

Edited by
Koen Scholten, Dirk van Miert and Karl A.E. Enenkel

Memory and Identity in the Learned World

Community Formation in the
Early Modern World of Learning and Science



Intersections

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Memory and Identity in the Learned World

Intersections

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Introduction: Memory and Identity in Learned Communities

Koen Scholten

Scholars, scientists, learned men and learned women have considered themselves part of communities for centuries. Think of ancient academies, clerical circles, monasteries, universities, or the emergence of learned societies at the end of the seventeenth century. Such communities served different purposes: they established a shared sense of identity in a wider society, provided a set of norms for the production of knowledge or created an environment for discussion. What they largely had in common, however, was the ability to decide what knowledge is and who can possess it, making them central to knowledge creation and dissemination.¹ The purpose of this book is to explore the various ways in which learned men and learned women considered themselves part of a community, and more importantly, how these communities have formed, reformed, and enabled processes of in- and exclusion, as well as how they relate to collective, institutional, and scholarly identity.

The category of ‘community’ operates on a fruitful level of analysis, because it allows historians to focus on the cultural aspects of knowledge-making. To clarify the approach and focus in this volume, let us consider the example of Desiderius Erasmus (1469–1536) to see how an archetypical image of the scholar and his community can change over time. The case of Erasmus allows us to consider how he identified and presented himself, but also how he was remembered, hailed, and criticized after his death. During his life, Erasmus placed himself in a tradition of biblical scholarship and as a worthy successor of Saint Jerome (ca. 342–420).² To strengthen his scholarly persona, Erasmus wrote a life story of his mentor, Rudolphus Agricola (1443–1485), embedding himself and his work in a history of scholarship.³ At the same time, Erasmus fostered friendships with fellow scholars, most famously with Thomas More

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- 1 James Secord has famously argued that ‘To make knowledge move is the most difficult form of power to achieve.’ Secord J.A., “Knowledge in Transit”, *Isis* 95.4 (2004) 654–672, 670.
 - 2 Jardine L., *Erasmus, Man of Letters. The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton, NJ: 1993).
 - 3 Ibidem; Akkerman F. (ed.), *Rudolph Agricola. Six Lives and Erasmus's Testimonies*, trans. R. Bremer – C. Ooms Beck, *Bibliotheca Latinitatis Novae* (Assen: 2012).



FIGURE 1.1 Jacobus Harrewijn, *Statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam*, ca. 1682–1730. Etching, 132 × 80 mm
AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, RP-P-OB-55.451



FIGURE 1.2 Jacobus Baptist, Hillebrand van der Aa and Willem van Mieris, Desiderius Erasmus receives The Book of Truth, 1703–1706. Etching and engraving, 345 × 274 mm, made as a frontispiece of Jean LeClerc's edition of Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia* [...], 10 vols. (Pieter van der Aa, Leiden: 1703–1706)

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM, RP-P-1909-508

(1478–1535). Constance Furey characterized Erasmus's network as 'a new kind of religious community bound together by affective relationships and shared interests in spiritualized scholarship.'⁴ In short, Erasmus considered himself part of a scholarly community, with a history, a collective identity, and a common goal.⁵

After his death, Erasmus became part of many lively memory cultures, both as a hero and an arch-enemy.⁶ Many humanists viewed him as a champion of learning, while his criticism of the clergy and the papacy made him a heretic in the eyes of many Catholics.⁷ He, thus, became a malleable example of both excellent scholarly and deviously heretic behaviour. In Rotterdam, where he was allegedly born, and in Basel, where he worked with the well-respected Froben publishing house for many years, he was already part of a memory culture of regional pride.⁸

On the occasion of Philip II's visit to Rotterdam in 1549, the citizens of Rotterdam placed a wooden statue of Erasmus in the city square. Eight years later, the city council decided to erect a more lasting statue of stone on the bridge next to the city square and close to the house of Erasmus's birth.⁹ At this point, Erasmus was clearly a figure of pride for the city of Rotterdam. Erasmus became a symbol of both erudition and civic pride. Spaniard soldiers soiled and smeared the statue during the siege of Rotterdam in April 1572 to eventually push the statue from the bridge into the water. Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641) recounted in his *Diarium* that the Catholic Spaniards considered Erasmus to be a Lutheran and therefore removed the symbol of defiance from the square of Rotterdam.¹⁰ Between 1593 and 1596, a new statue was built on the square. Roughly twenty years later during the armistice of 1609–1621, Hugo Grotius

4 Furey C.M., *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters* (Cambridge: 2005) 5.

5 Yoran H., *Between Utopia and Dystopia. Erasmus, Thomas More, and the Humanist Republic of Letters* (Lanham: 2010).

6 Karl Enenkel observed that 'for some of his contemporaries, Erasmus's name meant advanced, hitherto unsurpassed and perfect humanist scholarship; for others, however, it meant unbridled and arrogant hypercriticism, even heresy, that would lead to religious upheaval and to the destruction of millennium-old sacrosanct traditions.' Enenkel K.A.E., "Introduction – Manifold Reader Responses: The Reception of Erasmus in Early Modern Europe", in Idem (ed.), *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period*, *Intersections* 30 (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 2.

7 Mansfield B., *Phoenix of His Age. Interpretations of Erasmus, c. 1550–1750*, *Erasmus Studies* 4 (Toronto – Buffalo: 1979).

8 Stoffers M., "Erasmus en de dood", in Zeijden A. van der (ed.), *De cultuurgeschiedenis van de dood* (Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA: 1990) 63–83.

9 Schlüter L., *Standbeelden van Erasmus in Rotterdam: 1549–2008* (Rotterdam: 2008) 4–5.

10 Buchelius Arnoldus, *Commentarius rerum quotidianarum, in quo, praeter itinera diversarum regionum, urbium, oppidorumque situs, antiquitates, principes, instituta, mores,*

(1583–1645), then an official of the city of Rotterdam, advised the city leaders to make yet another statue. This time the statue would be cast in bronze and designed by the famous artist Hendrick de Keyser (1565–1621).¹¹ Grotius saw in Erasmus his own ideal of the universal Christian. The bronze statue was placed in 1622 and was a true icon throughout the seventeenth century and beyond [Fig. 1.1]. The many statues reflect the variety of purposes and sentiments the image and memory of Erasmus could serve and represent.¹² Throughout the ages, Erasmus became an image of Rotterdam, the Dutch Republic at large, and an icon in protestant learned communities.

Like many men of letters, Hugo Grotius visited Rotterdam to show his respects, as he described in a letter to a colleague:

De eerste uytganck, dye ick tot Rotterdam dede, was om mijne affective te toonen aen de memorie van Erasmus gaende zyen het beeldt van dyen man, dye soo wel de wech heeft aengewesen van een rechtmaetige reformatie [...]. Wij Hollanders connen desen man niet genoeg bedancken ende ick houde mij geluckich, dat ick zijne deuchden soo enichsins van verre can begripen.¹³

The first visit I made to Rotterdam was to show my affection to the memory of Erasmus, by going to the statue of this man, who showed us the path to a rightful Reformation [...]. We, Dutchmen, cannot thank this man enough, and it makes me happy that I can somewhat understand his virtues from afar.

Additionally, Grotius wished that other visitors of Rotterdam would do the same, as Dirk van Miert shows in Chapter 9. Almost a century after his death, Erasmus became a figure of regional and scholarly pride, as well as a central part of the collective identity and history of the scholarly community throughout Europe. Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736) decided to publish a second edition of Erasmus's *Opera Omnia* between 1703 and 1706, prefaced with lofty praise by Popes, rulers, and scholars.¹⁴ LeClerc presented Erasmus as the bringer of

multa eorum quae tam inter publicos quam privatos contingere solent, occurrent exempla, University Library Utrecht University, ms. 798, 6 E 15, fol. 138^{r-v}.

- 11 Becker J., *Hendrick de Keyser. Standbeeld van Desiderius Erasmus in Rotterdam* (Bloemendaal: 1993).
- 12 Blom N. van der, "The Erasmus statues in Rotterdam", *Erasmus in English* 6 (1973) 5–9.
- 13 Hugo Grotius to Johannes Uytenbogaert, January 26, 1632, in Grotius Hugo, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, vol. 5, ed. B.L. Meulenbroek (The Hague: 1966) 15. My translation.
- 14 Erasmus Desiderius, *Opera Omnia* [...], 10 vols. (Leiden, Pieter van der Aa: 1703–1706).

truth, a man of great erudition and enabler of the Reformation [Fig. 1.2]. Yet, the preface of the first volume also extended his fame to the city magistrates of Rotterdam:

Amplissimus praesertim Magistratus *Roterodamensis*, qui civi suo statuam aeneam, in celeberrimo Urbis suae foro, posuit, numquam satis laudari potest, quod meritis tanti viri quidquid in eo minus probabat condonarit.¹⁵

In particular the very esteemed magistrate of Rotterdam, who placed the bronze statue for their citizens in the busiest square of their city, cannot be praised fully enough, because through the merits of such a great man they condoned whatever they disapproved of him.

The edition, thus, acknowledged the fame a scholar can bestow on his native city and state, despite the religious differences the protestant city of Rotterdam had with the catholic Erasmus.¹⁶ Moreover, Erasmus's portrait and life story were included in numerous collections of illustrious men of letters as an example of a pious and dedicated scholar and a testament to his heroic status within learned circles.

Thus, Erasmus became a central figure in the memory culture of many communities, both during his life, but especially after his death in 1536.¹⁷ In the year of his death, close friends and admirers in Basel published a collection of epitaphs. The Froben publishing house added these poems as an appendix to an edition of the *Catalogi duo*.¹⁸ The epitaphs consequently started to appear in different printed editions in Louvain and Paris in 1537.¹⁹ The purpose of the epitaphs was to offer consolation to fellow members of the learned circle surrounding Erasmus. Such publications indicate the scholarly identity of Erasmus as a patron, protector and archetypical member of a community of humanist

15 Ibidem, vol. 1, "Praefatio" 6.

16 Mansfield, *Phoenix of His Age* 251–254.

17 Enenkel K.A.E., "Seventeenth-Annual Bainton Lecture: Epitaphs on Erasmus and the Self-definition of the Republic of Letters", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 21.1 (2001) 14–29.

18 Erasmus Desiderius, *Catalogi duo operum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami ab ipso conscripti et digesti: Cum praefatione Domini Bonifacii Amerbachii Iureconsulti ut omni deinceps imposturae via intercludatur, ne pro Erasimico quisquam aedat, quod vir ille non scripsit dum viveret. Accessit in fine Epitaphiorum ac tumulorum libellus quibus Erasmi mors defletur, cum elegantissima Germani Brixii epistola ad Clarissimum virum Dominum Bellaium Langaeum* (Basel, Froben, 1537); cited in Enenkel, "Epitaphs on Erasmus" 15.

