become a permanent structure of public relevance to which he suggested also aggregating Schiller's and Herder's papers, as would be done shortly thereafter.³

In the still embryonic Goethe-Archiv founded by Grand Duchess Sophie, Dilthey saw a potential model for reassembling Kant's papers, of which only a part had reached the Königsberg library after being divided among his heirs. Dilthey's attention focused mainly on manuscript documentation (letters, rough drafts of essays, unpublished texts), but he also did not fail to mention the volumes in Kant's personal collection, interleaved and full of notes, such as the renowned exemplar of the Baumgarten *Metaphysica*, found in the University Library of Dorpat.⁴ A few years later, in the report presented to the Academy of Sciences in Berlin concerning the edition of Kantian writings, he pointed out even more strongly the need to extend the research to the books owned by the Königsberg philosopher, and provided a letter to be directed to archives and libraries with a request for collaboration and support in the identification of other surviving copies as important testimonies to be included in the Nachlass.⁵

Effectively, if the dispersion of papers is a tangible danger for autographs, the book collections, less 'intimate' and certainly more difficult for heirs to take care of, are even more dangerously exposed to this risk. Kant's library, for example, went to Johann Friedrich Gensichen, his colleague in Königsberg, and was

3 In 1885, after the death of his last descendent, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's collections were inherited by the Grand Duchess Sophie of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach who founded the Goethe Archive. In 1889, the year of Dilthey's conference on literary archives, Friedrich Schiller's papers were bequeathed to the Goethe Archive. Afterwards, Dilthey's proposal led to the creation of a 'Litteraturarchiv-Gesellschaft' (Society for Literary Archives) which actually came into conflict with Weimar's still private archives, see Jürgen Thaler, 'Zur Geschichte des Literaturarchivs. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Archive für Literatur im Kontext*, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 55 (2011), pp. 360–374.

4 Tartu (Estonia), University of Tartu Library, manuscript 93: Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, *Metaphysica* (4th ed., Halle: Hemmerde, 1757) with Immanuel Kant's handwritten notes. The copy went to the Dorpat university through Gottlob Benjamin Jäsche, the student of Kant, who had been a professor of philosophy there since 1802, cf. Immanuel Kant, *Notes and Fragments*, ed. by Paul Guyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 68. The copy was adopted by Erich Adickes as one of the sources for the third part (*Handschriftlicher Nachlaß*) of the edition of Kant's *Gesammelte Schriften* promoted by the Prussian Academy of Sciences (Akademie Ausgabe), especially vols. xv (1913), xvii (1926) and xviii (1928). Later, in 2000, a second Kantian copy of Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* (3rd ed., Halle: Hemmerde, 1750) was found in Poland (Gdansk Library, Fa 25989 /3).

5 Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Kant-Ausgabe', *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1896, pp. 68–69, also in: *Kant-Studien*, 1 (1897), pp. 148–154.

auctioned after Gensichen's death, probably mixed with his own collection.⁶ Many similar cases can be cited, mostly from the modern age, and there are few exceptions to this rule. The most impressive however are worth noting and are undoubtedly those of Voltaire's and Diderot's libraries, both kept in the Hermitage collections and afterwards in the National Library of Russia. After Voltaire's death, his library was brought in twelve large boxes from the castle of Ferney to Saint Petersburg where it arrived in August 1779. Jean-Louis Wagnière, the philosopher's secretary and friend, was charged with unpacking and ordering the books, which were placed in the Winter Palace as part of Catherine's personal library. In 1785, Denis Diderot's books, already purchased in 1765 but left in full use of the philosopher until his death, were transported to Saint Petersburg. Unlike Voltaire's library, which was kept intact, they were merged with the rest of the Hermitage collection.⁷

Indeed, the role of Catherine of Russia, who succeeded in purchasing Voltaire's and Diderot's books from their heirs, has the institutional implication envisaged in Dilthey's thesis. More often, left to the uncertain custody of family members, conservation waned over the generations, with more or less serious losses, depending on how and when these came about.⁸

When this occurs, the reconstruction of philosophers' book collections is only possible by combining data from surviving books (whether many or few, gathered or to be searched for) with a plurality of 'second-level' sources, consisting of book lists and catalogues. Such materials are often the only ones to survive and are consequently an invaluable starting point for the study of

6 *Verzeichniß der Bücher des verstorbenen Professor Johann Friedrich Gensichen, wozu auch die demselben zugefallene Bücher des Professor Kant gehören, welche den 25. April 1808 ... öffentlich veräußert werden sollen* (Königsberg: gedruckt in der Hartungschens Hof- und academ. Buchdruckerei, 1808); see Arthur Warda, *Immanuel Kants Bücher: mit einer getreuen Nachbildung des bisher einzigen bekannten Abzuges des Versteigerungskataloges der Bibliothek Kants* (Berlin: Breslauer, 1922).

7 See Sergeï Karp, *Quand Catherine II achetait la bibliothèque de Voltaire* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIII^e siècle, 1999); Robert Zaretsky, *Catherine and Diderot, The Empress, the Philosopher, and the Fate of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2019). Attempts to reconstruct Diderot's library, also difficult because the library catalogue prepared before sending his books to Saint Petersburg has not come down to us, are discussed by Sergueï V. Korolev, *La Bibliothèque de Diderot. Vers une reconstitution* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIII^e siècle, 2014), which describes about 800 volumes of the Diderot collection.

8 Surprisingly, some important collections, after having been preserved for a long time, encountered their fatal destiny in the middle of the contemporary age, long after Dilthey's conference on literary archives. See for instance, in the following, the cases of the Montesquieu, Locke and Newton libraries (notes 12, 14, and 23).

dispersed collections. As such, philosophy scholars are attempting to explore them with increasing interest.

Indeed, the attention paid to book legacies in recent research goes beyond Dilthey's appeal for the preservation of manuscripts and autographs and is open to a wider range of meanings. Libraries are prime testimonies through which to discover the many sources their owners may have worked with, tracking down connections and relationships, and can consequently contribute to shedding new light on the cultural profile of individual thinkers, as well as entire philosophical traditions. As many studies now demonstrate, investigating book collections is essential for a philosophical hermeneutics focused on the analysis of texts as complex, stratified and allusive 'objects', where different kinds of material converge in an apparent unity, rich in tensions, fractures and nuances to be detected.⁹ On the other hand, the study of book collections is also an invaluable key to reconstructing what the great editor of Nietzsche's work, Mazzino Montinari, called the extra-text. All traces external to the texts, even preliminary to their different versions, make it possible to understand their intellectual genesis, providing crucial information on the context within which the reflections of the authors took form and developed, or, in Montinari's words, "[build] a bridge to the culture of their time".¹⁰

On this basis, a growing number of studies concern lists and catalogues of books owned by philosophers and other savants, and the digital era has encouraged many projects focused on this documentary material as a contribution to studies in the field of the history of culture and ideas. As a further step forward, a comprehensive collection of the available sources, otherwise dispersed

9 This claim comes not only from deconstructivism of post-structuralist hermeneutics, but also from philosophical historiography, particularly when involved in a philological approach to texts; see the considerations on Eugenio Garin and Emilio Betti by Andrea Orsucci, 'Le 'pseudomorfofi' racchiuse in uno scritto filosofico: critica testuale e circolazione libraria', in Giovanna Granata (ed.), *Biblioteche e saperi. Circolazione di libri e di idee tra età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2019), pp. 255–267.

10 The 'extra-text' problem is mentioned by Mazzino Montinari in a manuscript note prepared for the conference 'Probleme der Nietzsche-Hermeneutik: Textkritik und Wirkungsgeschichte'. The note was published posthumously in Giuliano Campioni and Aldo Venturelli (eds.), *La 'biblioteca ideale' di Nietzsche* (Naples: Guida, 1992), pp. 11–12. The concept is the theoretical background for the project of reconstructing Nietzsche's library that Montinari proposed in the 1960's as a necessary complement to the critical edition; see on this point Giuliano Campioni, *Leggere Nietzsche. Alle origini dell'edizione critica Colli—Montinari, con lettere e testi inediti* (Pisa: ETS, 1992), pp. 111–120. The project resulted in Giuliano Campioni, Paolo D'Iorio, Maria Cristina Fornari, Francesco Fronterotta and Andrea Orsucci (eds.), *Nietzsches persönliche Bibliothek* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002).

and difficult to access, has been planned and published online on the site *Philosophical libraries. Private Libraries of Philosophers from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*.¹¹ The project is substantially a virtual accomplishment of what Dilthey hoped for in his 1889 lecture on 'literary archives', with a specific focus on libraries and books of philosophers. The wealth of material gathered gives 'philosophical libraries' a visibility they usually do not enjoy in the broader context of private libraries. Therefore, they stand out as a subset of a more general framework, and, as such, they offer a useful sample for an almost inclusive survey of different types of lists that allow the investigation of book collections and the reconstruction of their nature and history.

Catalogues and Inventories of Philosophical Libraries. A General Survey

A first kind of these lists are catalogues drawn up by the authors themselves or their assistants. Although they should be the best sources, those that survive are quite scarce as they have often undergone the same dispersion as the rest of the personal papers. There are nonetheless some important examples of philosophical libraries for which self-prepared catalogues are known.

Montesquieu's catalogue is one of these.¹² Being substantially completed in 1732, it reflects the state of the library some twenty-five years prior to the death

11 The site, which can be accessed at <<http://picus.unica.it>>, is the result of a project set up jointly by the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa and the University of Cagliari. The project, started in 2006, is a cooperative effort and benefits from the participation of many institutions and scholars all over the world. A scientific committee, coordinated by Renzo Raggianti, Alessandro Savorelli (Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa) and Francesca M. Crasta, Giovanna Granata, Andrea Orsucci (University of Cagliari), supervises the database. On the genesis and the aim of the project, see Renzo Raggianti and Alessandro Savorelli, 'Biblioteche filosofiche private: strumenti di lavoro, documenti e contesti', in Roberto Rusconi (ed.), *Il libro antico tra catalogo storico e catalogazione elettronica* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2012), pp. 109–132. For a description of the content and the functionalities of the database, see Laura Usalla, 'Biblioteche dei filosofi. Biblioteche Filosofiche Private in Età Moderna e Contemporanea', in Giovanna Granata (ed.), *Biblioteche e saperi. Circolazione di libri e di idee in età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e Letteratura, forthcoming). Project-related researches have also resulted in publications, in particular Francesca M. Crasta (ed.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna e contemporanea* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2010) and Renzo Raggianti and Alessandro Savorelli (eds.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private. Strumenti e prospettive di ricerca* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2014).

12 Over centuries, the library of Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu remained almost intact in the castle of La Brède. In 1926, a part of the

of the author. It is quite detailed and allows the identification of editions: Baron de La Brède, Montesquieu had a secretary at his disposal, the Abbot Bottereau-Duval, who worked on the catalogue with some accuracy. Although not a specialist, as is evident from some misunderstandings, he generally gives all basic details to distinguish editions, recording them in a quite standard classified order.

To remain in the field of the French Enlightenment, in the case of Voltaire we again have a catalogue drawn up in the last part of the philosopher's life by his secretary, Jean-Louis Wagnière, with his own participation. Indeed, the catalogue is rather like an inventory list, with very short descriptions, generally limited to the name of the author and title of the work. On the other hand, as the books are recorded topographically, it provides information of great importance on the 'material' organisation of the library's thematic sections on the shelves.¹³

Some different features stand out regarding Locke, whose care for his books led to the production of different lists and, particularly, to the interleaved copy of the Bodleian catalogue by which he handed down the final content of his collection.¹⁴ The series of shorthand references he adopted in it is part of a

volumes, mixed with other family collections, was dispersed after two different sales, see *Beaux livres anciens et modernes provenant de la bibliothèque du château de La Brède* (Paris: Charles Bosse and Francisque Lefrançois, 1926); in 1994 Countess Jacqueline de Chabannes, the last of Montesquieu's descendants, donated the remaining volumes to Bordeaux's municipal library. Among them was the manuscript catalogue, now shelved as Ms 2539, lists about 3,200 titles. The catalogue, known to scholars since the 1950s, was first published by Louis Desgraves, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu* (Genève: Droz, 1954); a second edition has been published more recently by Louis Desgraves and Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, with the collaboration of Françoise Weil, *Le Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu à La Brède*. Cahiers Montesquieu, n. 4 (Naples: Liguori, 1999); an electronic version has been also prepared under the supervision of Catherine Volpilhac-Auger and can be accessed at the website *Montesquieu. Bibliothèque & éditions*: <<http://montesquieu.huma-num.fr/>>. See Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, 'Voyages autour d'un catalogue: pour une nouvelle approche de la culture de Montesquieu', in Renzo Ruggianti and Alessandro Savorelli (eds.), *Biblioteca filosofica private. Strumenti e prospettive di ricerca* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2014), pp. 241–260.

13 The catalogue was published by George R. Havens and Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire's catalogue of his library at Ferney*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. IX (Genève: Institut et musée Voltaire, 1959). It is also reproduced in Michail Pavlovic Alekseev and Tatjana Nikolaevna Kopreeva, *Bibliothèque de Voltaire. Catalogue des livres* (Moscow and Leningrad: Éditions de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, 1961), pp. 1065–1150.