19 Enenkel, "Epitaphs on Erasmus" 15–17.

scholars. These first memorial publications of epitaphs were soon followed by the publication of the biography of Erasmus as well as the Basel *Omnia Opera*.²⁰ Taken together, soon after his death Erasmus became an archetypal figure of a community of humanist scholars throughout Europe.²¹ While Erasmus may have died, the ideals he represented lived on in this community.

It is illustrative of how these various communities – the pan-European scholarly community during and after his life, various Protestant scholarly communities, the city of Rotterdam, and the humanist scholarly community – all praised Erasmus as an ideal member of *their* community on account of very different virtues and characteristics, to the point of acknowledging that Erasmus did not perfectly embody their religious convictions, as we have seen above in the case of Rotterdam. This case allows us to see scholarly identity formation on the individual level by Erasmus himself, as well as on the collective level in the adoption of the persona of Erasmus as an exemplary figure in the memory cultures of different communities. Even this brief analysis of a few learned communities shows that Erasmus became part of a myriad of memory cultures to represent an aspect of the identity of these communities.

This volume wants to precisely address these intricate relationships between learned communities, collective memory, and scholarly identity. In particular, it wants to take a closer look at historical knowledge communities, but not from a perspective of the history of science or knowledge, but rather through a cultural historical lens. Cultural historians have studied communities for decades, especially how they establish collective identities, create a sense of belonging, and allow for collective actions. By bringing in concepts from cultural history and memory studies, we open up new avenues to study the formation of scholarly and learned identities and communities. The scope of this collection of articles is necessarily multi-disciplinary, and offers social, sociological, and cultural perspectives on the formation of learned communities, memory, and identities from historians of science, cultural historians, literary scholars as well as art historians. Taken together, this volume proposes to study knowledge communities by stressing the centrality of collective memory for the formation and reformation of groups of learned men and learned women.

Due to its synthetical nature, this book builds on diverse historiographies, theoretical traditions, and conceptual constructs. Four historiographic and theoretical shifts are foundational for understanding the approach we want to take. The first one is the social turn in the history of science, developed by

20 Erasmus Desiderius, *Omnia Opera* [...], 9 vols. (Basel, Froben: 1538–1540).

21 For an overview of the reception of Erasmus in the early modern period, see Enenkel, "Introduction – Manifold Reader Responses".

scholars such as Thomas Kuhn and later Steven Shapin, since it opened the door to social and cultural approaches to scientific and scholarly communities. Secondly, the vast field of memory studies, and in particular the study of collective memory as a shared sense of the past and an essential part of a collective identity. Thirdly, the concept of self-fashioning introduced by literary historian Stephen Greenblatt and subsequently adopted for the study of early modern scholars and scientists such as Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) by Mario Biagioli and Desiderius Erasmus by Lisa Jardine. Fourthly, on a more specific level, the study of collective codes of conduct within the so-called Republic of Letters in the early modern period. In this introduction, I would first like to outline these interrelated historiographies to establish the theoretical background in the first four sections to finally present the content of this book and the case studies in Section 5.

1 Communities and Epistemology

The term “community” has had many divergent meanings. It may refer to a collective of peers. If applied to learned communities, it can take the fully institutionalised form of a learned society such as the Royal Society in London, where members shared and discussed their scientific and scholarly work, or the more informal character of the learned circle, such as a salon. Other kinds of early modern learned communities were based on comradeship and friendship, such as the bond between European humanists. This was exemplified by the already mentioned bond between Desiderius Erasmus and Thomas More who were actively celebrating their friendship (*amicitia*), which allowed them to share knowledge in confidence, effectively building a knowledge community with a common cause.²²

The role of knowledge communities was taken as a category of analysis in the historiography of science and in particular the development of social histories of scientific knowledge from the 1970s onwards. “Scientific” and “learned” communities became a central framework of analysis after the so-called social turn in the historiography of science. From the 1960s onwards, positivist histories of science chronicling the triumph of modern science since the scientific

22 Charlier Y., *Érasme et l'amitié. D'après sa correspondance*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège 219 (Paris: 1977); Eden K., *Friends Hold All Things in Common* (New Haven, CT: 2001); Lochman D.T. – López M. – Hutson L. (eds.), *Discourses and Representation of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2011); Furey, *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters*; Bray A., *The Friend* (Chicago – London: 2003).

revolution, such as Herbert Butterfield's *The Origins of Modern Science* (1949), were replaced with more social explanations of the rise of science, which led historians to analyse the role of communities. In his influential *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), Thomas Kuhn argued that scientific facts and theories were negotiated in communities. He attempted to understand how these communities and their members reached consensus, moving from one paradigm to another.²³ For there to be universally accepted knowledge, Kuhn argued, there needs to be a self-conscious community that applies norms and values:

The group's members, as individuals and by virtue of their shared training and experience, must be seen as the sole possessors of the rules of the game or of some equivalent basis for unequivocal judgments. To doubt that they shared some such basis for evaluations would be to admit the existence of incompatible standards of scientific achievement.²⁴

Kuhn pointed out that a more profound understanding of the history of knowledge production requires a closer look at the communities that prescribe the terms of what constitutes as knowledge and its production. Following Kuhn, scientific theories and knowledge in general were increasingly seen as social constructs, where a community sets the standards of what constitutes knowledge as well as who can possess and advance it.

Even if Kuhn was not universally satisfied that a later generation of sociologists of science developed the more deconstructive implications of his theories, Steven Shapin elaborated on Kuhn's idea and stressed that while knowledge is a collective good, it is also dependent on trust between knowers, and without that trust, there can be no knowledge. Shapin argued that 'in order for that knowledge to be effectively accessible to an individual – for an individual to *have* it – there needs to be some kind of moral bond between the individual and other members of the community.'²⁵ Communities provide these bonds. Early modern communities, such as academies, schools, churches, learned circles, gardens, courts, and even journals, all helped to establish a sense of community and identity for its participants. In order to produce knowledge, knowledge-making communities were essential. What knowledge is, and more importantly, what a reliable producer is, changes from one community to the next. Learned men and learned women did not only need a consensual system

23 Kuhn T.S., *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 3rd ed. (Chicago – London: 1996).

24 Ibidem 168.

25 Shapin S., *A Social History of Truth* (Chicago – London: 1994) 7.

of knowledge, but also a community in which knowledge could be unproblematically shared and trusted.

The community as a framework of analysis, thus, became central in sociological and anthropological studies of science and the history of knowledge production. Bruno Latour and Steve Woolgar's *Laboratory Life* studied scientists in their natural habitat anthropologically, strongly criticising the contemporary idea of science as a rational practice with a strong adherence to the so-called "scientific method". They showed that science, and knowledge production in general, was a social product and stressed the importance of social norms and values.²⁶ These developments in the historiography of science in the second half of the twentieth century were founded on a changing epistemology: knowledge is not inherent, given, and rationally obtained, but produced by scholars and scientists in social settings.²⁷ Many historical studies began to focus on how, in learned communities, social factors shaped the knowledge that was produced in these communities.²⁸ Truth is something that needs to be made, and the conditions of its production, negotiation and communication can be understood by turning towards the practitioners, their communities and their social and cultural contexts.

2 Scholarly Identity

The second historiographical and theoretical inspiration for this current work are studies of scholarly identity. The 1990s saw a surge in these studies, inspired by Stephen Greenblatt's study of Renaissance self-fashioning.²⁹ These works saw identity increasingly as constructed rather than inherent and given. For example, Lisa Jardine has argued 'that Erasmus's European prominence was something in which Erasmus himself made a considerable investment, in terms of effort and imagination'.³⁰ Jardine emphasized that Erasmus self-fashioned himself as a man of letters and a scholar saint, placing himself in

26 Latour B. – Woolgar S., *Laboratory Life. The Social Construction of the Scientific Facts* (Beverly Hills, CA: 1979); also see Latour B., *Science in Action. How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge, MA: 1987).

27 See e.g. Shapin S., "History of Science and its Sociological Reconstructions", *History of Science* 20.3 (1982) 157–211.

28 See e.g. Knorr-Cetina K., *Epistemic Cultures. How the Sciences Make Knowledge* (Cambridge, MA: 1999).

29 Greenblatt S., *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago – London: 1980).

30 Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters* 5.

the middle of the northern humanist world of learning and posing as a successor to Saint Jerome. Mario Biagioli's argument about Galileo Galilei's self-fashioning and patronage at the Florentine court is in line with Jardine's way of thinking. Biagioli suggested 'that patronage is the key to understanding processes of identity and status formation that are the keys to understanding *both* the scientists' cognitive attitudes *and* career strategies.'³¹ Galileo adapted to the cultural icon of the courtier; Erasmus appropriated the cultural icon of the scholar saint. Jardine and Biagioli are representative of a group of historians who emphasized *individual* constructions of identity, and offered this as a way of explaining the scholarly and scientific successes of, in these cases, Erasmus and Galileo. In the wake of these seminal publications, there has been wide-ranging work on the self-fashioning and self-presentation of scholars in epistolary exchanges,³² university settings,³³ and pictorial representations.³⁴ In these studies, the author or scholar is often at the centre of the construction of identity.

More recently, historians have also turned their attention to the role exemplary scholarly personae play in embodying and establishing virtues for a wider learned community.³⁵ Herman Paul defined scholarly personae as "ideal-typical models of scholarly selfhood", which in turn shaped the behaviour of individual scholars and learned communities.³⁶ These ideal-typical models

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- 31 Biagioli M., *Galileo, Courtier. The Practice of Science in the Culture of Absolutism* (Chicago – London: 1993) 14. This book was at the center of an open epistolary exchange on the role of self-fashioning in science, see Biagioli M., "Playing with Evidence", and Shank, M.H., "How Shall We Practice History? The Case of Mario Biagioli's *Galileo, Courtier*", both in *Early Science and Medicine* 1.1 (1996) 70–105 and 106–150, resp.
- 32 Houdt T. van et al. (eds.), *Self-Presentation and Social Identification. The Rhetoric and Pragmatics of Letter-Writing in Early Modern Times*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensa 18 (Louvain: 2002); Smet I.A.R., *Thuanus. The Making of Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 418 (Geneva: 2006); Glomski J., *Patronage and Humanist Literature in the Age of the Jagiellons. Court and Career in the Writings of Rudolf Agricola Junior, Valentin Eck and Leonard Cox* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 2007).
- 33 Kirwan R. (ed.), *Scholarly Self-Fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2013).
- 34 Rößler H., "Character Masks of Scholarship: Self-Representation and Self-Experiment as Practices of Knowledge Around 1770", in Holenstein A. – Steinke H. – Stuber M. (eds.), *Scholars in Action. The Practice of Knowledge and the Figure of the Savant in the 18th Century*, vol. 1, pp. 459–480 (Leiden – Boston: 2013).
- 35 Daston L. – Sibum H.O., "Introduction; Scientific Personae and Their Histories", *Science in Context* 16.1–2 (2003) 1–8; Algazi G., "Exemplum and Wundertier: Three Concepts of the Scholarly Persona", *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 131.4 (2016) 8–32.
- 36 Paul H., "What is a Scholarly Persona? Ten Theses on Virtues, Skills, and Desires", *History and Theory* 53.3 (2014) 348–371.

served as examples and guidelines for good practices in learned communities. As such, scholarly identities were always inextricably linked to collective identities and epistemic virtues. An individual drew on social scripts and cultural icons to guide his/her behaviour, practice, and career. Scholars who were considered “successful” were in turn hailed and remembered as exemplary for the learned community, as we have seen in the example of Erasmus.

These models, either implicitly or explicitly, inform epistemic virtues that help form knowledge practices within the learned community.³⁷ This approach to scholarly identity constitutes the direction we want to take in this volume. When we move from the perspective of an individual scholar to a learned community and its epistemic virtues, we are less concerned with the individual construction of identity, but rather with the structure of collective identities that were embedded in the representations of learned communities and its members. For example, in Chapter 2 of this volume, Karl Enenkel explores role models and the meaning of identity in the context of early modern humanism.

3 Collective Memory

A community does not always need to be a collection of peers who personally know each other and meet physically, as Benedict Anderson’s concept of an *imagined community* underscores.³⁸ Anderson introduced the imagined community to rethink the emergence of the nation state. The nation state was an imagined community, Anderson contended, because ‘the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship’.³⁹ The national community consists of peers who share a country, history, customs, as well as a language.⁴⁰ The nation state is *imagined* in the sense that members of the community will never meet all of their fellow peers; yet, they share an image of their unity

37 Dongen J. van – Paul H. (eds.), *Epistemic Virtues in the Sciences and the Humanities*, Boston Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science 321 (Cham: 2017); also see Paul H., “Performing History: How Historical Scholarship is Shaped by Epistemic Virtues”, *History and Theory* 50.1 (2011) 1–19.

38 Anderson B., *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised ed. (London: 2016).

39 Ibidem 7.

40 For a recent collection of studies that focus on the formation of communities and communal bonding, see Blok G. – Kuitenbrouwer V. – Weeda C. (eds.), *Imagining Communities. Historical Reflections on the Process of Community Formation*, Heritage and Memory Studies 5 (Amsterdam: 2018). On the link process of imagining the nation, see Cubitt G., *Imagining Nations*, York Studies in Cultural History (Manchester – New York: 1998).

and community. We can think of learned communities in the early modern period in a similar way. In this book we explore the ways in which learned men and women *imagined* a community, whether it was a small community of learned friends or a transnational community of scholars. Moreover, like all communities, an imagined community was also tied together by a shared sense of identity and a shared past.

The study of how communities remember and thereby construct collective identities is often dubbed collective memory by historians.⁴¹ The term was originally developed in 1925 by Maurice Halbwachs, who used it to explain how an individual sense of the past was strongly linked to the collective memory of a group, such as a past shared by a society.⁴² As such, collective memory is not the collection of individual memories, but rather a historical consciousness of a social or cultural group that informs individual memory and identity. Collective memory can be studied by looking at the acts of remembrance by a community.

Geoffrey Cubitt comprehensively defined the study of memory as ‘the study of the means by which a conscious sense of the past, as something meaningfully connected to the present, is sustained and developed within human individuals and human cultures.’⁴³ To avoid any confusion about terminology which often surrounds the concept of memory, collective memory in this volume refers to how a community – consciously or unconsciously – remembers its own past and will be studied by as a way to analyse a community’s self-perception, values, and identity.⁴⁴

Collective memory is easily confused with terms such as cultural memory. It is important to note that these terms often overlap in meaning, but approach memory from different perspectives. Halbwachs introduced collective memory to contrast it with personal, individual memory. The Egyptologist Jan Assmann emphasised, in his study of ancient civilizations, that cultural memory is the type of memory that informs individual memory through symbols, rituals, and representations such as tombs and temples.⁴⁵ Cultural memory, thus, focuses

41 For an overview of the field of memory studies, see Radstone S. – Schwarz B. (eds.), *Memory. Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York: 2010).

42 Halbwachs M., *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. L.A. Coser, *The Heritage of Sociology* (Chicago – London: 1992); originally published as *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: 1925).

43 Cubitt G., *History and Memory*, *Historical Approaches* (Manchester – New York: 2007) 9.

44 On the conceptual haze in memory studies and cultural history, see Confino A., “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method”, *The American Historical Review* 102.5 (1997) 1386–1403.

45 Assmann J. and Czaplicka J., “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *New German Critique* 65 (1995) 125–133. Assmann’s foundational work on memory is *Das kulturelle*

on the larger culture from an anthropological standpoint, rather than from the experience of the individual or the community.

Cultural memory has primarily been studied in a modern, national context, since a shared past was essential for the development of the nation state as an imagined community. Most notably, Pierre Nora directed the study of the monuments, rituals, and symbols that all helped establish a myriad of French national identities. Nora called this heritage and places of memory *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory.⁴⁶ Places and spaces such as churches, graveyards, memorials, statues, and public architecture can all convey an imagination of a past and a cultural identity. In the same way, the commemoration of literary writers in a national context shows how they were remembered as national heroes in the nineteenth century.⁴⁷ These examples remind us that collective memory is inherently multi-medial and is strongly embedded in culture. This is also the case for learned communities. For example, Alan Moss and Paul Hulsenboom argue in Chapter 8 of this volume that scholars cherished tomb monuments as places of memory, and thereby preserved and passed on a shared sense of the past.

Despite the strong focus on the nineteenth-century nation state in memory studies, not all collective memory is national and modern. First, transnational learned and scientific communities operated and remembered beyond national borders.⁴⁸ Second, the early modern period had rich and disparate cultures of remembrance: the Italian Renaissance had a rich memory culture which enabled a glorification of the past,⁴⁹ in the early modern Dutch Republic, disparate senses of the past dominated confessional disputes and war negotiations,⁵⁰ and the houses of Petrarch (1304–1374) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616) were sites of memory early on.⁵¹ Throughout early modern European cultures, we can observe memory cultures strongly tied to communities, large and small.

Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen (München: 1992); translated as *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization. Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge – New York: 2011).

46 Nora P. (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, 7 vols. (Paris: 1984–1992); also see Nora P., “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, *Representations* 36 (1989) 7–24.

47 Leerssen J. – Rigney A. (eds.), *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Nation-Building and Centenary Fever* (Basingstoke – New York: 2014).

48 De Cesari C. – Rigney A. (eds.), *Transnational Memory. Circulation, Articulation, Scales, Media and Cultural Memory* 19 (Berlin: 2014).

49 Emison P.A. (ed.), *The Italian Renaissance and Cultural Memory* (Cambridge: 2012).

50 Pollmann J., *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: 2017).

51 Hendrix H., *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory*, Routledge Research in Cultural and Media Studies (New York – Milton Park, Abingdon: 2008).

Moreover, the early modern period has proven to be a fertile ground for the study of collective memory in relation to local states and small communities. Many scholars have pointed out that the Reformation gave rise to a demand for a cohesive identity, both confessionally and locally or regionally. In such cases the learned community was often employed to serve as an example of the success of doctrinal education and of the state.⁵² Universities, for example, were customarily founded as “*seminaria reipublicae et ecclesiae*”: nurseries for state and church.⁵³ History was rewritten in a new confessional framework in the Northern parts of Europe praising the successes of the Lutheran and Calvinist theologians.⁵⁴ These memory cultures reflect the change of the cultural presence of the scholar in society as well as the need for a new collective identity and memory after severe shifts in religion and politics.

Remembrance and memory cultures in the world of learning and science have often focused on large-scale events with a national appeal in the twentieth century. Studies of commemorations of scholars and scientists, such as the twentieth-century centennial celebrations of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) and Charles Darwin (1809–1882), pointed out that these learned men were often remembered and framed in a national and political context.⁵⁵ This volume aims to extend the field of research by moving away from modern, national celebrations of scholars and scientists, and rather focus on how scholars and scientists employed collective memory to construct identities, and became part of national, learned and regional memory cultures.

4 The Learned World and the Republic of Letters

The fourth related strand of historiography this volume engages with is the historical study of the so-called Republic of Letters. Early modern historians often refer to the Republic of Letters as a metaphor for the entire learned world, although it must be acknowledged that historians have varying ideas of what

52 Sherlock P., “The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe”, in Radstone – Schwarz (eds.), *Memory*, 30–40.

53 Miert D. van, *Humanism in an Age of Science. The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632–1704* (Leiden – Boston: 2009) 21.

54 Hardy N. – Levitin D. (eds.), *Confessionalisation and Erudition in Early Modern Europe. An Episode in the History of the Humanities*, Proceedings of the British Academy 225 (Oxford: 2019); Backus, I., *Historical Method and Confessional Identity in the Era of the Reformation (1378–1615)*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 94 (Leiden – Boston: 2003).

55 Abir-am P.G. – Clark A.E. (eds.), *Commemorative Practices in Science. Historical Perspective on the Politics of Collective Memory*, Osiris 14 (Chicago: 1999).

the Republic of Letters was and how it developed.⁵⁶ To complicate matters, historical actors throughout the early modern period themselves also harboured different conceptions of the Republic of Letters. Modern historians who study the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries often consider the Republic of Letters to be a humanist affair contingent with the revival of the Latin and Greek language, starting in Italy. This *respublica litteraria*, as denoted by humanists in Latin, relied on the earlier-mentioned practice of establishing literary friendship (*amicitia*). Humanist scholars maintained intimate relations through letters to be able to discuss and share scholarly work.⁵⁷ This Republic of Letters is literally a commonwealth of learning, a transnational community through which religious ideas spread, carefully maintained by its members.

A somewhat different conception of a different Republic of the Letters gained traction at the end of the seventeenth century with the rise of literary journals, most notably Pierre Bayle's *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* (1684–1687), Jean LeClerc's *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (1686–1693), and Samuel Masson's *l'Histoire critique de la République des Lettres* (1712–1718). This period saw the rise of the idea of the Republic of Letters as an independent learned world filled with enlightened citizens.⁵⁸ It was an ideal learned world devoid of political and confessional obstacles where learned men and learned women could share knowledge. Contemporaries burst this bubble with satire and critique; modern historians similarly pointed out that this rosy ideal knew many obstacles.⁵⁹ These two humanist and enlightened visions of the Republic of Letters reveal the complexity of the term, but also its appeal

56 See for example Bots H. – Waquet F., *La République des Lettres*, Europe & Histoire (Paris: 1997); Goldgar A., *Impolite Learning. Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, CT: 1995); Neumeister S. – Wiedemann C. (eds.), *Res Publica Litteraria. Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung 14, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: 1987).