14 The case of John Locke's library attests to the problems raised by the dispersal of collections held in private hands. Peter Lasslet did not hesitate to define its destiny as "one of the sadder stories in the history of English Letters", see John Harrison and Peter Lasslet,

complex and ingenious cataloguing system that appears to be something of a unicum. This attitude certainly derives from the attention devoted to his library, combined with the bibliographic sensitivity (and indexing ability) of the philosopher, who was also the creator of a method for the listing of *loci communes* published in Leclerc's *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* in 1686.¹⁵

Finally, continuing in this vein we can also mention the 'extreme case' of Hobbes, whose books are likely among those in the library at Chatsworth House, the residence of the Cavendish family, with whom he spent a large part of his life. The 'old catalogue' of the Hardwick/Chatsworth library, dating from the late 1620s, is in his handwriting and it very likely reflects the acquisitions of the library under his scientific responsibility, probably for his own use.¹⁶ Thus, it can be deemed almost a personal catalogue, even though it is very short and this makes it difficult to distinguish the old volumes from the later acquisitions of the family.

Post-mortem inventories are sources of a different kind. Only in exceptional cases are they drawn up to aid in the transfer of a personal library, an infrequent occurrence. One example is the case of Diderot's library, for which a catalogue was prepared before sending his books to Saint Petersburg, though it has not come down to us.¹⁷ On the other hand, Leibniz' library is precisely known through two inventories compiled at his death in 1716, owing to negotiations between the philosopher's nephew, the heir to his documents, and the government of Hanover, interested in adding Leibniz's volumes to the Ducal

The Library of John Locke, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 57. In fact, at Locke's death, two heirs received most of his books and so these were subject to one of two very different destinies. Some of the books reached the Bodleian Library in the middle of the twentieth century after remaining in the possession of the King-Lovelace family, while the other part was dispersed in the late eighteenth century by the descendants of the Mashams at Oates, where Locke stayed in his last years. Locke's interleaved Bodleian catalogue (*Catalogus impressorum librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi, Curâ & operâ Thomæ Hyde*. Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674) is now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Locke 17.16.

- 15 John Locke, 'Méthode nouvelle de dresser des recueils', *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, 2 (1686), pp. 315–329; see George G. Meynell, 'John Locke's Method of Commonplacing', *The Seventeenth Century*, 8 (1993), pp. 245–267; also Lucia Dacome, 'Noting the mind: commonplace books and the pursuit of the self in the Eighteenth century Britain', *Journal of History of Ideas*, 65 (2004), pp. 603–625 and Michael Stolberg, 'John Locke's New Method of Making Common-Place Books', *Early Science and Medicine*, 19 (1914), pp. 448–470.
- 16 Bakewell, Derbyshire, Chatsworth House, Hobbes MS E.1.A: 'Old Catalogue', see Richard A. Talaska, *The Hardwick Library and Hobbes's Early Intellectual Development* (Charlottesville, VA: Philosophy Documentation Center, 2013).
- 17 See note 7.

library of the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg, where they wound up.¹⁸ These sources make it possible to undertake the complex work of reconstructing Leibniz' library, which was mixed with the general collections of the present State Library of Lower Saxony, thus in a certain sense being 'dispersed'.¹⁹

A somewhat different destiny awaited Hume's library. Some hypotheses on the content of his collection can be made on the basis of the catalogue that was compiled in 1740 by an experienced bookseller, Thomas G. Stevenson, in execution of the final will of the philosopher's nephew, Baron David Hume, who died in 1738. Indeed, the catalogue includes all the books owned by Baron Hume who had inherited his ancestor's collection and added it to his own, certainly no less important given his personal interest in the field of legal studies. In any case, the Stevenson catalogue remains the most relevant source available.²⁰

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- 18 The Court library is the original nucleus of the present State Library of Lower Saxony (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek—Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek) where manuscripts and books from Leibniz's private library are now preserved. On the destiny of Leibniz's collection, see Heinrich Lackmann, 'Der Erbschaftsstreit um Leibniz' Privatbibliothek', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 1 (1969), pp. 126–136. On the two inventories, respectively of the books Leibniz had at Hannover (Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Bibliotheksakten A 8 (5), *Catalog der Leibnizschen Privat-Bibliothek und der Dubia*), and of the cabinet of Wolfenbüttel (Staatsarchiv Hannover, Dep. 103 XXXV Nr. 3, *Specification derer zu Wolfenbüttel gewesenen Leibnizischen Bücher*), see Margherita Palumbo, 'Das "schöne supplementum". Die Privatbibliothek von Leibniz', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 38/39 (2006–2007), pp. 19–41.
- 19 Research on Leibniz's volumes started with the pioneering study by Albert Heinekamp, *Leibniz' Privatbibliothek in der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek, Hannover. Mit einem Titelverzeichnis der Abteilung A (Jura) und D (Philosophia Practica)*, an unpublished dissertation submitted to the Bibliothekar-Lehrinstitut, Cologne, 1968. Margherita Palumbo continued working on this subject, with publication of various studies on different aspects of the library, among which: *Leibniz e la Res Bibliothecaria. Bibliografie, historiae literariae e cataloghi nella bibliotheca privata leibniziana* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1993); 'La biblioteca lessicografica di Leibniz', in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Lopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993); *Leibniz e i geographica. Libri geografici e apodemici nella biblioteca privata leibniziana* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996); 'Trattati astrologici cinquecenteschi nella biblioteca privata leibniziana', in Ornella Pompeo Faracovi (ed.), *Nella luce degli astri. L'astrologia nella cultura del Rinascimento* (Sarzana: Agorà, 2004), pp. 253–279; 'Il "lodevole artificio". Trattati mnemotecnici nella biblioteca privata leibniziana', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, XII (2006), pp. 569–582; 'Leibniz' letzte Anschaffungen für seine Privatbibliothek', in Michael Kempe (ed.), *1716, Leibniz' letztes Lebensjahr: Unbekanntes zu einem bekannten Universalgelehrten* (Hanover: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, 2016), pp. 59–81. The project of a 'Virtuelle Rekonstruktion der Arbeitsbibliothek von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz', funded by the German Research Foundation during the years 2007–2013, was announced by the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek (<<http://www.leibnizcentral.de/CiXbase/gwlab/>>).
- 20 The 1840 catalogue by Thomas G. Stevenson is preserved at the National Library of Scotland, ms. 348, *Catalogue of the Library of Baron David Hume*. In the 1850's, after the

Inventories are more often compiled as notarial deeds in matters of inheritance, debts or goods of the deceased person, thus requiring complex archival research and great expertise in discovering and exploiting them. Spinoza's library is one of the most relevant examples. The collection itself was dispersed very quickly, having been sold a few days after the philosopher's death to pay his funeral expenses. Only centuries later did the fortunate finding of the notarial inventory, dated 2 March 1677, make it possible for the Dutch Vereniging Het Spinozahuis (Spinoza House Society) to attempt to identify and acquire the surviving books.²¹

We are dealing here with sources which by their nature are not very accurate: they often lack information and present inaccuracies that make attempts at reconstruction an ordeal. In his work on Galileo's library, for example, Antonio Favaro had to use the inventory of the inheritance of Galileo's son, Vincenzo, and his wife, Sestilia Bocchineri, drawn up "by a notary ignorant of literary things ... compiled in the most brute fashion that one can imagine."²² Frequently, they give only very brief and summarising information that makes the reconstruction even more complex. In the case of Newton, who died intestate, the inventory of the contents of his house was made in the days after his death with just a mention of the number of books found in the rooms. A more comprehensive list was compiled by the first buyer of the books, John Huggins, one of Newton's neighbours, who immediately acquired them for his

death of baron Hume's daughter, his library was put up for sale together with other book collections by the same bookseller of whom also some printed catalogues exist. On Hume's library and its vicissitudes, see David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, *The David Hume Library* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in association with The National Library of Scotland, 1996).

- 21 Jan M.M. Aler, *Catalogus van de bibliotheek der vereniging Het Spinozahuis te Rijnsburg* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), see Adri K. Offenbergh, 'Spinoza's library. The story of a reconstruction', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 309–321. A new catalogue has been published by the Groningen University Library, where the book collection was temporarily housed, see Jacob van Sluis and Tonnis Musschenga (eds.), *De Boeken van Spinoza* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2009), also available online: <<https://research.rug.nl/nl/publications/de-boeken-van-spinoza>>.
- 22 Antonio Favaro, 'La libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata', *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 19 (1886), pp. 219–293, especially p. 226; see also Antonio Favaro, 'Appendice prima alla libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata', *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 20 (1887), pp. 372–376, and 'Appendice seconda alla Libreria di Galileo', *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere e atti di Padova*, 12 (1896), pp. 44–50; other integrations by Michele Camerota, 'La biblioteca di Galileo: alcune integrazioni e aggiunte desunte dal carteggio', in Francesca M. Crasta (ed.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private*, pp. 81–95 and Crystal Hall, 'Galileo's library reconsidered', *Galilaeana*, 12 (2015), pp. 29–82.

son Charles, freshly appointed Rector of Chinnor. Indeed, this list is nearly a *post mortem* inventory and, although rather poor in details, it offers a basic starting point for reconstructing the library of the scientist.²³

The two kinds of sources—catalogues and inventories—do not have the same quantitative or qualitative relevance as sale catalogues, including auction catalogues, which represent the ultimate dispersion of private book collections. The widespread phenomenon of book collecting characterised European cultural and social history in the modern age and produced a huge mass of documents which, by their intrinsic nature, are particularly accurate and detailed. The libraries of learned men naturally aroused much interest among collectors and there have been numerous sales of such collections accompanied by catalogues that list their contents.

It would be impossible to mention all of the examples of this type of resource. Since the case of the dispersal of Kant's library is cited above, it is worth recalling that this library is partly known through the auction catalogue of the Gensichen collection.²⁴ Even the rich library of Baumgarten, author of the manual that Kant used for his teaching, is known from the catalogues of auctions that were organised after his death.²⁵ Another example from the

23 The vicissitudes of Isaac Newton's library were first reconstructed by Colonel R. de Villamil, *Newton: The Man* (London: Gordon Knox, 1931), who published the inventory of Newton's household goods and found the Huggins list in the British Museum (now British Library MS Add. 25424). He also published a second source, of fundamental importance in that it integrates the very short descriptions of the Huggins list contained in the catalogue of books held by James Musgrave, a theologian of Magdalen College in Oxford to whom the Newton library passed when Charles Huggins died in 1750. Musgrave's heirs kept the library until 1919, when they auctioned a large part of the volumes with other family goods, probably unaware of their provenance. In 1943, the rest of the library was bought from the Wykeham-Musgraves and gifted to Trinity College Cambridge. On the library of Newton, see the fundamental work by John Harrison, *The Library of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978) in which he has remedied some inaccuracies of Colonel R. de Villamil and compiled a comprehensive catalogue of the scientist's books. It should be noted however that owing to the dispersal of the library after the publication of Harrison's volume, other books from Newton's library have been discovered. The 'Newton Project', led by the Faculty of History of the University of Oxford has the aim of publishing online a full edition of Newton's writings and is publishing Harrison's full catalogue, to be consulted at <<http://www.newtonproject.ox.ac.uk/his-library/books-in-newtons-library>>.

24 See note 6.

25 The first *Catalogus librorum a viro excellentissimo amplissimo Alexandro Gottlieb Baumgarten, suos et amicorum in usus comparatorum* (Frankfurt: ad Viadrum, Winter 1762) is followed by a second catalogue in three parts for the different sections of the library, auctioned between 1765 and 1767: *Bibliothecae Baumgartenianae Pars I.* [–11.1–2] (Halle: Gebauer, 1765–1767).

German area between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the collection of H.S. Reimarus, who in turn was responsible for the catalogue of J.A. Fabricius, the classical scholar of whom he was the student and later the son-in-law.²⁶ The *Biga bibliothecarum* was de facto created by Georg Hamann for the auction of his own collection, together with that of his friend Lindner.²⁷ The sale was eventually avoided thanks to a move by Herder, the catalogue of whose collection was prepared for the auction which took place a few months after his death.²⁸ Many other examples of this kind can be cited, including those of Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schelling.²⁹

Concluding Remarks

The large amount of data on philosophers' book collections provides invaluable material for studies in the field of private libraries, insofar as it allows a survey of the wide variety of documentary sources that scholars usually have to deal with in studying this phenomenon. In the meantime, 'private philosophical libraries' attest to some specific features that will be better revealed by bringing together all the remaining evidence on such collections.

A complete survey is beyond the scope of this paper. One prominent characteristic should however be mentioned: the divergence from the model of book collecting that produced the great private libraries of the modern age, resulting from a complex combination of factors related to both the cultural merits and the social prestige of the owners.

There is much evidence in this regard. First, we must consider the size of 'philosophical' collections, that sometimes only amount to some hundred

26 *Bibliothecae Reimarianae in classes redigit et iuxta ordinem scientiarum ... Pars 1–11* (Hamburg: Litteris I.C. Piscatoris, 1769); Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Bibliothecae Beati Jo. Alb. Fabricii*. Teil 1 (Hamburg, 1738).

27 *Biga bibliothecarum altera viri, dum viveret, summe reverendi, doctissimi, excellentissimi Iohann. Gotthelf. Lindneri* (Kaliningrad: typis Driestianis, 1776); see Giuseppe Landolfi Petrone, 'La Biga Bibliothecarum di Johann Georg Hamann', in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Lopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 599–606.

28 *Bibliotheca Herderiana* (Wismar: [s.n.], 1804), see Franz Flaskamp, 'Herders Bücherkauf zu Lemgo: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibliotheca Herderiana', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte*, LXV (1967), pp. 218–235.