57 Schalk F., “Von Erasmus’ Res publica literaria zur Gelehrtenrepublik der Aufklärung”, in Idem, *Studien zur französischen Aufklärung*, Das Abendland: Neue Folge 8 (Frankfurt a.M.: 1977) 143–163; Yoran, *Between Utopia and Dystopia*; Fumaroli M., *The Republic of Letters*, trans. L. Vergnaud (New Haven, CT: 2018); Furey, *Erasmus, Contarini, and the Religious Republic of Letters*.

58 The link between the rise of the Republic of Letters, the public sphere, and the Enlightenment is emphasized especially in Goodman D., *The Republic of Letters. A Cultural History of the French Enlightenment* (Ithaca – London: 1994).

59 For satire and critique of scholars, see Kivistö S., *The Vices of Learning. Morality and Knowledge and Early Modern Universities*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 48 (Leiden – Boston: 2014); Smet I.A.R. De, *Menippean Satire and the Republic of Letters, 1581–1655*, Travaux du Grand Siècle 2 (Geneva: 1996). For a study of hierarchy and conduct in the Republic of Letters, see Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*.

for historians.⁶⁰ In this volume, the Republic of Letters will not be taken as a singular, pan-European learned community, but rather as a web of local communities with their own idiosyncratic conceptions. Recent historians of the Republic of Letters have increasingly seen it as an amalgamation of entangled networks. Taken together, the contributions in this volume give an impression of this tension between a pan-European ideal of knowledge and the way in which regional learned communities inscribed themselves in this ideal.

As such, the concept of an imagined community offers a fruitful way to conceptualize the Republic of Letters. Historians have applied Anderson's concept of the imagined community to show that scholars throughout the early modern period held disparate views of the European learned world, or the Republic of Letters.⁶¹ In order to study learned community formation, we need to abandon the idea of a coherent and singular concept of the early modern learned world as *the* Republic of Letters.⁶² If we want to study how learned communities became aware of their own group identity and perpetuated that sense of forming a distinct collective identity, we have to pay attention to how images or imaginations of the learned world were constructed and disseminated. We need to focus on the media, the collective communication, through which such imaginations spread. The advent of print in the sixteenth century made the learned world increasingly visible for instance in the form of icons, images, and collections of lives of scholars. This cultural visibility helped to create a sense of scholarly community on local as well as transnational levels, but also sparked different and even conflicting discourses on, for example, university professors or learned women. There was no one monolithic learned world or Republic of Letters, but rather a myriad of early modern representations that

60 For the revival of the Republic of Letters as a concept in the beginning of the twentieth century, see Rensen M., "Restoring the Republic of Letters: Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig and Transnational Community Building in Europe, 1914–34", in Couperus S. – Kaal H. (eds.), *(Re)Constructing Communities in Europe, 1918–1968. Senses of Belonging Below, Beyond and Within the Nation-State*, Routledge Studies in Modern European History 37 (New York: 2016) 153–174.

61 See e.g. Grafton A., "A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters", *Republic of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1.1 (2009) 1–18. Robert Mayhew concluded based on citation analysis that scholars had disparate views of the Republic of Letters, see Mayhew R., "British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600–1800", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65.2 (2004) 251–276; Idem, "Mapping Science's Imagined Community: Geography as a Republic of Letters, 1600–1800", *The British Journal for the History of Science* 38.1 (2005) 73–92.

62 This point was also raised in Jaumann H., "Respublica Litteraria | Republic of Letters: Concept and Perspectives of Research", in Idem (ed.), *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus / The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 96 (Wiesbaden: 2001) 11–19.

overlap or contradict, but often emerged from different memory cultures with a different sense of history and collective identity.

5 Organisation of This Book

The chapters in this book can be read as case studies of the interaction between learned communities, collective memory, and scholarly identity. The book is divided into three parts that each explores different aspects of early modern scholarly identity and memory: the first part addresses collective identity, the second institutional memory as a shared past, and part three focuses on memory cultures and modes of remembrance. Within each of the parts, the chapters have been organised according to chronology.

The first part examines the formation and negotiation of collective identities in different communities of the learned world. Karl Enenkel opens this part with a consideration of the meaning of collective identity for early modern humanists throughout Europe. He identifies many distinct traits of a scholarly identity in scholarly autobiographies, such as the identification with classical authors; the performance of collegiality with fellow humanists in, for example, correspondence and dialogue; the identification with ancient Roman cultural and intellectual concepts such as *otium*; and the identification with a supra-national Latin language, among others. Together, these writings show a conscious sense of community and collective identity, where the autobiography served to gain acceptance and visibility in a transnational learned world, the humanist Republic of Letters. Here, the Republic of Letters is a community of humanist scholars in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries based on the virtues of hard work, the Ciceronian ideal of friendship, and the identification with classical Roman culture. Floris Solleveld shows in Chapter 5 that representations of learned communities were considerably varied throughout the early modern period. Solleveld considers three different printed portrait collections from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as part of a lively memory culture of the scholarly world, where individual galleries positioned themselves in a longer and broader tradition and history of scholarship, recognizable as a community that distinguished itself from other groups in society. Taken together, these chapters show that each portrait collection presents an idiosyncratic and local representation of the learned world, thus underscoring the distinct and disparate nature of the Republic of Letters and its many portrayals.

Historians have long ignored the contested position of learned women in a male-oriented and male-dominated cultural and intellectual sphere of the

early modern period. The position of learned women was precarious and in flux. This does not mean, however, that learned women were not active members of learned communities. In Chapter 4, Esther M. Villegas de la Torre takes the examples of celebrated scholars Luisa Sigea de Velasco (1522–1560) and Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673) to look at the position of women in the learned world in the context of the commercialisation of literature. Villegas de la Torre shows that Sigea and Cavendish based their scholarly identities on conventional strategies by drawing on classical and vernacular publishing practices, both male and female. Where male scholars would often position themselves in a lineage of male models such as Virgil and Horace, female scholars were often presented in a distinct, female tradition starting from Sappho (ca. 630 BC–ca. 575 BC). As such, the memory and identity of female scholars were a central part of the European learned world.

At the same time, female scholars were often actively excluded from a masculine imagination of the learned world.⁶³ In the context of collective memory, it is necessary to be aware of who has the power to write and decide who will be remembered, since this ultimately determined the canon. Processes of exclusion explicitly and implicitly targeted female scholars, who were often hailed as exceptions in the learned world and as exceptions of their gender.⁶⁴ Lieke van Deinsen meticulously shows that Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), Margaret Cavendish, and Maria Sybilla Merian (1647–1717) are all examples of how female learned identity was formed and negotiated in a learned world dominated by male scholars and masculine ideals of scholars and scholarship. In Chapter 3, Van Deinsen takes a critical look at the reception of their portraits in learned circles and argues that learned men saw and “othered” learned women as curiosities. The icon of female learned authority helped to increase the cultural visibility of female scholars and throughout the seventeenth century normalised the image of female scholars and their scholarly authority. From the perspective of memory and identity, it becomes clear that learned women inscribed themselves in a female history and memory culture, while simultaneously being perceived as a curiosity in the periphery of male learned communities.

The second part of this book focuses on the role of institutions in shaping collective identities and fostering a shared sense of the past. In this

63 See e.g. Labalme P.H. (ed.), *Beyond Their Sex. Learned Women of the European Past* (New York – London: 1980); Schiebinger L., “Feminine Icons: The Face of Early Modern Science”, *Critical Inquiry* 14.4 (1988) 661–691; Pal C., *Republic of Women. Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century*, Ideas in Context 99 (Cambridge: 2012).

64 Jardine L., “‘O decus Italiae virgo’, or The Myth of the Learned Lady in the Renaissance”, *The Historical Journal* 28.4 (1985) 799–819.

part, two chapters consider the role of universities and learned societies as vehicles for memory cultures and the values and virtues instilled in them. In Chapter 6, Constance Hardesty takes the Dublin, Oxford, and Royal natural philosophical societies to show that learned societies went to great lengths to establish a collective memory in the form of rituals, statutes, minutes, and a shared view of the past. The Royal Society in London, for example, was organised around epistemic virtues and a shared ideal of knowledge production, which in turn became an example for the Oxford society. Institutional memory and identity, thus, imposed a distinct learned identity upon its members. In a similar way, Richard Kirwan shows in Chapter 7 how German universities actively promoted an institutional identity with festivities, centennials, but also the celebration of individual scholars in print. More than learned societies, the universities focused on producing institutional histories. Such histories presented a lineage of illustrious professors who served the university in question, where the professors became solidified in an institutional memory culture.⁶⁵ Both Hardesty and Kirwan show the complicated relationship between the individual and the institutional identity enshrined in institutional memory practices.

The last part of this book focuses on how memory cultures were kept alive within learned communities. In Chapter 8, Paul Hulsenboom and Alan Moss show how objects of knowledge such as epitaphs, graves, and other memorabilia helped establish the historical centrality of legendary scholars.⁶⁶ These places and objects of knowledge inspired scholarly reflection and strengthened one's identity as a member of a learned community. Whether it was Erasmus's testament, an epigram written to Anna Maria Schurman, a book chest which allegedly hid Hugo Grotius, or the skull of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558), both Protestant and Catholic scholars found ways to interact with the forefathers of the imagined learned community they considered themselves to be part of. The Grand Tour was, thus, an important element of the pan-European learned memory culture that helped foster a sense of a scholarly community beyond confessionality and borders.⁶⁷

This does not mean that places of knowledge could only be linked to one narrative. Similarly, a narrative can only thrive when there are stakeholders

65 This also happened with the placement of funeral monuments, see Knöll S.A., *Creating Academic Communities. Funeral Monuments to Professors at Oxford, Leiden and Tübingen, 1580–1700* ([n.p.]: 2003).

66 Jacob C., "Lieux de savoir: Places and Spaces in the History of Knowledge", *KNOW. A Journal on the Formation of Knowledge* 1.1 (2017) 85–102.