29 *Tabulae Librorum e Bibliotheca defuncti Schleiermacher* (Berlin: Tipis Reimerenianis, 1835); *Verzeichniß der von dem Professor Herrn Dr. Hegel und dem Dr. Herrn Seebeck hinterlassenen Bücher-Sammlungen* (Berlin: Müller, 1832). *Verzeichniß von Büchern aus dem Nachlasse von Geheimen Rath von Schelling, Ober-Consistorial-Rath Klotz, General-Lieutenant von Reiche, Wilh. Lipke und Anderen* (Berlin: Zschiesche, 1855).

volumes. The inventory of Spinoza's library, which has been declared the "happiest discovery after the Short Treatise", is the most striking case, with about 160 volumes.³⁰ The books found in the house of Newton at the time of his death in 1727 barely exceed 1,900, and those left by Locke in 1704 are approximately 2,600 in number. However, Locke had many more volumes at his disposal in his lifetime. A list of about 3,600 titles has been reconstructed from various sources, but as has been observed this number is lower than his financial means would have given him the opportunity to acquire, and certainly does not reach the vastness of the major private collections of his time.³¹ The same can be affirmed for some later collections: Montesquieu's catalogue at La Brède, for instance, lists about 3,200 titles up to 1731, and 3,867 titles are in Voltaire's library at Saint Petersburg.³²

There are of course some exceptions, including Locke's young friend and disciple, Anthony Collins, whose book collection was one of the largest philosophical libraries of the modern age, with a treasure of ten thousand volumes—the handwritten catalogue of which has survived.³³ However, emphasis on quantity is not an intrinsic feature of 'philosophical libraries', as it is for the private collections that Gabriel Naudé described in his famous treatise on the first examples of massive accumulation of books, emphasising their public role and social impact.³⁴

A second feature that distinguishes philosophical collections from other great private libraries is the extensive use of the books. This suggests the philosophical library to be a kind of 'intellectual workshop', rather than a cathedral built to gain the admiration of peers and fame in posterity. Needless to say, it is most imprudent to interpret ownership of books as evidence of reading. This is true for the interpretation of any kind of book list and those of philosophical libraries are no exception. However, in those cases where it is possible to shift from bibliographic sources to the examination of books themselves, many traces of reading can be found that attest to interest in their content.

30 Carl Gebhardt, *Die Bibliothek Spinozas*, in Kuno Fischer (ed.), *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*. II: *Spinozas Leben, Werke und Lehre*, 5th ed. by C. Gebhardt (Heidelberg: Winter, 1909), p. 600.

31 See Harrison and Lasslett, *The Library of John Locke*, p. 56. For a quantitative evaluation of Locke's library, see Harrison and Lasslett, pp. 11–12; similar considerations in Richard Ashcraft, 'John Locke's Library: Portrait of an Intellectual', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1969), pp. 47–60.

32 Alekseev and Kopreeva, *Bibliothèque de Voltaire*.

33 Giovanni Tarantino, *Lo scrittoio di Anthony Collins (1676–1729). I libri e i tempi di un libero pensatore* (Milan: Angeli, 2007).

34 Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: Chez François Targa, 1627). USTC 6019927.

Voltaire's collection, for example, which is almost completely preserved, contains so many handwritten notes to mark passages, to make observations and leave comments that it genuinely appears to be the working space of the philosopher.³⁵ Other traces can also be entirely outside the books. Locke's technique of extracting *loci communes* was mentioned above; however, in its more traditional form, based on assembling lists or dossiers of reading notes, it was quite a common practice.³⁶ A renowned example can be found in Montesquieu who rarely annotated his books, but who prepared thematic collections of extracts that survive as part of a larger "bibliotheca manuscripta" that extended his personal library.³⁷ Finally, we must not forget the strong relation between books belonging to the library and the references given by authors in their texts. Indeed, as has been pointed out, examining the sources of the writing process has to some extent been the starting point for research in the field of philosophical libraries. In short, it can legitimately be assumed that collecting is subordinate to reading in order to understand the works consulted.

The third characteristic feature of philosophical libraries, which is closely related to the previous two, is the partial coincidence of many philosophers' book collections with the 'ideal library' we can reconstruct from citations in their works.³⁸ On the one hand personal libraries disclose just a part of readings made by their owners, on the other some of the books they held are totally 'extra-textual'. Loans from friends, visiting other collections, and other forms of transactions should be considered. Leibniz's library, for example, is the result

35 Marginal annotations and other owner's traces found in the books of Voltaire's library are published as volumes 136–145 of *Les œuvres complètes de Voltaire: Corpus des notes marginales* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; [then] Oxford: Voltaire Foundation and Bibliothèque nationale de Russie, 1979–2019).

36 Locke himself adopted his commonplace technique in some of the notebooks he left, cf. Stolberg, 'John Locke's New Method of Making Common-Place Books', p. 450.

37 See Louis Desgraves, 'Les extraits de lecture de Montesquieu', *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 25 (1993), pp. 483–491; Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, *Extraits et notes de lecture*, in *Dictionnaire Montesquieu*, sous la direction de Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, ENS de Lyon, septembre 2013, available online at <<http://dictionnaire-montesquieu.ens-lyon.fr/fr/article/1376399717/fr>>. The extant collections of Montesquieu's fragments have been published as part of the *Oeuvres complètes de Montesquieu*, vols. 16 and 17: *Extraits et notes de lecture I (Geographica)*, edited by C. Volpilhac-Auger (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation; Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, 2007) and *Extraits et notes de lecture II*, edited by Rolando Minuti (Lyon: ENS Éditions; Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2017).

38 See remarks by Eugenio Canone, 'Nota introduttiva: le biblioteche private di eruditi filosofi e scienziati dell'età moderna', in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Leopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. IX–XXXII, especially p. XI where Augusto Campana's distinction between the "biblioteca privata strictu sensu" and the "infinitamente più estesa biblioteca ideale" is discussed.

of professional knowledge of the book market and a lifelong “chasse de livres” [hunt for books], as well as an encyclopaedic attitude and is one of the most extensive, but it is not exempt from this feature. Numerous titles cited in the philosopher’s works and books that are fundamental in various fields of knowledge are absent from the inventories compiled at Leibniz’ death: they were certainly available through other collections he had at his disposal, starting with the “Bibliothecas principum” of which he was in charge.³⁹ Similarly, in the case of Locke the lack of some classical or common works has been pointed out and the presence of some authors appears inadequate in comparison with other contemporary libraries. Ancient medicine and science, for example, are scarcely represented in Locke’s library and, although religion is one of the largest sections of the library with its 870 volumes, works by Aquinas, St Augustine, Bellarmine and Luther are not included. At the same time, Locke’s notebooks demonstrate that he read more than his catalogue attests.⁴⁰ Whatever the explanation may be, it is certainly incompatible with a bibliophile’s attitude. Indeed, collections are more osmotic with the context in which they are set up and, at the same time, less organic and comprehensive than the great private libraries put together to create a universal bibliographical ideal that exceeds the personal needs of owners and goes beyond the core area of their interests. Collecting is not the main goal for thinkers and savants.

This makes ‘philosophical libraries’ a somewhat peculiar phenomenon with regard to cultural dynamics related to the use of books. They are positioned in the interstitial space between small collections of almost unknown owners and the vast ‘bibliographic organisms’ which, although in private hands, served as institutions of public importance and, in fact, soon tended to be institutionalised.

39 Palumbo, *La biblioteca lessicografica*, p. 424.

40 See Ashcraft, *John Locke’s Library*, who concludes that in both fields “his library reflects a receptiveness to attempts to break away from the established orthodoxy and the dominant influence of ancients”, coherent with the image of Locke as “a cultivator of new ideas”. On the other hand, given the poor presence of some other authors, for example Paracelsus, he demonstrates that Locke had at his disposal more editions than can be assessed from the library catalogue; in this regard see also Antonio Clericuzio, ‘Medicina, chimica e filosofia naturale nella biblioteca di John Locke’, in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Lopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 333–375.

Private Libraries and the *Material Evidence in Incunabula Database*

Marieke van Delft

There are various manners to reconstruct early modern private libraries. Documentary and bibliographical sources such as last wills, library inventories and book lists, and booksellers' and auction catalogues, help to assess the book possession of early modern book collectors. Besides that, books themselves often carry traces of former ownership. These copies can be used to reconstruct a former private library from the primary sources—the books themselves. This article discusses two complementary tools for researching early book ownership using the books themselves: the *Material Evidence in Incunabula* database (MEI) and the *Provenance Digital Archive* (CERL PDA)—both hosted by the *Consortium of European Research Libraries* (CERL). These databases can help a scholar to find particular books that were once part of the private library of a specific owner.

CERL

The *Consortium of European Research Libraries* (CERL) was started in 1992 after a group of European research libraries decided to share online records of pre-1830 books in order to offer integrated access to Europe's printed heritage, with the aim to assist libraries *and* scholars to locate books.¹ CERL legally came into being in June 1994. Since then, it has invested in creating integrated resources of the European printed heritage in the hand-press period (up to c.1850). The first resource created was the ever-expanding *Heritage of the Printed Book Database*, currently integrating almost 8 million titles from

1 For CERL see <www.cerl.org>; Ingeborg Versprille, Marian Lefferts and Cristina Dondi, 'The Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL). Twenty Years of Promoting Europe's Cultural Heritage in Print and Manuscript', 027.7 *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekskultur*, 21 (2014), pp. 30–40, online: <<https://zenodo.org/record/4704861>> (both sources last accessed 12 July 2023); Ann Matheson, 'The Consortium of European Research Libraries: A Future Vision', in Ann Matheson *et al.*, *The European Printed Heritage c.1450–c.1830. Present and Future. Three Lectures* (London: CERL, 1998), pp. 1–14.

libraries all over Europe and since some years, also libraries from the United States. Another resource is the *CERL Thesaurus*, a database with name entities of printers, publishers, and places and former owners. In addition, the *CERL Thesaurus* also incorporates separate files with provenance information, contributed by participating libraries. The *CERL Thesaurus* now holds more than 1,4 million records, of which almost 40,000 are linked to provenance information.² In the *CERL Thesaurus* one finds personal names or corporate names with a short description and links to more information or related books in other systems. More recently two other databases were developed in the context of CERL: the *Material Evidence in Incunabula* database (MEI) and the *Provenance Digital Archive* (CERL PDA). These two resources are of importance for researching early modern book collectors and will be discussed below.

Moreover, CERL hosts the Manuscripts Expert Group, the Bookbinding Working Group, the Provenance Working Group, and the Security Network. The Board of Directors and the Executive Committee both meet multiple times a year. On the occasion of these meetings small or larger conferences are organised on subjects in the field of the European book heritage.³ With all these activities, CERL seeks to improve access to, as well as exploitation and presentation of the joint European book heritage.

Provenance Research

Books are bought and used. These activities often leave traces in the book that can be discovered when the book is studied as a material object. In early modern times, when books were sold as loose leaves, a buyer personalised his acquisition by selecting a certain binding and deciding whether or not to have the book embellished. Furthermore, he (or she) could decide to appropriate the book by writing his (or her) name in it, pasting a bookplate, adding information about the place where the book was bought, and what price was paid. Reading and using the book, he could underline certain phrases or passages, put signs or notes in the margins, structure the text through adding keywords, etc. By studying all these particularities of the book as a material object, we can gain insight into the use and dissemination of books, their influence on

2 For the statistics see <www.cerl.org/resources/cerl_thesaurus/statistics>; to search for provenance records in the *CERL Thesaurus* <data.cerl.org/thesaurus>, use the command "feature:prov".

3 For a program of events and a record of the power points prepared by the speakers, see <www.cerl.org/services/seminars/main> (last accessed 12 July 2023).

society, and ascertain former owners and users. This so-called provenance research helps researchers to reconstruct libraries bottom up with individual books as building blocks, instead of starting from the top with inventories and library catalogues. On top of that, one can be sure that a book with a certain owner's mark once belonged to a specific owner, whereas descriptions in auction or library catalogues seldom refer to specific copies.

Provenance research has become a significant branch in book studies in the past few decades. In 1994, David Pearson published a handbook on provenance research, of which a third, revised, edition was released in 2019.⁴ Pearson's book covers the entire field of provenance research: material aspects of books such as inscriptions, mottoes and other manuscript additions, bookplates, book labels and stamps, as well as binding stamps and other external features of bindings. Furthermore, he introduces sales catalogues, catalogues and lists of private libraries and provenance indexes as sources for information on former owners. His book presents a state of the art of provenance research and is a useful introduction to the subject, including a short bibliography of the most relevant publications in the field.⁵ As Pearson focuses on the English-language book world, most of his examples come from libraries in the United Kingdom and Ireland, although in the third edition, he incorporates some information on other countries as well. In Germany, provenance research has flourished in recent decades as a form of reckoning in the wake of World War II.⁶ Stimulated by the attempts to return stolen Jewish heritage, many researchers are active in the field.⁷ In France, several libraries are creating provenance databases such as that of the Bibliothèque municipale in Lyon.⁸ In 2019, a CERL-symposium on provenance research was organised in Lyon, with the support of the French

4 David Pearson, *Provenance Research in Book History. A Handbook* (London: The British Library, 1994); second edition: London: The British Library, 1998; third edition: New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press/ Oxford: Bodleian, 2019. Each edition was updated and revised, and the book expanded from 326 pages in 1994 to 436 pages in 2019.

5 He mentions for example Bettina Wagner and Marcia Reed (eds.), *Early Printed Books as Material Objects* (Berlin-New York: De Gruyter, 2010, *IFLA Publications*, 149) and the proceedings of the conference *Mind the Gap* on recent provenance of antiquarian materials (Grolier Club, New York City, 2015), published in the June 2017 issue of *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, ed. by Marcia Reed.