67 Scholten K. – Pelgrom A., "Scholarly Identity and Memory on a Grand Tour: The Travels of Joannes Kool and his Travel Journal (1698–1699) to Italy", *Lias* 46.1 (2019): 93–136.

to perpetuate someone's memory. As Dirk van Miert shows in Chapter 9, the memory of Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) and his bladder were remembered in different contexts. Yet, both helped to sustain Casaubon's memory. First, scholars saw Casaubon's monstrous bladder as evidence of his martyrdom for the cause of knowledge and science, since the bladder was a symbol of his sedentary work despite pain.⁶⁸ Second, medical scholars marvelled at the bladder, because it was a unique specimen and showed the ways in which a bladder could change. Both contexts, however, helped to allow the memory of Casaubon to flourish in a framework of a historico-philologically minded Reformed Protestantism, confessionally ranging from Arminianism to Orthodox Calvinism. Regardless of this framework, the existence of material evidence ensured the livelihood of historical narratives through the ages. In the wider European learned world, aspects of learned memory cultures (such as travelling to places of knowledge and engaging with historical evidence of exquisite scholarship) helped to anchor the idea of a commonwealth of learning, the imagined community also referred to as the Republic of Letters.

As stipulated before, there is no one authoritative imagining or representation of the Republic of Letters or any learned community. By looking at learned men and learned women who considered themselves part of a learned community, either real or imagined, we can catch a glimpse of contemporary ideals of knowledge and who could possess it. The vast plurality of representations of learned communities we encounter in the case studies in this book attests to the difficulty to define *the* learned world. Indeed, it was a pluriform world and each conception of a learned community was mediated by personal, institutional, regional, confessional, and epistemic factors.

Further research could try to uncover how diverse the ideals of knowledge in learned communities were throughout Europe. Were regional learned communities looking up to metropolitan learned communities to consequently inscribe themselves in the memory culture and collective identity of a wider trans-national learned community? The tension between centre and periphery in the diffusion of templates of learned communities, as well as the circulation of knowledge, could be meaningfully assessed in the plethora of historical sources that reveal collective identities and memory cultures, such as historical travel literature and journals, collections of histories and lives, tomb monuments, and material remnants, as well as extensive correspondences.

68 Nuttall A.D., *Dead from the Waist Down. Scholars and Scholarship in Literature and the Popular Imagination* (New Haven – London: 2003); Vila A.C., *Suffering Scholars. Pathologies of the Intellectual in Enlightenment France*, *Intellectual History of the Modern Age* (Philadelphia, PA: 2018).

Since the scope of this book is limited to the European learned world, an important question that remains to be addressed is to what extent the cultural icon of the learned man and learned woman is translatable to different cultures beyond the early modern, European framework. Similarly, it remains an open question whether learned communities formed and flourished, as well as built a strong sense of memory and identity in other regions, states, and continents. We hope future transnational, comparative research will offer insights into such valuable questions.

Hopefully, this book will provoke further research into the many facets of early modern learning and scholarship that remain unexplored. Taken together, these case studies offer a first tentative step into seeing learned communities as imagined communities – communities with a history, a collective memory, and a collective identity. We hope that the case studies in the following chapters will guide and inspire scholars in further explorations of how learned men and learned women considered themselves part of learned communities, and consequently how these communities formed and reformed in early modern Europe.

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PART 1

Collective Identity



“Identities” in Humanist Autobiographies and Related Self-Presentations

Karl A.E. Enenkel

1 Problems of Humanist Identities: Instabilities and Dissociations

When I was preparing my book on *humanist autobiography*,¹ some colleagues expected me to focus on notions such as “identity”, “individuality”, or the hermeneutics of personal experience, and in the beginning I probably did so.² But when my research proceeded, it turned out that these notions offered no satisfactory analytical tool for the understanding of this category of texts. I give you a few observations that puzzled me: “identity” implies a sense of continuity, stability, and actual, real, and, if you wish, authentic affiliations of a person, and with respect to autobiographical writing, a certain interest

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- 1 Enenkel K.A.E., *Die Erfindung des Menschen. Die Autobiographik des frühneuzeitlichen Humanismus von Petrarca bis Lipsius* (Berlin – New York: 2008); I made an earlier attempt to outline the problems of humanist identity in “Identitätskonstituierungen in der humanistischen Autobiographik des 14.-16. Jahrhunderts”, in Grenzmann L. – Hasebrink B. – Rexroth F. (eds.), *Geschichtsentwürfe und Identitätsbildung am Übergang zur Neuzeit*, vol. 1: *Paradigmen personaler Identität*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 41/1 (Göttingen: 2016) 220–233. Various aspects of the present contribution are addressed in Enenkel K.A.E., *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neulateinischen Literatur (ca. 1350- ca. 1650). Zur autorisierenden und wissensvermittelnden Funktion von Widmungen, Vorworttexten, Autorporträts und Dedikationsbildern*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte* 48 (Leiden – Boston: 2015). For general aspects of early modern autobiographical texts, cf., *inter alia*, Misch G., *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, vol 4, 2 *Von der Renaissance bis zu den autobiographischen Hauptwerken des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, bearbeitet von Bernd Neumann (Frankfurt a.M.: 1969); Guglielminetti M., *Memoria e scrittura. L'autobiografia da Dante a Cellini* (Turin: 1977); Goetz R.H., *Spanish Golden Age Autobiography in its Context* (Frankfurt a.M. – Berlin – Bern: 1994); Tersch H., *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (1400–1650)* (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 1997); Velten H.R., *Das selbstgeschriebene Leben. Eine Studie zur deutschen Autobiographie im 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: 1995); Wagner-Egelhaaf M. (ed.), *Handbook of Autobiography/ Autofiction*, 3 vols. (Berlin – Boston: 2019); herein, cf. my contributions on “Autobiographies in the Latin Language (1300–1700)” 2:724–731, and “Epistolary Autobiography” 1:565–578.
- 2 For the correction of my English I am grateful to Meredith McGroarty, for assistance with the illustrations to Lukas Reddemann.

on the autobiographer's part to address these aspects in the narrative.³ What I observed in the humanist autobiographies, was interest of another kind. Some humanists wrote more than one autobiography: Giannantonio Campano and Joannes Fabricius authored two of them, Erasmus at least three, Sigmund of Herberstein four or five, and Francis Petrarch and Enea Silvio Piccolomini even more.⁴ It struck me that some autobiographies written by the same author showed different personalities, with different affiliations and "identities". And – even more puzzling – these differences could not be explained by personal development.

A striking example are the two Latin autobiographies by the theologian and humanist Joannes Fabricius (Hans Schmid, 1527–1566) from Bergheim (Alsac), both composed in 1565, one in prose, one in verse.⁵ The personality and its identity affiliations that appear in these texts, which were written in the same year, are totally different: *prose Fabricius* is a thoroughly self-confident, rational, optimistic, and successful man who feels himself to be supported by God, his family, teachers, network, patrons, the government of Zurich (where he lived until 1557), and the Calvinist church. He looks back to his successful education in Zurich (Theologische Hochschule), Basel, and at the protestant universities of Marburg an der Lahn and Leipzig. After his return to Zurich, the town administration bestowed him with citizenship. Fabricius praises himself for having a happy family life with two fantastic wives of Zurich patrician origin who provided him with rich offspring. Fabricius reflects proudly on his successful career as a Calvinist pastor (in Schwamedingen, in the surroundings

3 The notion of identity is relevant for autobiographies and autobiographical texts in many ways; Wagner-Egelhaaf's manual has an entry on "Identity"; however, the authors, M. Quante and A. Dufner, a bit surprisingly discuss identity as an essentially 'logical concept', not as a cultural, social, historical, literary, and artistic one (cf. *Handbook of Autobiography/Autofiction* 1:305–309).

4 Cf. my *Die Erfindung des Menschen*, ch. VIII and IX (229–265, Campano); XX (575–618, Joannes Fabricius); XVII (467–512, Erasmus); XIX (546–574, Sigmund of Herberstein); II, IV, and V (40–87; 108–145, Petrarch); and X and XI (266–329, Enea Silvio Piccolomini); about multiple autobiographies of the same person, especially ch. XIX, "Diskurskaleidoskop. Die multiple Autobiographik des österreichischen Edlen Sigmund von Herberstein", and ch. XIX, "Persönlichkeitsverdopplung? Persönlichkeitsspaltung? Diskurssspaltung? Dichterisches und prosaisches Ich in den Autobiographien des schweizer Reformators Joannes Fabricius/ Hans Schmid (1565)".

5 Ibidem 575–618. The two autobiographies are edited by Siegmund Döpp in "Ioannes Fabricius Montanus. Die beiden lateinischen Autobiographien", *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* 8 (1998) 34–45; for Fabricius's life cf. also Bonorand C., "Fabricius Montanus, Johannes", *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 4 (1959) 737–738.

of Zurich), teacher at the Großmünster school of Zurich (1547–1551), rector of the Fraumünsterschule in the same town (1551–1557), and Calvinist preacher (in Chur, Graubünden, from 1557 on); all those posts he considers to be the result of an outstanding education, the support of the town administration of Zurich, hard work, and God's grace. On the other hand, *verse Fabricius* totally lacks self-confidence; he depicts himself as a lonely, isolated, desperate, mentally disorientated, and confused person who is not supported by anybody: he has lost his parents and his fatherland, and he lives far away in exile, where nobody cares about him. Because his mind lacked focus and interest, his education did not bear fruit. Small wonder that without education he could not have a career and was forced to live in poverty. Misery is the sum of his family life: his first marriage was traumatic because he soon lost his young and beautiful wife. His second wife is still alive, and she gave birth to many children: however, by 1565 the majority of them were already deceased.

One may justly ask: what is Fabricius's identity? Who is Fabricius? What in the prose autobiography seemed to be a stable identity constituted through a web of plausible affiliations turned out to be the opposite in the verse autobiography. Did Fabricius identify with his school and university education or not? Did he identify with the Calvinist Church or not? Did he have a professional identity as a pastor and schoolteacher or not? Did his Zurich citizenship contribute to his identity or not? Did he feel affiliated with the social class of the patricians or not?

It is certainly true that the notion of "identity" does not appear anywhere in Fabricius's autobiographies. Besides, this goes for all humanist autobiographies. But this is not the real problem. Even if things are not addressed in writings from the past, that does not mean that they did not exist. If one compares the web of affiliations of about 1400–1700 with that of the modern Western world, it seems that the late medieval and early modern links were characterized by more stability and continuity, and by a greater sense of belonging. From about 1400 to 1700 there was less social mobility than there is in today's world. Persons were born and stayed in a certain social class, family, state, region, town, language area, and so on, and their professional education mostly reflected the spectrum that belonged to their class and family. It was not exceptional for sons to have the same professional education as their fathers, and for them to finally enter their professions. Thus, one may expect that these facts influenced the formation of personal identities. In terms of autobiographical writings, it may be expected that a sense of continuity and stability was expressed with respect to these belongings and affiliations; that is, affiliations to a person's family, social class, education, home town, region, native language, profession, religion, confession, etc.