6 Stefan Alker, Bruno Bauer and Markus Stumpf, *NS-Provenienzforschung und Restitution an Bibliotheken. Nazi-Era Provenance Research and Restitution in Libraries* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017).

7 *ProvenienzWiki* <provenienz.gbv.de/Hauptseite> (last accessed 12 July 2023).

8 *Numelyo* <numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/collection/BML:BML_06PRV01000COL0001#> (last accessed 23 July 2023). On this database: Monique Hulvey, 'Towards a Federation of Data. Remarks on the Evolution of the Lyon Provenance Project', *La Bibliofilia*, 117 (2015) pp. 324–334.

Ministry of Culture, where many of these provenance projects were presented, such as the French manuscript provenance project *Bibale*, created by the *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* (IRHT).⁹

Material Evidence in Incunabula Database

Provenance research has long been one of the activities of CERL. Almost twenty years ago, in 2004, the Consortium organised a conference on the subject.¹⁰ Since then, various CERL resources have been developed that pay special attention to provenance research. If available in the source files, the *Heritage of the Printed Book Database* incorporates descriptions of provenance from libraries that incorporate this information in their catalogues and shared their records with CERL, and some names of former owners are included in the *CERL Thesaurus*. However, provenance information is often not available in general library catalogues and will thus not be present in *Heritage of the Printed Book*. With the creation of the *Material Evidence in Incunabula* database, devoted to the material aspects of books printed in the fifteenth century, CERL welcomed a project that is focused on provenance research. MEI is a resource specifically designed to trace, record and research material evidences of book use. From 2013 onwards, the database was developed and expanded in the context of the ERC-funded *15cBooktrade Project* led by Cristina Dondi from the University of Oxford.¹¹

To date, 396 libraries from all over the world have contributed their descriptions of the material aspects of incunabula. Initially, every new record was created with the book in hand, but now MEI is also expanded with bulk uploads

9 *Bibale* <<http://bibale.irht.cnrs.fr/>> (last accessed 12 July 2023).

10 David Shaw (ed.), *Books and their Owners. Provenance Information and the European Cultural Heritage. Papers Presented on 12 November 2004 at the CERL Conference Hosted by the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh* (London: CERL, 2005). On CERL and provenance research, see also Marieke van Delft, 'Researching Provenance with Two New Tools Developed by the Consortium of European Research Libraries (CERL)', *Quaerendo*, 50 (2020), pp. 194–206.

11 Cristina Dondi, '15cBOOKTRADE: An Evidence-based Assessment and Visualization of the Distribution, Sale, and Reception of Printed Books in the Renaissance', *Gazette du livre medieval*, 60 (2013), pp. 83–101; Cristina Dondi, 'CERL's Work and Vision for Provenance Research I: CERL Thesaurus, Material Evidence in Incunabula, and the 15cBOOKTRADE Project', *La Bibliofilia*, 117 (2015), pp. 317–321. Special number: *Catalogues, Libraries and Copy-specific Evidence. An International Dossier on Provenance Databases*. See <www.cerl.org/resources/mei/about/publications> (last accessed 12 July 2023) for further publications.

of provenance data from online library catalogues. As for the KB, National Library of the Netherlands in The Hague, provenance research on incunabula was started by my predecessor Gerard van Thienen. His results were entered in a standalone database, and in 2010 uploaded to KB's online library catalogue. These library records were imported into MEI and after this initial upload an editing project was started in May 2017 that is still running. Every record is checked with the book in hand to see whether all particularities are described. These can be manuscript notes, ownership inscriptions, decoration, bindings, bookplates, stamps, coats of arms, and book prices. For further information on the specific copy of the incunable, secondary sources are consulted such as auction catalogues, library catalogues, acquisition records, or annual reports.

The main purpose of MEI is to enable researchers to follow a copy of a book through time and space, from the moment it was published until the moment it was acquired by the current owner. Every episode of the existence of that specific copy is recorded separately. Therefore, every material characteristic of a certain book needs to be studied, interpreted and ascribed to a certain period, place, and person or institution. This means that each instance of certain provenance evidence is treated individually, but all provenances found in a specific book are kept together in one record.

The use of MEI can be demonstrated via a specific copy of the *Psalterium B.M.V.*, in Dutch the *Souter O.L.V.* ascribed to Bernardus Claravallensis (1090–1153), presumably printed by Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, after 25 May 1498.¹² This copy is bound with *Boeck vanden vier oefeningen (Soliloquium)* by Bonaventura (c.1217–1274), printed around 1510 in Leiden by Jan Seversz.¹³ The use of this book can be followed over a long period of time. In MEI eight provenance instances are described. The book was decorated in the first years of its existence (provenance 1). According to a sixteenth-century inscription it was acquired by Katrijn Symoensdochter, after which it came in the possession of Lijsbet Pietersdochter, a nun in the monastery of the Tertiaries of St. Margaret in Amsterdam, which existed from 1415–1578 (provenances 2 and 3). According to a third inscription in another hand, the book was used by a third, anonymous person (provenance 4). All these uses date from the sixteenth century. Thereafter we lose sight of the whereabouts of the book until the eighteenth century, when it belonged to the famous Amsterdam book collector Pietro Antonio Bolongaro Crevenna (1735–1792). We have no record of

12 The Hague, KB, KW 228 G 6 [2]. ISTC: <<https://data.cerl.org/istc/ib00425600>>; MEI <<https://data.cerl.org/mei/02100217>> (last accessed 12 July 2023). USTC 436338.

13 Wouter Nijhoff and M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (5 vols., 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1923–1971), number 2548. USTC 424795.

his acquisitions, but the book was registered in his printed book auction catalogue (provenance 5).¹⁴ We know that Crevenna owned this copy because Joost Romswinkel put specific annotations in the gutter of the back endleaves of his books, in this case that he bought this copy at the auction of Crevenna (see below).¹⁵ The library of Crevenna was sold in 1790 by the Amsterdam booksellers Daniel Jean Changuion (1738–1811) and Petrus den Hengst (1769–1832), who must have had his books in consignment; in fact this is not ownership, but custody of the book during the auction period, but it is still a kind of provenance (provenance 6). It was at this auction that the book was bought by the Leiden lawyer Joost Romswinkel (1745–1824) (provenance 7) (see figure 18.1 page 409).¹⁶

Romswinkel had a major collection of some 300 manuscripts, 23,000 printed books and 9,500 maps and charts. His books can be recognised by means of specific annotations: he wrote in his books the price and a reference to the auction where he bought them—in this case that of Crevenna—in the gutter on the last back flyleaf or back pastedown of his acquisitions. He lived in Leiden at the Rapenburg [now: Steenschuur], nearby where in 1807 a ship with gunpowder exploded, badly damaging his house. As a result, he decided to ‘offer’ his books to King Louis Napoléon Bonaparte (1778–1846) who decided to place the collection in the KB in The Hague. Romswinkel received an annuity based on a capital of 55,000 guilders, the estimated worth of the collection. Before the purchase a handwritten list was compiled of all his books, but this was cut up and incorporated in the library catalogue of the KB so no inventory of his books is known to us. The KB was founded in 1798, based on the collections of stadtholder William v who had abandoned his library when he left the Netherlands, fleeing from patriotic revolutionaries. The first catalogue of the KB (1800) only listed 5,500 books. With the addition of Romswinkel’s books, the collection of the KB grew four times as large,

14 *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de M. Pierre-Antoine Bolongaro Crevenna* (Amsterdam: chez D.J. Changuion & P. den Hengst, 1789); vol. 1, p. 86, number 368.

15 In the gutter of the back flyleaf Romswinkel noted “cr. 368” meaning that he bought the book at the auction of the library of Crevenna, and that it was lot number 368.

16 See on this acquisition J.A. Gruys, ‘Joost Romswinkel, Lawyer, Magistrate 1745–1824’, in Marieke van Delft *et al.* (eds.), *Collectors and Collections. Koninklijke Bibliotheek 1798–1998* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1998), pp. 36–40, 66.

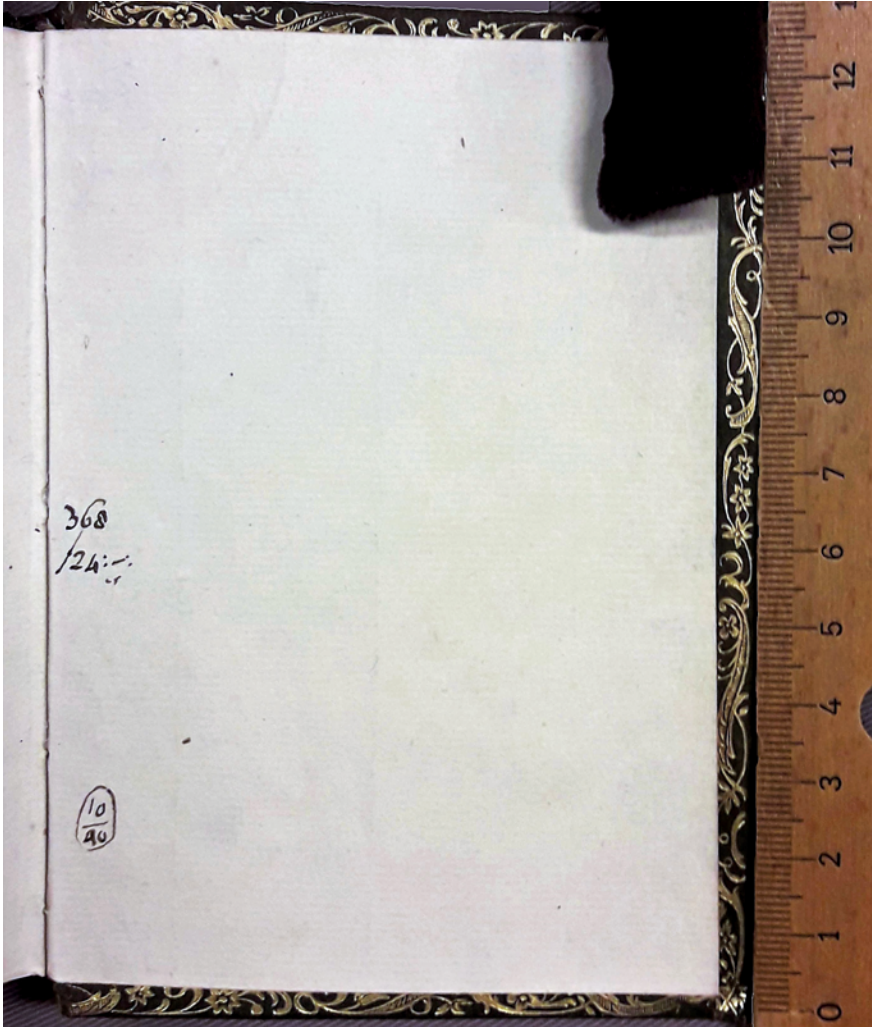


FIGURE 18.1 Joost Romswinkel's manner to indicate the price and provenance in the books he acquired. The Hague, KB [KW 228 G 6 [2]]

making Romswinkel's former books one of the founding collections of the Dutch national library (provenance 8). In this case, the investigation of the book's provenances is based on the material aspects of the book, and is supported by the Crevenna auction catalogue. Romswinkel's "cr 368" note moreover confirms that this specific copy was sold at the auction of Crevenna's library.

Reconstructing Libraries with MEI: the Library of Bolongaro Crevenna

MEI offers information on individual books, but more importantly, by joining the descriptions of all these individual books in one database, it can help reconstruct private libraries. This is the strength of MEI. I will illustrate this with the incunabula once owned by the book collector Pietro Antonio Bolongaro Crevenna, the person introduced above.

Bolongaro Crevenna was born in Milan.¹⁷ As an adult he became a snuff (tobacco) merchant in Amsterdam, but more important, he also became an avid book collector. Within a few years he brought together an amazing collection of books on natural history and classics. His aim was to include all important editions of classical authors, published in print up to his time, especially first editions. He started collecting in the early 1770s. Within a few years he considered his library to be complete. He published a catalogue of his books in 1775–1776 to ensure that the library would last forever. The catalogue registers 6,238 works, including 336 incunabula and 144 manuscripts (see figure 18.2 page 411).¹⁸

A book collector is never finished collecting and Crevenna continued to buy books. In 1787 he owned approximately 25,000 volumes, among them, he declared, almost every incunable ever published. As a result, he had drawn up the plan to compile a new catalogue of his expanded library. However, due to financial mismanagement he had to sell his books. Instead of a library catalogue, an auction catalogue was compiled. Between 26 April and 14 June 1790, the collection was auctioned and the books were dispersed.¹⁹ Someone who wants to study Crevenna's library can use the library catalogue and the auction catalogue. By using these sources, one only gets a list of titles and editions of the books Crevenna owned, but not the specific copies. A resource such as MEI however, helps to find the actual copies which Crevenna owned and to determine where these books are kept today. With this information, it is possible to consult the actual copies that once belonged to his library.

17 Jos van Heel, 'Bolongaro Crevenna. Een Italiaans koopman en bibliofiel in Amsterdam', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 5 (1998), pp. 73–93.

18 *Catalogue raisonné de la collection de livres de M. Pierre Antoine Crevenna* (6 vols., [Amsterdam: s.n.], 1775–1776).

19 *Catalogue des livres de la Bibliothèque de M. Pierre-Antoine Bolongaro-Crevenna* (5 vols., Amsterdam: D.J. Changuion, & P. den Hengst, 1789). The rest of his books were sold in 1793 at an auction of all his belongings. For the books again a separate catalogue was printed: *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu mr. Pierre Antoine Bolongaro Crevenna; qui sera vendue publiquement ... à Amsterdam ... le lundi 11 novembre 1793* (Amsterdam: D.J. Changuion, L. v. Hulst, P. d. Hengst, [1793]).

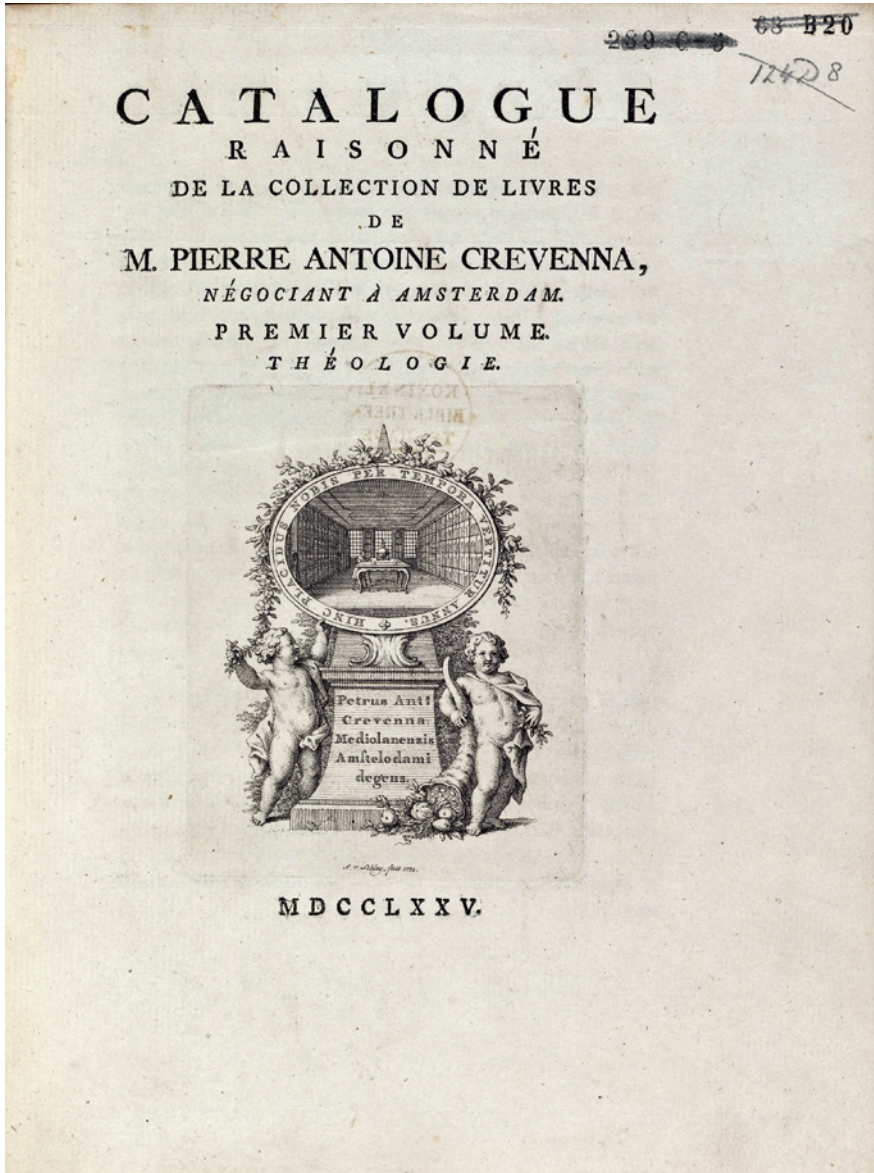


FIGURE 18.2 Title page of volume 1 of Pietro Bolongaro Crevenna's 1775–1776 auction catalogue. The Hague, KB [KW 1756 C 112 [-117]]

Searching for 'Crevenna' in MEI one can find 281 editions in 291 copies. Of these, 137 are held in the KB, and another 119 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Ten other libraries are also known to keep books that once belonged to Crevenna: Huis van het boek, The Hague (11), University Library, Cambridge (7), British Library, London (6), Princeton University, New Jersey (3), Laskaridis Foundation,

Athens (1), Gennadius Library, Athens (1), Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, Milan (1), Biblioteca Trivulziana, Milan (1), Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice (1), Fondazione Cini, Venice (1). MEI enables a researcher to identify Crevenna's books, and study these copies as well as the dispersal of his library.

Many of the books once owned by Crevenna now held in the KB entered its collections when the Romswinkel collection was acquired in 1807 as noted above. Romswinkel had been one of the great buyers at the Crevenna sale. Searching MEI with the combined terms 'Crevenna' and 'Romswinkel' reveals that this is the case for 122 of the 137 incunabula from the library of Crevenna at the KB. Through Romswinkel's notes about the price he paid in the gutter of the back endleaves of his books, one can ascertain that a book came from his private library and through the notes on the same location in the book with reference to the number in the Crevenna auction predeceased with the letters "cr", we know that he bought it there.

CERL's Provenance Digital Archive (CERL PDA)

Sometimes the material evidences of the book are easy to interpret. A former owner can write his or her name in the book or paste in a bookplate with his name on it. However, as was illustrated above, on other occasions the signs are not very clear. For example, one has to know that the notes mentioned above are typical of Romswinkel. Although he did not write his name in his copies, due to his peculiar habit to note the price in a circle and the number referring to the Crevenna auction (i.e. the above mentioned "cr 368"), books can be identified as once belonging to his library.²⁰

In other cases, a bookplate does not hold a name, or it contains a coat of arms that is unknown. This is one of the reasons recently another resource was developed by CERL: the *Provenance Digital Archive* (CERL PDA).²¹ In this database scholars, librarians and bibliographers can store and describe images

20 Romswinkel noted the price in stuivers [= 5 cents], so to calculate the price which he paid in guilders, this figure has to be divided by 20.

21 CERL Provenance Digital Archive <<https://pda.cerl.org/>> (last accessed 12 July 2023); On the CERL PDA: Marieke van Delft, 'CERL's Work and Vision for Provenance Research II: The Provenance Digital Archive in CERL', *La Bibliofilia*, 117 (2015) pp. 321–324; Marieke van Delft, 'A New Tool for Describing Provenance Images. CERL's Provenance Digital Archive', in Cristina Dondi (ed.), *Printing R-Evolution and Society, 1450–1500. Fifty Years that Changed Europe* (Venice: Edizioni Ca'Foscari, 2020, *Studi di storia*, 13), pp. 911–922.

of the provenance marks they have found during their research. The CERL PDA can be used to identify provenance marks.

Every description of a specific provenance mark starts with a reference to the book from which the image is derived. Furthermore, the following elements are given: a short description, a transcription of text if present, the technique, date and size. The elements seen on the image are described by keywords and provided with an Iconclass code.²² If known, the name of the user of the mark is added. Every provenance mark is equipped with a persistent URL, and all images are IIIF-compliant. This means that, once an image is inserted in the CERL PDA, linking to this image is possible from other systems from outside,—for example from MEI, a library catalogue, or from one's personal research environment.

Every repeatable provenance mark, such as a bookplate, name inscription or specific binding, is only described once; other sources with the same mark can be noted in another field that generates links to other CERL resources or library catalogues. So, the CERL PDA offers another opportunity to find specific books that once were owned by a certain collector.

In the CERL PDA, a researcher can search for all elements of the description: for example, the name of the former owner, the technique, the shelf mark or the collection, and the Iconclass code or the description of the provenance marks. In this manner, unidentified provenance marks can be identified. This can be illustrated by the provenance mark of another collector whose library entered the collections of the KB, the mark used by the banker and musicologist D.F. Scheurleer (1855–1927) (see figure 18.3 page 414).²³ On the front pastedown of his books, Scheurleer pasted his bookplate, a label bearing a garland with a musical notation in the middle, consisting of the musical notes d-f-es, referring to the first letters of his first and last names. Although no name is mentioned, searching the CERL PDA with 'music notation' or 'garland' reveals that the book once belonged to D.F. Scheurleer. Besides these search term, the Iconclass code for music notation (48C74) can also be used. By entering the Iconclass code 49M8, a list of all ex libris in the PDA will show up. If a bookplate is not yet included in the CERL PDA, a user can upload the image, enter the descriptive

22 *Iconclass* is a detailed, hierarchical classification system that can be used to describe the contents of images. Being alphanumeric, Iconclass is language independent. *Iconclass* <www.iconclass.org> (last accessed 12 July 2023).

23 For this mark see <https://pda.cerl.org/id/cerlpda_b4f7e> (last accessed 12 July 2023). For Scheurleer and his collection see Jan Bos, 'D.F. Scheurleer, banker musicologist', in Van Delft *et al.* (eds.), 'Collectors and Collections', pp. 154–159, 186.



FIGURE 18.3 Ex libris of banker and musicologist D.F. Scheurleer (1855–1927). His initials D – F – S are written in musical notation d – f – es. The Hague, KB [kw 1 B 18]

elements that he is able to provide, and then tick the ‘Can you Help’ box. Via an RSS feed, researchers who have indicated that they are willing to help identify provenance marks, will be informed of the submission. Once the name of the user of such a provenance mark is identified, this can be added to the CERL PDA.

The CERL PDA was developed in 2018–2019. During this process useful feedback was collected to finalize the design of the provenance section. In September 2019 *Guidelines for Uploading and Describing Images* were circulated.²⁴ The CERL PDA aims at becoming an international system and invites scholars, librarians and others to contribute *and* to use the database for their research. It is now gradually filled with images that were collected from KB-incunabula during the research for MEI. And other researchers and librarians were invited to upload their images of provenance marks. For example, since the beginning of MEI, a devoted group of specialized bibliographers in various countries has worked to describe incunabula in MEI and took thousands of pictures that will be described in the CERL PDA in the future. But the CERL PDA aims at becoming a system for all periods. So the hope is that also provenance marks from later early modern books will be inserted in the system over time.

24 CERL <www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/pdaguidelines> (last accessed 12 July 2023).

As mentioned above, provenance research is flourishing and the CERL PDA is not the only resource available. At the CERL website, an overview is given of other online provenance resources from Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States.²⁵ Some of these are comparable with the CERL PDA and include images and descriptions, such as the above mentioned *Numelyo* provenance database of the Bibliothèque municipale in Lyon, while others are only text documents or text-based databases. Moreover, most resources are associated with a specific collection and only include the provenance marks found therein. And no other provenance database currently uses ICONCLASS. Each of these resources can be very helpful when searching for a specific provenance mark, but a researcher has to consult them all, one by one. And they do not offer the possibility to researchers to add provenance marks. In that sense, the CERL PDA is unique: it is a collaborative project that is open to all. It aims at becoming the central place for provenance research, opening up the system to every individual researcher who wants to contribute and hopes in two or three years to be able to welcome bulk uploads from other provenance databases.

Both MEI and the CERL PDA are systems that were developed by CERL and are filled through international collaboration. Both benefit from an active community of users that helps others to interpret the material aspects of a book or to identify traces of provenance. Both databases help scholars to reconstruct collections and find books of specific collectors. MEI has been operational for ten years now and includes almost 16,000 editions in almost 64,000 copies, and almost 27,500 former owners. The CERL PDA was launched in 2019 and currently incorporates more than 3,000 provenance marks. It is being expanded with more descriptions by collaborating libraries and scholars, and will hopefully develop into an international, open, frequently-used online tool. Research based on MEI and the PDA will help us to understand how ideas reached readers, how books travelled in time, and how libraries were constructed and disseminated through Europe.

25 CERL <www.cerl.org/resources/provenance/geographical> (last accessed 12 July 2023).

“Ces documents rédigés à la hâte et imprimés avec assez peu de soin”. The Long Road to the Realisation of *Book Sales Catalogues Online*

Otto S. Lankhorst

Belgian bibliophile Alphonse Willems, who published his standard work about the famous Elzevier family in 1880, rightly assumed that the Elzeviers had organised book auctions regularly, especially in the university city of Leiden. However, he wrote, “il n'en est resté que fort peu de traces, la plupart des catalogues ayant été détruits” [precious few traces remain, most of the catalogues having been destroyed]. In the main body of his book, the *Annales typographiques des Elzevier*, he did not include the fifteen book auction catalogues that he had managed to find, because they were “documents rédigés à la hâte et imprimés avec assez peu de soin” [documents drawn up in haste and printed with little care], and he did not regard them as truly belonging to the work of the Elzeviers. Since Willems realised that the catalogues might be of importance to literary history, he did however include the list of fifteen catalogues in his introduction.¹ Nowadays a search for ‘Elzevier’ in Brill’s databank *Book Sales Catalogues Online* yields no fewer than 131 results.² That so many more catalogues of the Elzeviers and of other booksellers of the Dutch Republic are now known and can be consulted is attributable to the project *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800*, begun by Leiden book historian Bert van Selm (1945–1991) in collaboration with the Inter Documentation Company (IDC) under the inspiring leadership of Han de Mink (1931–2004). Here I describe the origins of this project and the long road that led to its realisation.