Curiously, in humanist autobiographies, frequently the opposite seems to be the case. Rather, many of them offer deconstructions of identities and values that were generally accepted. Let's look at a significant example, Francis Petrarch's autobiography, titled *Letter to Posterity*.⁶ In the opening passage he says:

I was one of your flock, a mortal man, neither of a very noble offspring nor of contemptible origin, just of an 'old family', as Caesar Augustus says of himself. As a son of honourable parents, Florentines of origin, but driven from their fatherland, of modest fortune or rather, to tell the truth, verging to poverty, I was born in exile, in Arezzo, in the year 1304 of this last age of mankind which starts with the birth of Christ, at dawn on Monday, on the 13th day before the first of August (= July 20th).

Fui autem vestro de grege unus, mortalis homuncio, nec magne admodum nec vilis originis, familia – ut de se ait Augustus Caesar – antiqua. Honestis parentibus, Florentinis origine, fortuna mediocri et – ut verum fatear – ad inopiam vergente, sed partia pulsus Aretii in exilio natus sum, anno huius etatis ultime que a Christo incipit MCCCIII, die Lune ad auroram XIII Kalendas Augusti.⁷

First of all, it is remarkable that Petrarch does not give the name of his father, mother, and family, and, moreover, that he does not mention them anywhere in his autobiography; it is also remarkable that he stays vague about the social class to which his family belonged and remains silent about his father's profession. He simply says that he had 'honourable parents'. In the whole passage he seems to downplay his family identity. The reason can hardly be that he was ashamed of it. His father was the scion of a patrician family which owned, among other things, a palazzo in Florence and a country estate at Incisa, a village situated south of Florence where Petrarch had stayed for the major part of his childhood. His father's profession was also nothing to be ashamed of: he was a notary, and he bore the title 'Ser'. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Petrarch emphasizes that his parents were exiles and that he himself was *born*

6 For Petrarch's *Letter to Posterity* cf. my *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 108–126; and Enenkel K.A.E., "Modelling the Humanist: Petrarch's Letter to Posterity and Boccaccio's Biography of the Poet Laureate", in idem – De Jong-Crane B. – Liebrechts P. (eds.), *Modelling the Individual. Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance. With a Critical Edition of Petrarch's Letter to Posterity* (Amsterdam – Atlanta: 1998) 11–49, both with detailed bibliographical references.

7 Cf. the critical edition of the Latin text in: Enenkel – De Jong-Crane – Liebrechts (eds.), *Modelling the Individual* 256–257, § 2.

in exile. This gives the impression that Petrarch is keen on denying any kind of Florentine identity. However, Petrarch actually grew up in the Florentine state, and by the time the autobiography was written, ca. 1373 [Fig. 2.1A], the city of Florence had re-acknowledged Petrarch's Florentine citizenship. In 1350 he had even been officially invited to return to Florence. Thus, in 1373 Petrarch can hardly be regarded as a Florentine exile. A rather odd detail is that he says that he is a 'mortal man'. It is hard to take that as an expression of identity: what else could he be than a mortal man? This remark has quite another function: it is meant as a demonstration of modesty, as an antidote to the assumption of immortal fame, which appears in the title and the opening sentence of Petrarch's autobiography. The fact that he directs his autobiography to posterity expresses his conviction that many years after his death he will still be famous. This indicates that the modesty Petrarch seems to demonstrate is probably deceptive. It is a revealing remark that Petrarch says 'ut de se ait Augustus Cesar': it means that he identifies himself with emperor Augustus (as he was described by the biographer Suetonius). In the light of this very noble, even imperial identification, Petrarch's actual family affiliation becomes less relevant.

Furthermore, through the peculiar form of his birth date Petrarch presents himself as a millennialist: he believes that he lives close to the end of time, and that the Antichrist will soon come.⁸ Petrarch's millennialism is again part of his deconstruction of identity, of his de-identification with his own time which he considered the 'worst of all ages'; in paragraph 9 of his autobiography, he sketches his mindset, which he characterizes by an exceptionally strong interest in classical antiquity ('studium antiquitatis'). The motivation behind this is most revealing: he says that he prefers to live in other ages because of his aversion to his own age.⁹

8 For Petrarch's millennialism cf. Piur P., *Petrarcas 'Buch ohne Namen' und die päpstliche Kurie. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte der Frührenaissance* (Halle: 1925), with a critical edition of Petrarch's *Liber sine nomine*. The idea to be living close to the end of time also appears in other works of Petrarch, e.g. in the *Familiarium rerum libri* and in *De vita solitaria*; in *De vita solitaria* (I, 9, 17) he says: 'Although it is maybe true that we have reached already the end of times, and that it has been fulfilled in us what was predicted so many centuries ago: "Every vice is at the edge now", so that there is no future without a general breakdown' – 'Quamvis et illud forsitan est verum iam ad extrema perventum esse et in nobis esse completum, quod ante tot secula dictum erat: "Omne in precipiti vitium stetit", ut sine ruina nullus ulterior sit progressus', for the text and my commentary cf. Enenkel K.A.E., *Francesco Petrarca, De vita solitaria, Buch 1. Kritische Textausgabe und ideengeschichtlicher Kommentar* (Leiden et al.: 1990), I, 9, 17, and p. 620–621.

9 *Letter to Posterity*, § 9, in Enenkel – De Jong-Crane – Liebrechts (eds.), *Modelling the Individual* 263: 'Among other things I was predominantly interested in classical antiquity, because this



FIGURE 2.1A
Petrarch around the time he was
composing his *Epistola posteritati*.
Altichiero, fresco with Petrarch and his
friends, Oratorio di S. Giorgio, Padua



FIGURE 2.1B The country house of the family of Ser Petraccho in Incisa Valdarno, south of
Florence

Interestingly, quite a number of humanist autobiographies remain silent about “normal” constituents of personal identity, such as family, social class, education, home town, native language, profession, religion, or confession. Frequently, the authors do not even give the name of their father, mother, or family, and only very exceptionally do they discuss their parents’ role in their

age has always displeased me, so that [...] I always wished to have been born in any other age whatever, and to forget this one, and I tried to place myself in my mind in other ages’ – ‘Incubui unice, inter multa, ad notitiam vetustatis, quoniam michi semper aetas ista displicuit, ut [...] qualibet etate natus esse semper optaverim et hanc oblivisci, nisus animo me aliis semper inserere.’

childhood or education. About their mothers they talk even less, probably because they regarded them as less relevant to their education. They developed a certain ideology in which they disregarded family and offspring as a valid part of their identity. For example, the German humanist Eobanus Hessus says in his autobiography:¹⁰

Don't ask me what the coat of arms of our house was and who my parents were!

My parents were both poor, but without moral faults.

I do not list the forbears of our lineage and their coats of arms.

O would I be regarded as noble with respect to *my virtue*!

Quae mihi signa domus, qui sint, ne quaere, parentes.

Pauper uterque fuit, sed sine labe parens.

Non genus aut proavos numero, non stemmata avorum.

Virtute o utinam nobilis esse ferar.¹¹

Humanists such as Buonaccorso da Montemagno (before 1429), Poggio Bracciolini (1440) [Fig. 2.2A], Carlo Marsuppini (1440), Cristoforo Landino [cf. below, Fig. 2.3A], Bartolomeo Platina (before 1477) [Fig. 2.2B], and Sixt Birck (1540) authored a new category of ethical writings with the title *De nobilitate* or *De vera nobilitate*, in which they argued that true nobility is not dependent on lineage or/and wealth, but only on personal virtue;¹² by consequence,

10 For Hessus's autobiography, cf. my *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 429–449, ch. xv, "Autobiographie als Heroinnenbrief: Eobanus Hessus Liebesbrief an die Nachwelt", with detailed bibliographical references.

11 Cf. Helius Eobanus Hessus, *Dichtungen Lateinisch und Deutsch*, hrsg. und übersetzt von H. Vredevelde, vol. 3: *Dichtungen der Jahre 1528–1537* (Frankfurt a.M.: 1991) 476–483.

12 In Buonaccorso's *disputatio*, the winning character, the plebian Roman politician and intellectual Flaminio, puts it in this way: 'Constat enim ex sola animi virtute veram nobilitatem defluere'; Garber K., "De vera nobilitate. Zur Formation humanistischer Mentalität im Quattrocento", in idem, *Literatur und Kultur im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit* (Munich: 2009) (444–503) 471; Bonacursus de Montemagno – Birck Sixt, *De vera nobilitate orationes duae, a duobus invenibus nobilem puellam ambientibus apud Senatam Romanum habitae* (Augsburg, Philipp Ulhard: 1540); T.R. Jorde, *Cristoforo Landinos De vera nobilitate. Ein Beitrag zur Nobilitas-Debatte im Quattrocento* (Berlin – New York: 1995); Landino Cristoforo, *De vera nobilitate*, ed. M.T. Liaci (Florence: 1971); Castelnovo G., "Humanists and the Question of Nobility in the Mid-15th Century", *Rives méditerranéennes en publique* 32–33 (2009) 67–81; Vanderjagt A.J., *Qui sa vertu anoblist: the concepts of noblesse and chose publique in Burgundian political thought* (Groningen: 1981); Bracciolini Poggio, *De vera nobilitate* ed. D. Canfora (*Edizione nazionale dei testi umanistici*, vol. 6) (Rome: 2002); Caroli (sic) Poggii, *De nobilitate liber disceptatorius et Leonardi Chiensis De vera*

virtus – defined as a personal, intellectual (it is also called ‘*virtus animi*’), moral, spiritual, historical, and even antiquarian¹³ quality, based on the reinvented values of classical antiquity – became one of the basic constituents of the new humanist identity. As Klaus Garber puts it: ‘Der Diskurs *de vera nobilitate* ist die Äußerungsform der Humanisten schlechthin, in dem sie ihr Selbstverständnis artikulierten, ihre Ansprüche anmeldeten, ihre Positionierung im ständisch strukturierten frühneuzeitlichen Europa vornahmen.’¹⁴

Of course, this concept of ‘true nobility’ had a special appeal to those humanists who were of base origin, such as Eobanus Hessus, whose vernacular name was ‘Koch’ and whose father was actually a cook in a German monastery. Small wonder that Eobanus Hessus also wrote a *De vera nobilitate*, a poem that was published in Erfurt in 1515.¹⁵ But interestingly, humanists of noble offspring also omit the names of their parents. One of them was Jacopo da San Nazaro, the scion of a noble family on both his father’s and his mother’s side. His father owned, among other possessions, a palazzo in Naples; his grandfather from his mother’s side was Baldassare, Lord of San Mango, and he owned a castle in San Mango in the vicinity of Naples. In his autobiography, Sannazaro mentions none of these attractive markers of identity. This is all the more remarkable because in his autobiography he claims to have spent his whole youth in San Mango.¹⁶ However, he says not a word about his grandfather’s castle, nothing about country estates, nobility, or a knightly lifestyle; and, above all, he omits the names of his family members. His mother he calls ‘the woman that gave birth to me’ (*genitrix*), and his father he does not mention at all.

nobilitate contra Poggium tractatus apologeticus [...] (1657); Pierini I., “La vera nobilità di Carlo Marsuppini”, *Medievo e Rinascimento* 28, n.s. 25 (2014) 63–94; Platina Bartolomeo, *De vera nobilitate* (Erfurt: 1510), Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 P.lat. 1014a, https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00012789/image_5.

- 13 Through historical examples of virtue from Greek and Roman antiquity, as transmitted by the Greek and Roman historians, especially by collections of exempla, such as the one of Valerius Maximus.
- 14 Garber K., “De vera nobilitate” (444–503) 444.
- 15 *The Poetic Works of Helius Eobanus Hessus*, ed. H. Vredeveld (Leiden – Boston: 2012) 127–169.
- 16 Cf. Enenkel K.A.E., “Landscape Description and the Hermeneutics of Neo-Latin Autobiography: The Case of Jacopo Sannazaro”, in idem – Melion W.S. (eds.), *Landscape and the Visual Hermeneutics of Place, 1500–1700*. Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 75 (Leiden – Boston: 2020) 89–123; on Sannazaro’s biography cf. Vecce C., “Sannazaro, Iacopo”, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 90 (2017), http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/iacopo-sannazaro_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/.



FIGURE 2.2A
 Author's portrait of Poggio
 Bracciolini to his collected
 treatises, among them *De
 nobilitate liber unus*. Biblioteca
 Apostolica Vaticana, Urb.
 Lat. 224

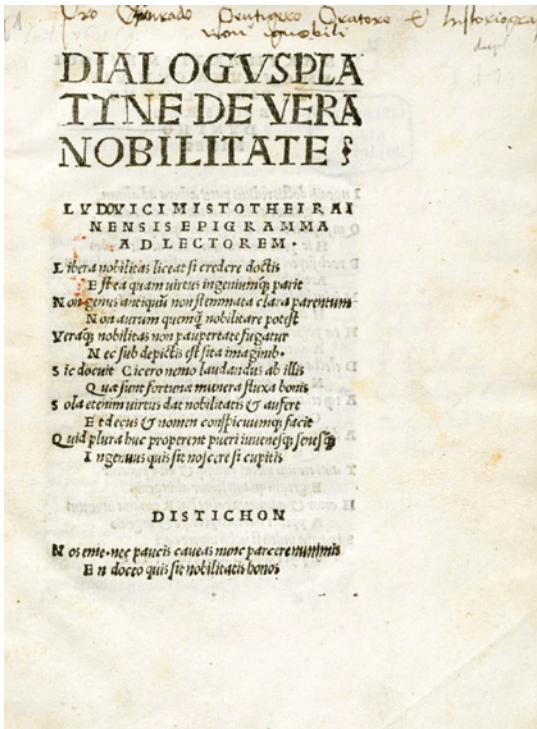


FIGURE 2.2B
 Bartolomeo Platina, *De vera
 nobilitate*, title page

In general, humanists only rarely talk about their fathers, and if they do, they are inclined to present them not as constituents of their identity, but rather as a kind of obstacle to their identity formation. This goes for another leading humanist of noble offspring, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II. In his *Commentarii* he mentions his father, Silvio Postumo, only as somebody who hampered his intellectual development: instead of giving his son a proper education he misused him as a farm worker (in the poor village of Corsignano). In his autobiography, Enea Silvio hardly identifies with his family life, upbringing, and youth in Corsignano. He dismisses a period of about ten years in a single sentence: 'Then [namely with seven years] after he (sc. Aeneas) stayed a very long time with his father and carried out for him all kinds of rural work until at the age of eighteen he went up to the city (i.e. Siena)',¹⁷ Interestingly, similar things seem to have happened to other humanists too, for example to the Latin poet, historian, bishop, and member of the Roman academy Giannantonio Campano,¹⁸ who tells us in his autobiography that his father, Puccio de Teolis, used him as cattle herder and refused to give him a proper education.¹⁹ Had his uncles, or rather Apollo himself, not freed him from the yoke of farm slavery, he would never have been able to write a single Latin verse. In his first autobiography Campano describes his miserable youth in the Campanian countryside;²⁰ there are no traces that he identified himself with his family life and upbringing there.

But even in cases in which the identity formation of the humanists was not impeded by cruel and ignorant fathers, they are not inclined to identify themselves with the education they received. For example, Petrarch was taught by a competent Latin teacher, the humanist and poet laureate Convevole da Prato (1270–1338).²¹ However, in his *Letter to Posterity* Petrarch suppresses the name of his teacher and downplays the quality of his education as 'a tiny little bit of grammar, dialectic and rhetoric that is usually taught in school' ('aliquantum grammaticae, dyalectice et rhetorice [...]').²² And as an understatement,

17 Cf. Pius II, *Commentaries*, ed. M. Meserve – M. Simonetta (Cambridge, Mass.: 2003) 8–9 (*Commentarii* I, 2): 'Exinde cum iam diu apud patrem quaevis officia ruris obisset (sc. Aeneas Silvius), annos iam duodeviginti natus in urbem (i.e. Sienam) migravit'. The English translation is mine.

18 Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 230–238.

19 Ibidem.

20 The text is edited and translated in my *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 230–235.

21 Giani G., *Ser Convevole da Prato maestro del Petrarca, secondo nuovi documenti* (Prato: 1913); Pasquini E., "Convevole da Prato", in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (DBI), vol. 28 (1983).

22 *Letter to Posterity*, § 13, in Enenkel – De Jong-Crane – Liebrechts (eds.), *Modelling the Individual* 264–265.

he adds: ‘and you know, dear reader, how little that is’. Humanist autobiographers have the tendency to disparage their education as inadequate, backward, stupid, and barbarous. Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna, a humanist from the Veneto, mentions in his autobiography, *Rationarium vite*, the name of his teacher, Filippino da Lugo, but he is far from identifying himself with the education he received from him. Rather, he describes him as an idiot and sadist, and he admits that he hated him so much that he tried to poison him at least two times.²³ The general picture is that humanist virtue was not taught by fathers, school teachers, or university professors. These potential identity constituents are disqualified or dismissed. By consequence, humanist autobiographers tend to present themselves as autodidacts, and to mystify the source of their knowledge or language skills. Petrarch’s brilliant knowledge of Latin seemingly originated in just listening to Cicero’s works in his early childhood, and Pontano’s and Sannazaro’s came through being baptized by the Muses with water from the sacred spring.²⁴ Joseph Scaliger actually received an excellent humanist education at the Collège de Guienne in Bordeaux; additionally, his teacher in Greek was the famous humanist Adrianus Turnebus; nevertheless, Scaliger presents himself in his autobiography as a total autodidact: he maintains that he mastered Greek in less than three weeks only by reading Homer – without any help, of course.²⁵ Likewise, Latin rhetoric and style he mastered without any help, just by composing essays on matters he chose; his essays were so perfect that even his old and learned father, Julius Caesar Scaliger, admired him for this, or at least so Joseph Scaliger claims.²⁶

A number of humanists avoid giving the name of the place they were born or to which they actually belonged, and the majority of them do not give any information on their parents’ house, family life, life circumstances in their childhood and youth, school education, religious education, and similar things, and is hard to guess what they considered to be “home” and “proper”. One gets the impression that they were keen to focus on the opposite. A humanist lifestyle seems to include something like “homelessness”. Petrarch characterized himself as a ‘peregrinus ubique’, nowhere at home, ‘a stranger everywhere.’²⁷

23 Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 164–165, with further references.

24 For Pontano’s and Sannazaro’s baptism by the Muses, cf. my “Landscape Description and the Hermeneutics of Neo-Latin Autobiography” 98–101.

25 Cf. my *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 748–749; Josephus Scaliger, *Epistola de vetustate et splendore gentis Scaligerae* (Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius: 1594) 55–56.

26 Ibidem.

27 *Epistole metriche*, III, 19, 16: ‘Incola ceu nusquam, sic sum peregrinus ubique’; cf. Wilkins E.H., “Peregrinus ubique”, in idem, *The Making of the Canzoniere and Other Petrarchan Studies* (Rome: 1951) 1–8; and in *Studies in Philology* 45 (1948) 445–453.

As a matter of fact, many humanists travelled a lot, and they express this in their autobiographical writings. For example, Petrarch's (*Epistola posteritati*) and Wigle van Aytta's autobiographies look like catalogues of moves from one place to another,²⁸ and the same goes for Giovanni Conversino's curious *Rationarium vitae*.²⁹ On the one hand, many autobiographies contain travel accounts, and on the other hand, travel accounts as such developed as an important category of autobiographical writings.³⁰ In the second half of the 16th century, the humanists invented a special category of writings, the so-called *Artes apodemicae* or manuals for travelling,³¹ and they offer precepts for the traveller on how to conceal his identity, opinions, convictions, and religion. The exemplary hero of these writings is Ulysses, the 'outis' or 'nemo', the non-descript nobody who manages to escape the dangers of life.³²

28 *Vita Viglii ab Aytta Zuichemi, ab ipso Viglio scripta*, in Hoyneck van Papendrecht C.P. (ed.), *Analecta Belgica*, I, 1 (The Hague: 1743) 1–54.

29 *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 146–188.

30 Cf., *inter alia*, Maćzak A. – Teuteberg H.J. (eds.), *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte: Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten der historischen Reiseforschung* (Wolfenbüttel: 1982); Voigt K., *Italienische Berichte aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland. Von Francesco Petrarca zu Andrea de' Francescini (1333–1492)* (Stuttgart: 1973); Enenkel K.A.E., "Autobiografie en etnografie: humanistische reisberichten in de Renaissance", in idem – Heck P. van – Westerweel B. (eds.), *Reizen en reizigers in de Renaissance* (Amsterdam: 1998) 19–56; Harbsmeier M., "Sixteenth Century German Travel Accounts", in Céard J. – Margolin J.-C. (eds.), *Voyager à la Renaissance. Actes du Colloque de Tours* (Paris: 1987) 337–355; Lindeman R. – Scherf Y. – Dekker R.M. (eds.), *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw. Een chronologische lijst* (Rotterdam: 1994).

31 Stagl J., *Apodemiken. Eine räsionierte Bibliographie der reisetheoretischen Literatur des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Paderborn: 1983); Monga L., "A Taxonomy of Renaissance Hodoeporics: A Bibliography of Theoretical Texts on *Methodus Apodemica* (1500–1700)", *Annali d'italianistica* 14 (1996) 645–662; Stagl J., *Eine Geschichte der Neugier: die Kunst des Reisens 1550–1800* (Vienna: 2002); recently, we made a new attempt to understand this type of writing: Enenkel K.A.E. – Jong J. de (eds.), *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550–1700* (Leiden – Boston: 2019); at the moment, in a common project of the universities of Göttingen and Münster, two monographs on the early modern *Artes apodemicae* are under preparation.