As printed matter with the temporary purpose of making known what was available in an auction or a bookshop, auction and bookselling catalogues have not been well preserved. They share the fate of other ephemeral publications such as pamphlets and newspapers, dissertations and disputations, occasional poetry and prospectuses, almanacs and government publications.³ Fortunately,

1 Alphonse Willems, *Les Elzevier. Histoire et annales typographiques* (Brussels: G.-A. van Trigt, 1880), pp. LVI–LVIII.

2 Brill, ‘Book Sales Catalogues Online’, <<https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>> (last accessed 23 June 2019).

3 On the fate of all this ephemeral printed matter and its place in the history of the Dutch book trade, see Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *De boekhandel van de wereld*.

however, there have always been collectors who recognised the importance of preserving precisely this kind of printed matter.⁴ In the case of catalogues, there was a practical purpose. In libraries, auction and bookshop catalogues were mostly kept because book orders were placed based on them. This explains the large collection of seventeenth-century Dutch catalogues in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, for example, which was used especially for purchases under Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1579–1666) and his son Duke Ferdinand Albrecht (1636–1687). They both bought many books at auctions through agents in the Netherlands.⁵ The Bibliothèque nationale in Paris holds the catalogues of Rotterdam bookseller Reinier Leers (1654–1714), who from 1694 to 1709 was a privileged supplier to the Bibliothèque du Roi of books from the Dutch Republic, England and the German states.⁶ The collection of eighteenth-century catalogues in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen is the result of its many purchases from Dutch and English booksellers when the still young library was eager to expand its book collection considerably, with a particular focus on foreign literature.⁷ Scholars too collected catalogues that are still held in libraries. Two can serve as examples. The special collection of catalogues from the first half of the seventeenth century in Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen is from the collection belonging to Peder Laridsen Scavenius (1623–1685), a Dane who studied

Drukkers, boekverkopers en lezers in de Gouden Eeuw (Amsterdam/Antwerp: Uitgeverij Atlas Contact, 2019).

- 4 On the collectors of ephemeral Dutch printed matter and the results of their work (up to 2000), see Paul Hoftijzer and Otto S. Lankhorst, *Drukkers, boekverkopers en lezers tijdens de Republiek. Een historiografische en bibliografische handleiding*. Second edition, revised and expanded (The Hague: Sdu Uitgevers, 2000), pp. 90–98, section 4.8: 'Bibliografieën van specifieke genres drukwerk'.
- 5 Matthieu Knops, *Neerlandica Ferdinando-Albertina. Nederlandse drukken uit de bibliotheek van hertog Ferdinand Albrecht zu Braunschweig-Lüneburg* (The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 1990), p. 21.
- 6 Eleven catalogues are bound together in a single volume with reference BNF Q 4174. See Claire Lesage, Ève Netchine and Véronique Sarrazin, *Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2006), pp. 350–352. Based on two of these Leers catalogues, Henri-Jean Martin wrote about the stock offered by Leers in *Livres, pouvoirs et société à Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1969), pp. 724–725. In 1992, the series of eleven catalogues was published in facsimile, with an introduction and indexes by Leny van Lieshout and Otto S. Lankhorst, as *Eleven Catalogues by Reinier Leers (1692–1709). A Reproduction Edited with an Introduction by H.H.M. van Lieshout and O.S. Lankhorst* (Utrecht: Hes Uitgevers, [1992], [Catalogi redivivi, no. 7]). Since acquisition registers have been preserved in the archives of the Bibliothèque du Roi, it was possible in many cases to discover and publish the prices of the books supplied by Leers.
- 7 Bert van Selm, 'Die frühesten holländischen Auktionskataloge', in *Bücherkataloge als buchgeschichtliche Quellen in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1985), pp. 67–78, esp. p. 77.

at Leiden. The catalogues collected by Joannes Georgius Graevius (1632–1703) for their bibliographical importance ended up in the University Library in Heidelberg, which bought Graevius's entire library. Unfortunately, not all of the eleven packages containing his catalogues that are mentioned in the auction catalogue are still to be found in Heidelberg.⁸

As well as libraries, booksellers and book collectors kept catalogues for use as resources for their work. By the end of his life, Leiden bookseller Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733) had a large collection of catalogues, described in one of the auction catalogues for his collection as “Quinze paquets des catalogues des impressions des libraires & leur venditions, le tout mis sur l'Alphabeth” [fifteen packages of publisher's catalogues and book sale catalogues held by the libraries and their sale, all in alphabetical order]. This collection was probably acquired by the Imperial Public Library in Saint Petersburg (now the National Library of Russia) through the Polish collector Gottfried Balthasar Scharff (1676–1744).⁹ Prosper Marchand (1678–1756), a Huguenot who had taken refuge in Holland and was one of the earliest book historians and bibliographers, owned 98 book trade catalogues and 191 catalogues of public and private libraries.¹⁰ The large number of Dutch catalogues in the Bibliothèque nationale de France is largely due to a man from the book trade, Étienne-Alexandre-Jacques Anisson-Duperron (1749–1794), director of the Imprimerie Royale in Paris and a bibliophile besides. He had acquired most of the catalogues at the auction in 1788 of a book collection belonging to Hyacinthe-Théodore Baron, dean of the Medical Faculty in Paris. Baron's collection had been compiled during the many years in which he was in contact with booksellers in the Netherlands and Germany, who sent him auction and stock catalogues.¹¹ Anisson-Duperron's collection eventually amounted to more than 5,000 catalogues

8 Bert van Selm, *Een menigthe treffelijcke Boecken. Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi in het begin van de zeventiende eeuw* (Utrecht: Hes Uitgevers, 1987), p. 148.

9 *Bibliotheca selectissima* (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1729), vol. 2, p. 553, lot no. 2121. See Otto S. Lankhorst, 'Vijftien pakketten catalogi teruggevonden. Nederlandse boekhandels-catalogi in Sint Petersburg', *De Boekenwereld*, 9 (1992/93), pp. 66–76, esp. p. 73.

10 Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Prosper Marchand Collection, no. 22, *Catalogue des manuscrits et des imprimés de sa bibliothèque personnelle*, pp. 45–53.

11 See Née de La Rochelle, 'Précis sur la vie de M. Baron', in *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. Baron, premier médecin des Camps ...* (Paris: Née de la Rochelle, 1788): 'Il [Baron] entretenoit une correspondance suivie avec les Libraires d'Allemagne & de Hollande qui lui procuroient ce qu'ils avoient de mieux & s'empressoient de lui envoyer les Catalogues de nouveautés & tous ceux des Bibliothèques à vendre'. [He [Baron] maintained regular correspondence with booksellers in Germany and Holland, who provided him with the best they had to offer and were quick to send him the catalogues of new books and all those of libraries for sale.]

and was described as ‘perhaps the most complete in existence’.¹² They were acquired by the Bibliothèque nationale and are now part of its Delta collection (nos. 1–7118).¹³

In the Netherlands too there were collectors who concerned themselves with the preservation of catalogues, such as Jan Schouten. In the auction catalogue of his book collection (1853) two interesting lot numbers can be found: no. 2838, “12 bundles of diverse catalogues” and no. 2825, “consisting of a package of catalogues from various sales made in London, in Paris etc.”.¹⁴ The buyer of these two lots, for 15.50 guilders and 1.90 guilders respectively, was bookseller, antiquarian and auctioneer Frederik Muller (1817–1881). Muller himself created bibliographically sound catalogues intended for an international readership of the collections he had compiled on specific subjects. In the introduction to one such catalogue, he wrote that his intention was to serve scholarship.

In order to realize my wish to promote bibliography through my business I found that the best method was to form collections of books on special topics, leading also to the investigation of some parts of our Dutch literary history and bibliography.¹⁵

Muller regarded catalogues as highly valuable and in his view they were important in training for the book trade. They enabled “young people to take their first steps ... on their way to book knowledge”. His own “desire for book knowledge” had been created by catalogues.¹⁶ It was therefore natural that catalogues would come to occupy an important place in the specialist library for Dutch booksellers that Muller set up in 1845 along with a fellow bookseller, J.L.C. Jacob (1805–1865) of The Hague. Muller and Jacob both donated a significant part of their own collections to the new library. This Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels (in 1990

12 *Catalogue des livres rares et précieux de feu le citoyen Anisson Dupéron* (Paris: Guillaume Debure, 1795), p. 128, lot no. 1366: ‘Recueil de différens Catalogues de livres au nombre de plus de 5000’.

13 The catalogues of publishers’ lists and stock catalogues of Dutch booksellers held in the Bibliothèque nationale are described in Lesage, Netchine and Sarrazin, ‘Catalogues de libraires 1473–1810’.

14 *Catalogus eener uitgebreide en hoogstbelangrijke bibliotheek* (Amsterdam: C. Weddepohl, 1853), pp. 156–157.

15 *Catalogue of Books, Maps, Plates on America, and of a Remarkable Collection of Early Voyages* (Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1872), p. VIII.

16 Frederik Muller, *Catalogus van de bibliotheek der Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels* (Amsterdam: Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels, 1855), p. XI.

renamed the Bibliotheek van de Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak) grew to become the largest European library specializing in the history of the book trade and publishing. Wherever possible, Muller expanded its collection of catalogues, as he did by acquiring the Jan Schouten collection.¹⁷

Willems had correctly noted in 1880 that auction catalogues could be important for researchers into literary history, especially for studies of private book ownership. In 1917, Sophie A. Krijn became the first researcher in the Netherlands to use a large number of auction catalogues for research on reading.¹⁸ She investigated which French works were the most read in the period 1700–1750. She was following up on work by Daniel Mornet, who in 1910 had analysed French private libraries for the period 1750–1780, based on 500 catalogues held by the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse.¹⁹ Krijn was able to base her work on 100 auction catalogues from the years 1700 to 1750 in the Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels.²⁰ Mornet and Krijn both stressed that research on bestsellers of the years under investigation was important because, as Krijn put it, bestselling authors

inevitably influenced the intellectual lives of their contemporaries. It might be that an author who is still known or even famous today was little read in his own time and, conversely, books that were wildly successful among contemporaries are now entirely forgotten.²¹

17 The collection of catalogues is described in the volumes 4 and 8 of the *Catalogus van de bibliotheek van de Vereeniging ter bevordering van de belangen des boekhandels*: vol. 4: The Hague, 1934; vol. 8: Amsterdam, 1979.

18 Sophie A. Krijn, 'Franse lektuur in Nederland in het begin van de 18^e eeuw', *De nieuwe taalgids*, 11 (1917), pp. 161–178. Sophie A. Krijn (1888–1943) was a teacher at the Amsterdams Lyceum and a private teacher of Danish Literature at the University of Leiden. From 1940 she taught at the Joods Lyceum. She died on 26 March 1943 in Sobibor extermination camp. About her, see *Joods Monument—Sophia Adriana Krijn* <<https://www.joodsmonument.nl/nl/page/172073/sophia-adriana-krijn>> (last accessed 16 December 2019).

19 Daniel Mornet, 'Les enseignements des bibliothèques privées (1750–1780)', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 17 (1910), pp. 449–496. In 1974, the inventory of this collection was published: Christian Péligré, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques du XVII^e, du XVIII^e et du XIX^e siècle jusqu'en 1815: contribution à l'inventaire du fonds ancien de la bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse* (Toulouse: Bibliothèque municipale, 1974).

20 Krijn ('Franse lektuur', p. 161) reports that she was unable to start her research with catalogues dating back to 1680, because the catalogues from before 1700 'are at the moment on loan to Belgium and for the time being [no doubt a reference to wartime circumstances] cannot be retrieved'.

21 Krijn, 'Franse lektuur', p. 161.

After the Second World War, bibliographical research in the Netherlands received a boost in all its various aspects at the University of Amsterdam. The driving forces were the librarian of the University Library, Herman de la Fontaine Verwey (1903–1989), and the professor of Dutch linguistics W.Gs. Hellinga (1908–1985). Hellinga was increasingly fascinated by analytical bibliography, a discipline developed in Britain in which the relationship between the text as intended by the author and the printed form in which it ultimately appeared was central. This led in 1962 to the publication of a book that can be regarded as one of the classics of Dutch book history, *Kopij en druk in de Nederlanden*.²² Hellinga focused rather more on the production and distribution of books than on their consumption, more on the catalogues kept by booksellers and publishers than on auction catalogues.²³ In his search for source material for his history of the Dutch book trade, he decided to compile a survey of all the available catalogues held in libraries and archives at home and abroad. This became the card catalogue ‘Registratie van Nederlandse veilingcatalogi’, compiled in the first half of the 1960s by staff and students at Hellinga’s Instituut voor Neerlandistiek. Computerised library catalogues were then still unheard of. Researchers visited libraries to look at their registers and card catalogues in situ. Use was also made of printed nineteenth-century library catalogues. Hellinga’s card system, referred to as the ‘Apparaat Hellinga’, contained data on seventy-two libraries, mostly Dutch and Belgian but a few in other countries, including the British Library in London and Det Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen.²⁴ Also included were catalogues from book auctions

22 Wytze Gs. Hellinga, *Kopij en druk in de Nederlanden. Atlas bij de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse typografie. Met twee inleidende studies van H. de la Fontaine Verwey en G.W. Ovink* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Mij, 1962). English edition: *Copy and Print in the Netherlands. An Atlas of Historical Bibliography. With Introductory Essays by H. de la Fontaine Verwey and G.W. Ovink* (Amsterdam: Federatie der werkgeversorganisaties in het boekbedrijf, 1962).

23 Wytze Gs. Hellinga, ‘De catalogus van de boekhandel Blaeu uit 1659’, in Herman de la Fontaine Verwey and Wytze Gs. Hellinga, *In officina Ioannis Blaeu. Twee inleidende studies bij een kleine tentoonstelling van de Dr. P.A. Tiele-Stichting* (Amsterdam: NV Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1961), pp. 13–49. An abridged form of the work was published as ‘The bookseller’s Catalogue of Blaeu anno 1659’, *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 106–116.

24 On the ‘Apparaat Hellinga’ see Marja Keyser and Martien Versteeg, ‘De Bibliotheek van de Vereeniging (Zaal Boekh.)’, in *Theologie in de Universiteitsbibliotheek van Amsterdam. Bijdragen over de collecties en verwante verzamelingen alsmede Doopsgezinde Adversaria verschenen bij het afscheid van Dr. Simon L. Verheus als conservator van de kerkelijke collecties* (Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam, 1985), pp. 107–116, esp. p. 111. In the annotations to the ‘Book Sales Catalogues Online’, mention is occasionally made of the ‘Apparaat Hellinga’.

whose existence was known about from newspaper advertisements but of which no copies had been located.²⁵

One of the pupils from Hellinga's school was Bert van Selm. In 1970 he graduated on the subject of 'Sources for the knowledge of the life and works of Peeter Heyns'. In the Preface to his doctoral dissertation *Een menighte treffelijke Boecken* (1987), Van Selm expresses great regret that his tutor Hellinga did not live long enough to read his book. His preface begins as follows. "On Thursday 12 February 1976 I came upon a large collection of seventeenth-century Dutch auction catalogues in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel."²⁶ It was this discovery in the library, which for Van Selm represented "a kind of earthly paradise", that made him decide to devote his doctoral research to Dutch seventeenth-century book trade catalogues.²⁷

As a first orientation to sources for his research, Van Selm was able to make use of the 'Apparaat Hellinga'. Its data formed the starting point of his research. Meanwhile the card index was expanding to include data from other libraries where Van Selm was carrying out research and from published inventories of catalogue collections, such as those of the Broxbourne library in Oxford (1965) and the Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse (1974).²⁸

In his research, Van Selm started from the beginning, by studying catalogues from the first decade after the printing of the very first auction catalogue, that of Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde (1599). In an article in *Quaerendo*, he presents a list of auction catalogues published before 1610.²⁹ There are 31 of them in total, with 46 copies held in ten libraries. Only four copies were in libraries in the Netherlands, which made clear how widely the catalogues had been distributed, to foreign libraries in particular. Van Selm strongly advocated

25 According to Van Selm, the advertisements concerned were mainly from the *Opregte Haerlemse Courant*, distilled from the registers in the Museum Enschedé, then still on the Klokhuisplein in Haarlem (Van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijke Boecken*, p. 123, n. 8).

26 Van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijke Boecken*, p. v.

27 Frits P. van Oostrom, 'Bert van Selm. Delft 3 April 1945–Leiden 17 April 1991', *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1995/96), pp. 142–150. In the foreword to his doctoral dissertation (Van Selm, *Een menighte treffelijke Boecken*, p. v), Van Selm writes that in the spring of 1980, after a stimulating exchange of letters with Hellinga, he definitively decided to make old booksellers' catalogues the subject of his thesis.

28 Graham Pollard, Albert Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue, from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800, Based on Material in the Broxbourne Library* (Cambridge: Roxburghe Club, 1965); Christian Péligré, *Les catalogues de bibliothèques du XVII^e, du XVIII^e et du XIX^e siècle jusqu'en 1815* (Toulouse: Bibliothèque municipale, 1974).

29 Bert van Selm, 'A list of Dutch book auction sale catalogues printed before 1611', *Quaerendo*, 12 (1982), pp. 108–123. Van Selm included a revised version of this list in *Een menighte treffelijke boecken*, pp. 153–167.

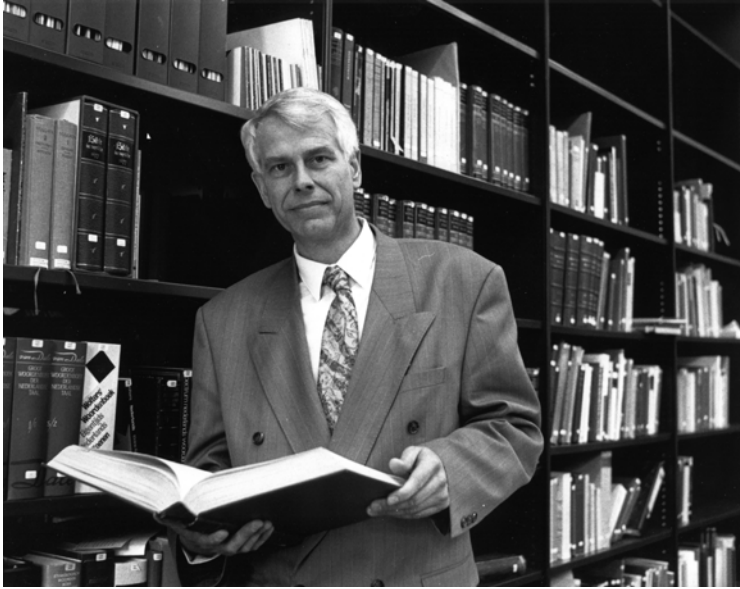


FIGURE 19.1 Bert van Selm (1945–1991) in the library of the Leiden University Department of Dutch Language and Literature
PHOTO: HENK BOUWMAN

that researchers should go abroad to find unexplored sources elsewhere (see figure 19.1).³⁰

After gaining his doctorate on 3 November 1987, Van Selm had more time to expand the inventory of the catalogues by including new locations in the Netherlands and elsewhere, and by adding more detailed descriptions.³¹ Meanwhile the physical card file had been replaced by a digital database in which all the data were entered by Van Selm's two assistants at the library of the Leiden University Department of Dutch Language and Literature in the P.N. van Eyckhof building, close to the Leiden University Library. The assistants were Henk de Kooker (1950–2007) and Everhard Hofland (1950–2002).

Van Selm believed it was essential for the efforts to create an accurate and detailed description of the catalogues that copies be made available in Leiden, as “The tracking down and noting of basic information is usually so

30 Bert van Selm, “T geluck waeit niemand in den mond”. Teleurstellingen en vondsten bij de jacht op Vondel-handschriften, *Literatuur*, 7 (1990), pp. 2–8.

31 In January 1989, for example, during a visit to the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hannover, he noted details of 114 copies of Dutch catalogues. See B. van Selm, ‘Een nieuwe toekomst voor oud “handelsdrukkerwerk”. De bibliografie van Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi gedrukt vóór 1801’, *Open*, 22 (1990), pp. 335–339, esp. p. 337.

time-consuming that there is no opportunity even to look at all the old catalogues, let alone to describe them in detail”.³² The fifth proposition that Van Selm appended to his doctoral dissertation read as follows: “In at least one Dutch library, copies need to be available of those Dutch book trade catalogues that are held only in libraries abroad.” In the main body of the dissertation, he explained the importance of the presence of copies of all catalogues.

If copies become available in the Netherlands, they can be used optimally as sources for the study of the cultural climate and the ‘sociology of knowledge’, of the history of science, art, literature and ideas.³³

In 1987 Van Selm was still thinking in terms of paper copies, but that quickly changed after he met Han de Mink, director of the Inter Documentation Company in Leiden. The IDC had for years been concentrating on the publication of microfiches of a broad range of source material from archives and libraries all over the world.

Han de Mink had founded the IDC on 25 March 1957 in Tumba, Sweden. In 1952, when he was a student of electrical engineering at the TH Delft (which in 1986 became the Delft University of Technology), he was sent to the telecommunications company Ericsson in Sweden for an internship and after graduating he accepted a job there. He immediately began to develop his ideas about the use of microfiches for the recording and dissemination of knowledge. He had come upon microfiches during his time as a student in Delft and was convinced that they were far superior in quality for the recording of texts and images to the then commonly used microfilm. In Sweden, he began by giving talks to librarians and by informing companies about the potential benefits of microfiches and thereby acquired his first orders. He moved his company to Zug in Switzerland and later to the Hogewoerd in Leiden. After the fall of the Iron Curtain, De Mink, like a modern *mercator sapiens*, through a successful combination of professional skill and diplomacy, managed to seal contracts for the filming of source material in Eastern Europe as well.³⁴ His negotiating

32 Van Selm, ‘Een nieuwe toekomst voor oud “handelsdrukkerwerk”’, p. 337.

33 Van Selm, ‘Een menigte treffelijcke Boecken’, proposition 5 and p. 122.

34 With thanks to Liesbeth Heerma van Voss for the information she provided about Han de Mink. She enabled me to gain access to the photograph of him that I have included in this article. Swedish Wikipedia has an entry for Han de Mink, see <https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henri_de_Mink> (last accessed 20 July 2019). On the IDC, see S. John Teague, *Microforming, Video and Electronic Media Librarianship* (London: Butterworths, 1985), pp. 53–54.



FIGURE 19.2 Han de Mink (1931–2004), on the left, signing a contract in Russia in 1991

skills were also of great importance to the project *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800* (see figure 19.2).³⁵

An initial collaboration between Van Selm and De Mink took place as part of a project to make dozens of Dutch songbooks accessible on microfiche.³⁶ In 1990, Van Selm was able to announce a plan to engage IDC to film all Dutch book catalogues printed before 1801. The catalogues “will be put on the market in the form of microfiches, meaning that they can be consulted in our great academic libraries”.³⁷ The microfiches were to be delivered in instalments of 250, accompanied by a *Guide* with detailed descriptions of the catalogues and

35 I am myself grateful to Han de Mink and Bert van Selm for the fact that through them an invitation was passed on to me to take part in the first congress on book history held in Saint Petersburg (then still Leningrad) after the fall of the Iron Curtain, in December 1990: ‘Book in Russia. History of the Book and the Press of the Enlightenment’, organised by the Book History Working Group of the Russian Academy of Sciences. That visit gave me the opportunity to make the necessary contacts for a number of research trips in the years that followed.

36 *Dutch Song-books on Microfiche* [79 song-books] (Zug: IDC, 1989–1991).

37 Van Selm, ‘Een nieuwe toekomst voor oud “handelsdrukkerwerk”’, p. 337.

concluding with a chronological and an alphabetical index. A total of 21 instalments appeared, the first in 1990, the last in 2005. Cumulative guides appeared regularly. Van Selm had foreseen that after completion of the project, the definitive Guide with indexes would serve as an indispensable bibliographical tool. The information in the Guide covering instalments 1–5 (1992) stated that the content of the Guides would also be made available on floppy disks, but as early as 1990 Van Selm had predicted that by the turn of the century the use of CD-ROMs would have become so firmly established that no one would any longer have any use for bibliographies on paper. “In comparison to a digital database, a printed bibliography, even if provided with a range of different indexes, is a primitive reference work.”³⁸

Van Selm could not have known that CD-ROMs would soon be overtaken by digital files available on the internet that connected computers worldwide from 1993 onwards. He did not live to see these revolutionary developments, which had far-reaching consequences in many fields including that of bibliographical research. In the autumn of 1990, Van Selm learnt that he was terminally ill. When on 6 February 1991 in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague he was presented with the Menno Herzberger Prize, a three-yearly award for authors of an outstanding study in the field of bibliography or book history, Van Selm and those close to him knew he did not have long to live. His acceptance speech was also a kind of farewell, but one that focused on the future. It included a passionate plea for future research on book history and for bibliophile self-consciousness, for “the firm conviction that the book, the book trade and book ownership have had an essential part to play in our cultural history”. In that same speech, he described research on book catalogues as “the basis ... for a history of Dutch book culture” and strongly advocated the further compiling of book-catalogue inventories, especially in foreign libraries.³⁹ On 17 April 1991 Bert van Selm died, two weeks after his forty-sixth birthday.

I myself first came into contact with book trade catalogues, especially those of publishers and booksellers, through my research into eighteenth-century booksellers in The Hague. I too was forced to conclude that many catalogues had not survived and those that had were often in libraries outside the Netherlands.⁴⁰ In the years 1988–1992, I was in a position to visit foreign libraries and archives regularly, and hunting out Dutch catalogues and Dutch

38 *Ibid.*, p. 338.

39 Bert van Selm, ‘Dankwoord’, *Meta. Mededelingenblad voor Neerlandici*, 25 (1990/91), pp. 99–103. Slightly abbreviated version in *De Boekenwereld*, 7 (1990/91), pp. 150–151.

40 See Otto S. Lankhorst, ‘Au siècle des catalogues’. Een eerste inventarisatie van fonds- en sortimentscatalogi van Haagse boekverkopers, 1680–1780’, *Documentatieblad. Werkgroep 18e eeuw*, 21:1 (1989), pp. 33–73.

newspapers was a high priority for me.⁴¹ In those years, researchers still had to rely on card indexes or on catalogues in book form. Computerised library catalogues with far greater search options were still in their infancy. On arriving at a library, the first task was to gain access to the right person and the right catalogue. The right person was the man or woman who realised that I was in search of as yet unknown titles and who also had a thorough knowledge of how the library collection and the catalogues linked to it were organised. On a visit in December 1990 to the National Library of Russia, then still known as the M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library and formerly the Imperial Public Library, it was Larissa Albina, custodian of the Voltaire collection, who helped me.⁴² To questions about the presence of certain publications, she would invariably answer “*Ah oui, nous avons, nous avons*”. The library undoubtedly possessed Dutch book trade catalogues, she said. If I wanted to see them, she told me, I must note the names of the collectors or booksellers and then the library staff would be able to check which catalogues were in the collection. I explained that I was mainly looking for new catalogues I had not come upon before and that I would like to carry out research myself in the catalogue room. She enabled me to gain access to the catalogue room for non-Russian books, previously accessible only to members of the library staff. There it became clear to me that the catalogues I was looking for were in the ‘Polygraphy’ department. After asking repeatedly, I got to see the card catalogue for that department and in it I discovered, with some excitement, seven drawers numbered 12 through 18, each marked ‘Catalogue’. It was clear at a glance that they would give me access to a remarkably rich collection.

I was able to report this wonderful discovery, which I would inventory further on subsequent visits, to Bert van Selm shortly before his death.⁴³ I had already told him that I had succeeded in gaining a permanent place in the Hémicycle in the Salle Labrouste of the ‘old’ Bibliothèque Nationale on the Rue de Richelieu. This was a privilege for which it was necessary to climb the hierarchical library ladder all the way up to the director of the Département des Livres Imprimés, then Mme Jacqueline Sanson, but such a contact was vital if

41 In the case of inventories of collections of newspapers that included gazettes in the French language, I was able to inform Pierre Rétat, with a view to their inclusion in his *Les Gazettes européennes de langue française. Répertoire* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2002). In the case of newspapers written in Dutch, I informed René Vos (1942–2016), who was compiling a survey for the Koninklijke Bibliotheek of Dutch newspapers in libraries and archives outside the Netherlands.

42 On Larissa Albina, see Otto S. Lankhorst, ‘In memoriam Larissa L. Albina (1929–1993), behoedster van Voltaire’s bibliotheek in Sint Petersburg’, *De Boekenwereld*, 10 (1993/94), pp. 199–203.

43 Lankhorst, ‘Vijftien pakketten catalogi teruggevonden’, pp. 66–76.

I was to see catalogues that were invariably stamped '*documents fragiles*' and could be viewed only in the Hémicycle. Equipped with a very heavy laptop, on loan from the IDC, I was able to look at Dutch catalogues, especially those of the Delta collection, based on the two-part 'Inventaire numéro 886'. This yielded many new titles and additional copies.⁴⁴ The catalogues from the second most important collection of catalogues in the Bibliothèque nationale, the Q collection, had already been included in Van Selm's database because there was a copy of its inventory in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague.

Other libraries I visited, from which I was able to add varying amounts of data to the file, were in Basel (Universitätsbibliothek), Cambridge (University Library), Dresden (Sächsische Landesbibliothek), Edinburgh (National Library of Scotland), Geneva (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire), Grenoble (Bibliothèque municipale), Lausanne (Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire), London (British Library), Lyon (Bibliothèque municipale), Moscow (Russian State Library, then still called the Lenin Library), Neuchâtel (Bibliothèque publique et universitaire), Oxford (Worcester College), Paris (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal en Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève), Rome (Bibliotheca Angelica), Strasbourg (Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire) and Venice (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana). In every new library I entered it was a challenge to find the right card-index cabinet or *Standkatalog*. I then had to try to examine a great many catalogues in a short time. Other people also helped me to gather data, including Ferenc Postma for several Romanian libraries and Chris Coppens for the National Széchényi Library in Budapest.

Van Selm lived to see the first instalments of the microfiches of *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic*, which included catalogues from Dutch libraries in particular, and he is mentioned as the author of the accompanying *Guide*. Shortly before his death, Van Selm asked Hans Gruys, custodian of old prints at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, to take charge of the editorship of the catalogues project.⁴⁵ In Leiden, Berry Dongelmans, Van Selm's successor at the Department of Dutch Language and Literature, took upon himself

44 See Otto S. Lankhorst, 'Les ventes de livres en Hollande et leurs catalogues (xvii^e et xviii^e siècles)', in Annie Charon and Élisabeth Parinet (eds.), *Les ventes de livres et leurs catalogues xvii–xx^e siècle. Actes des journées d'étude organisées par l'École nationale des chartes (Paris, 15 janvier 1998) et par l'École nationale supérieure des sciences de l'information et des bibliothèques (Villeurbanne, 22 janvier 1998)* (Paris: École des chartes, 2000), pp. 11–28, esp. section III: 'La collection de catalogues néerlandais à la Bibliothèque nationale de France'.

45 See J.A. Gruys, 'Editor's Introduction' in *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800, Catalogue numbers 807–1336 (Instalments 6–9)* (Leiden: IDC 1992): "Two weeks before his premature but not unexpected death on 17 April 1991, he asked me to take over the editorship, which I, though doubtful about my own qualifications as compared with his, did not have the heart to refuse."

the responsibility for supervising the practical work carried out by Everhard Hofland and Henk de Kooker.⁴⁶ Later Karel Bostoën (1943–2016) also regularly checked on their progress. The work of Henk de Kooker was of particular value. With great perseverance and the utmost attention to detail he built, managed and checked the database. We have him to thank more than anyone for the excellent descriptions of the catalogues.

With some regularity new instalments of microfiches appeared, each with an accompanying Guide with descriptions. Named as editors were ‘the late Prof. Dr. B. van Selm’ and Dr. J.A. Gruys; from 1997 onwards the names Gruys and De Kooker are given as editors of the Guides, along with the words ‘initiated by the late Prof. Dr. B. van Selm’. In 2005, Gruys withdrew as editor, since he was approaching retirement. His place was taken by Karel Bostoën, who is named as editor—along with De Kooker—on the title page of instalment 21.⁴⁷

In the years 2003–2005, another three instalments (19–21) appeared with supplementary material to the collections that had already been filmed, and with new, smaller collections such as those of the Roëll Family Archive in Ulvenhout and the Bibliotheca Documenta C.P.D. in Zalău (Romania).

Instalment 21 was the last to appear. The Cumulative Guide that it announced, to appear in January 2006, was a promise that remained unfulfilled. As Van Selm had predicted in 1991, the paper bibliography was superseded by the CD-ROMs and they in their turn by online databases.⁴⁸ In 1998, a CD-ROM had appeared which made accessible the 2,182 catalogue numbers of instalments 1–13. In 2001 the Guides also became available as an online database that could be searched “by the fields for collectors, auctioneers or (book)sellers, places, years and dates and so on, separately or in combination, or by all words of the description indiscriminately (years and dates included)”.⁴⁹ The database could be consulted free of charge via the host Electronic Text Centre Leiden (ETCL) as part of the platform ‘Golden Age’. It was also available as part of the digital version of *Bibliopolis, de nationale geschiedenis van het gedrukte boek in Nederland*, within the ‘Auctions’ component.⁵⁰

46 Berry Dongelmans wrote about the realisation of *Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic*, and the research possibilities it offers in B.P.M. Dongelmans, ‘Book Sale Catalogues in the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800’, in Lotte Hellinga *et al.* (eds.), *The Bookshop of the World. The Role of the Low Countries in the Book-trade 1473–1941* (’t Goy-Houten: Hes & De Graaf Publishers, 2001), pp. 255–262.

47 On the title page of the *Guide for Instalment, 21* (2005), Prof. Dr. M. Keblusek is named as ‘general advisor’. She was involved only briefly with the project.

48 See note 36.

49 J.A. Gruys and H.W. de Kooker, ‘Editors’ note’, in *Guide to the Microform Collection Book Sales Catalogues of the Dutch Republic, 1599–1800. Instalments 14–18* (Leiden: IDC, 2001).

50 *Bibliopolis* <<http://www.bibliopolis.nl>> (last accessed 27 July 2019). The database is still available within *Bibliopolis*, but it relates to the situation in 2002 and is now outdated.

That the Cumulative Guide announced for January 2006 was never published had to do with the acquisition of the IDC by publishing company Brill, as announced by the publisher on 11 November 2005.⁵¹ The Dutch press release stated that “The millions of pages in the IDC’s collections are eminently suitable for digitalisation and online development on a commercial basis”. As of 1 November 2006, Brill transferred IDC’s production department to Microformat Systems BV in Lisse. The collaboration agreement stated that Microformat Systems would convert analogue material into digital formats.⁵²

After the acquisition by Brill, the catalogues project remained more or less at a standstill from 2006 to 2014, especially after Henk de Kooker died in December 2007. No new instalments appeared and no new catalogues were filmed. At the time of De Kooker’s death, the number of described titles stood at 4,830, of which 3,758 were available on 5,857 microfiches, filmed in fifty libraries.⁵³ For some time, Brill was uncertain whether, and if so how, it would continue the catalogues project. In the meantime, negotiations with the University of Leiden and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek about the transfer of the database and the author copyrights involved remained on hold. In the spring of 2014, Brill made the decision to publish the database online with links to the digitalised content of the catalogues. A staunch champion of the catalogues project at Brill was Wendel Scholma. Under the leadership of Arjan van Dijk, senior acquisitions editor at Brill, she took care of the actual implantation of De Kooker’s database in Brill’s digital environment and prepared the launch of the *Book Sales Catalogues Online* (BSCO) on 6 May 2015.

Via the Brill website, the descriptions of all the catalogues were made freely accessible, including the catalogues that had been located but not yet filmed. The digital records of the content of the catalogues can be consulted only by users of the select few libraries that have paid a fairly high price for access. It

Still to be found within the ‘Auctions’ component is the ‘Repertorium van Nederlandse publieke boekenveilingen 1660–1805’, compiled by Hannie van Goinga (1939–2014), which is of great value. It presents an inventory of 13,688 public book auctions, based mainly on newspaper advertisements, which means that it includes data concerning auctions for which no catalogue has been preserved.

51 Press release by Brill, 11 November 2005: ‘Koninklijke Brill neemt IDC Publishers over’, *AFX-NL* <advance-lexis-com.vu-nl.idm.oclc.org/api/document?collection=news&id=urn:contentItem:4HJ8-D130-TWKJ-Y2Y0-00000-00&context=1516831> (last accessed 22 April 2020) and *AFM* <<https://www.afm.nl/nl-nl/professionals/registers/meldingenregisters/openbaarmaking-voorwetenschap/details?id=200511110000000006>> (last accessed 22 April 2020).

52 *DeBeurs.nl* <https://www.debeurs.nl/forum/Topic/1104684/Brill_Uitbetseding-productie-IDC.aspx> (last accessed 27 July 2019).

53 Email from Karel Bostoën to Otto S. Lankhorst, 18 March 2008. It mentions two large FileMaker files.

is also possible to pay for one day's access to the Brill Online Primary Sources Platform, of which the BSCO is part. Bert van Selm, Hans Gruys and Henk de Kooker are recognised by Brill as the 'founding editors' of the project. Since May 2014, there has been an editorial board, made up of Karel Bostoën (who died in 2016), Marieke van Delft, Alicia C. Montoya and Otto S. Lankhorst.⁵⁴ In 2012, Karel Bostoën and Hans Gruys proposed a publication of the database as a paper book in the series *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Boekhandel* (BGNB) under the title *Nederlandse boekhandelscatalogi, 1599–1800. Een census van bewaarde exemplaren*. This publication was never realised. The future for these inventories was in online databases.

It was a long road to travel to reach the end result of an online database offering access to 3,758 digitalised catalogues obtained from a very large number of libraries. The result has given a boost to research into private libraries and into reading in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as evidenced by the conference 'Private libraries and private library inventories, 1665–1830: Locating, studying and understanding sources' (Ravenstein, 17–18 January 2019), organised by Alicia C. Montoya and Rindert Jagersma.

The end of that road had not yet been reached. A range of different libraries still hold some one thousand catalogues that are known to be unique. They are begging to be digitalised and added to the BSCO. There are also discoveries still to be made of catalogues in libraries that may or may not have been searched already. During a recent visit to the Grolier Club in New York, where a number of catalogues had already been filmed, previously unknown catalogues were found as well as catalogues whose existence was known about but of which no copies had as yet been located. It was found to hold the *Catalogus variorum & exquisitissimorum librorum* of an auction by Joh. Arnold Langerak (Leiden 1748), where the lots included theological manuscripts by Antoinette Bourignon and Pierre Poiret. References to that catalogue in advertisements had been noted, but no copies had previously been found.⁵⁵ The same applies to the catalogue of the library of Bernardus van Coeverden, preacher in Haarlem (auctioned in Haarlem by Johannes Bosch, 1761) and of Jacob van Bodeghem, mayor of Alkmaar (auctioned in Alkmaar by his widow J. Maagh and A. Maagh, 1778).⁵⁶ So it turns out that work on booksellers catalogues, those "*documents rédigés à la hâte et imprimés avec assez peu de soin*" is still unfinished.

54 Paul G. Hoftijzer was briefly a member of the editorial board at the start in 2014.

55 See Mirjam de Baar, *'Ik moet spreken'. Het spiritueel leiderschap van Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680)* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2004), p. 757, n. 128.

56 The shelf marks of these three catalogues in the Grolier Club (New York) are: *05.47\1748\0318, *05.47\1761\0324 and *05.47\1778\0909. With thanks to Meghan Constantinou, librarian of the Grolier Club, who provided me with a list of the Dutch catalogues and enabled me to examine a large number of catalogues in a short space of time.

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PRIVATE LIBRARIES AND THEIR DOCUMENTATION, 1665-1830

The contributions in *Private Libraries and their Documentation* revolve around the users and contents of early modern private book collections, and around the sources used to document and study these collections. They take the reader from large-scale projects on historical book ownership to micro-level research conducted on individual libraries, and from analyses of specific types of primary sources to general typologies and overviews by period and by region. As a result of its comparative approach and active engagement with questions regarding the nature, selection and accessibility of sources, the volume serves as a guide to sources and resources in different regions as well as to state-of-the-art methods and interpretational approaches.

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