32 This starts with Lipsius's Letter to Philippe de Lannoy, in which he advertises to the traveller the 'Ulyssaea prudentia' (*Iusti Lipsi Epistolae*, vol. 1 [Brussels: 1978] 78 04 03), and continues well into the 18th century, cf. e.g. Von Birken Sigismund, *HochFürstlicher Brandenburgischer Ulysses* (Bayreuth: 1668); Timmius Johannes, *Ulysses Germanus* (Bremen: 1734), and Tobias Schulz's praise of Ulysses: *Ulysses seu parva Odyssea: peregrinationis adeoque totius vitae humanae speculum [...]* (Strasbourg, Antonius Bertramus: 1695).

2 New, Artificial Constructions and Performances of Identity

We must conclude that humanist autobiographers do not give the impression that their personalities are based on stable identities, and that they tend to dismiss common, “normal”, or “natural” identities. Rather, in their self-presentations they created new, peculiar identities and affiliations. Speaking about humanist intellectuals, I think it would be more appropriate to use the terms *identification*, *identity formation*, *construction*, and *performance of identity*, instead of just “identity”, in order to express the processual, active, and artificial character of what was going on, and to emphasize that humanist identity is not just about something that was naturally there. Importantly, humanist autobiographical writings are hardly ever simple expressions of their authors’ personal identity. Mostly the texts have persuasive goals and a strong rhetorical orientation. In this framework, the humanists’ presentations of their identity take shape: what we have here are actually *performances* of identity, directed to certain goals and always related to certain contexts. Because of this it is not always a given fact that the autobiographical performances of identity concern stable identities. Since the contexts and rhetorical goals may vary, the identities may vary too. One construction of identity may be replaced by another, if required. It is noteworthy that these constructions of identity have an artificial and complex character. Common and “normal” affiliations, such as those with a person’s family, social class, education, native language, profession, and religion, are largely replaced by other categories. I give here a tentative, short list:

1. Identification with certain *classical authors* or *historical examples* from antiquity, accompanied by the reintroduction of antiquity’s ideas on authorship, *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, *poetica*, and intellectual virtue.³³
2. Performance of identity through *relations and affiliations with colleague humanists*, based on antique ideas of ideal friendship and intellectual exchange. In humanist autobiographical writings, the performance of friendship is of pivotal importance. This starts with Petrarch and proceeds until the beginning of the 18th century. For example, in their autobiographies Wigle van Aytta and Gerolamo Cardano include long lists of friends.³⁴ This kind of identity construction is relevant for all sorts of humanist autobiographical writings, but even more so for types that are especially dedicated to social performance, such as collections of letters

33 For such identifications in humanist autobiographies, cf. my comments below.

34 *De propria vita* (Amsterdam, Johannes Ravenstein: 1654) 49–53 (ch. xv). For Cardano’s autobiography cf. my *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 641–669; *Vita Viglii, passim*.



FIGURE 2.3A Florentine humanists in dialogue with each other: Marsilio Ficino, Cristoforo Landino, Angelo Poliziano, and Demetrios Chalkondylas. Ghirlandaio, detail of “Zachariah in the Temple”, fresco in the Cappella Tornabuoni, Florence, S. Maria Novella

and epigrams. The humanists presented letters as another form of *viva voce* conversation with their colleagues; and all three genres – letter writing, epigrammatic poetry, and dialogue – were regarded as paradigms of a humanist lifestyle. Humanists loved to shape their identity through the performance of assiduous dialogue with their fellows [Fig. 2.3A]. This is one of the reasons why Latin (private) correspondence is one of the most prolific genres of Neo-Latin literature.

For self-representations in the Republic of Letters it was especially effective if one could demonstrate a friendship with one or more of the leading humanists, such as Petrarch, Bruni, Ficino, Erasmus, Lipsius etc.; in their autobiographies, humanists position themselves in the intellectual networks and circles which came into being around the

“big players”,³⁵ and through the performance of affiliation they create authority and credibility for themselves and their works.³⁶ For example, in his autobiography Wigle van Aytta draws attention to his friendship with Erasmus: he visited him in 1531, and he was invited by him to stay with him in Freiburg i.Br. in 1534, when Erasmus made him the honourable offer of appointing him as his heir.³⁷ The Paduan humanist Lombardo della Seta addresses his treatise *De dispositione vite sue* (1369) to his friend and leader of the circle of Paduan humanists, Petrarch, and he starts his work with the assertion that he bears Petrarch’s ‘portrait sculpted in his heart’ (‘Ibique cerno tui effigiem meo pectori sculptam’): through piously contemplating it (‘te cum pia mentis parte contemplor’) he starts an inner dialogue with his spiritual master.³⁸ From the 15th century on, identification through affiliation also was expressed by the habit of wearing portrait medals of leading humanists on necklaces, e.g. of Vittorino da Feltre or Erasmus [Figs. 2.3B and C].

In humanist correspondence and collections of epigrams intellectual networks come to the fore; for them, the discourse modes of praise and blame, veneration and aversion, panegyric and invective are of paramount importance. The humanists even developed a new genre for identity formation through dissociation: the *invectiva*.³⁹ Many *invectivae* have a highly autobiographical character and are dedicated to self-definition;

35 For the historical and social phenomenon cf. Treml Ch., *Humanistische Gemeinschaftsbildung. Sozio-kulturelle Untersuchung zur Entstehung eines neuen Gelehrtenstandes in der frühen Neuzeit* (Hildesheim: 1989).

36 On these aspects, cf. my *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft*, especially ch. III.1, “Einschreibungsstrategien in intellektuelle autorisierende Figurationen: Humanistische Freundschaften, Galionsfiguren, Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnisse, Dichter und Gelehrtenbünde”, 347–370.

37 *Vita Viglii*, ch. 19ff.

38 The Latin text is edited (not in a trustworthy way) by G. Ferrante, “Lombardo della Seta Umanista Padovano [?-1390]”, *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 93.2 (1933–1934) (445–487) 475. For this work cf. my “Lucilius redivivus. Zur Seneca-Rezeption des Frühhumanismus: Lombardo della Setas Briefdialog *De dispositione vite sue* (1369)”, in Leonardi C. (ed.), *Gli umanesimi medievali. Atti del II Congresso dell’Internationales Mittelateinerkomitee, Firenze, Certosa del Galluzzo 11–15 settembre 1993*. Millenio medievale 4 (Tavarnuzze – Impruneta – Florence: 1998) 111–120.

39 For this genre, cf., *inter alia*, Helmraht J., “Die ‘Invektive’ bei den italienischen Humanisten”, in Laureys M. – Simons R. (eds.), *Die Kunst des Streitens. Inszenierung, Formen und Funktionen öffentlichen Streits in historischer Perspektive* (Bonn: 2010) 259–294; Laureys M., “Per una storia dell’invettiva umanistica”, *Studi umanistici piceni* 23 (2003) 9–30.



FIGURE 2.3B
Antonio Pisanello,
portrait medal of
Vittorino da Feltre,
ca. 1446; the aspect of
veneration becomes
evident through
the inscription
“SUMMUS
VICTORINUS
FELTENSIS” –
“THE GREATEST
VITTORINO DA
FELTRE”



FIGURE 2.3C
Quentin Metsys,
portrait medal of
Erasmus, 1519, from
gold, commissioned
by Erasmus himself

this starts with Petrarch's *Invective contra medicum*⁴⁰ and continues until the end of the 17th century. A couple of humanists (such as Giovanni Conversino, Joseph Scaliger, and Gerolamo Cardano) deliberately include their intellectual enemies in their autobiographies.⁴¹ In many passages Scaliger's autobiography reads like an invective: he showers his enemies with words of abuse.⁴² Petrarch states in his *Epistola posteritati* that a hot temper (inclination to 'ira') was one of his character traits. Erasmus created for himself a special identity marker, a device in which he presents himself as one of the bravest gladiators of the Republic of Letters: 'Concedo nulli' ('I yield to no one'). Among other things, he commissioned a personal medal with this device made by Quentin Metsys [Fig. 2.3D]⁴³ and a design by Hans Holbein for a stained glass window [Fig. 2.3E].

A special category of identity construction is poems of mourning (*epitaphia*, *tumuli*, etc.). When a leading humanist passed, threnodial poetry may have taken the shape of an impressive performance of humanist identity, as in the case of Erasmus's death.⁴⁴ After Erasmus's death three substantial collections of *epitaphia* appeared, in Basel and in Leuven,⁴⁵ and they contained many poems that were dedicated to the defence of humanist values against critics and intellectual enemies, such as scholastics, theologians, and cultural 'barbarians'.⁴⁶

3. Identification with ancient Roman cultural concepts of intellectual and contemplative life, especially the so-called *otium* at country estates. In

40 Cf. Enenkel K.A.E., "Ein erster Ansatz zur Konstituierung einer humanistischen Streitkultur: Petrarca's *Invective contra medicum*", in Laureys – Simons (eds.), *Die Kunst des Streitens* 109–126.

41 For Conversino's and Scaliger's autobiographies cf. Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 146–188 and 728–755.

42 For example, *tenebriones*, *furiosi*, *indocti*, *scioli*, *aretalogi*, *sophistae*, *agyrtae*, *delatores*, *Marrucini*, *generis humani retrimenta* etc.; cf. ch. XXIV.2, "Verunsicherungen: Selbstlob, Scheltrede, Hassrede und andere Inversionen des autobiographischen Diskurses", in Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 732–735.

43 Cf. Scher S.K. (ed.), *The Currency of Fame – Portrait Medals of the Renaissance* (New York: 1994) 348–350; 361.

44 Cf. my "The Self-definition of the *Republic of Letters* and the Epitaphs of Erasmus", *Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook* 21 (2001) 14–29.

45 *Epitaphiorum ac tumulorum libellus, quibus Erasmi mors defletur [...]* (Basel, Froben: 1537); *Epitaphia Erasmi per clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta* (Leuven, Rutger Rescius: 1536); *Catalogi duo operum Desiderii Erasmi [...]* *Epitaphiorum libellus* (Leuven, widow De Keyser: 1537).

46 Enenkel, "The Self-definition of the *Republic of Letters*".



FIGURE 2.3D
 Quentin Metsys, Portrait medal of Erasmus, commissioned by Erasmus himself, with his personal device 'Concedo nulli', 1519. Basel, Historisches Museum



FIGURE 2.3E
 Hans Holbein, Erasmus's device. Design for a stained glass window, commissioned by Erasmus himself, 1525. Basel, Kunstmuseum

their autobiographical writings, the humanists apply these concepts to their own life, even if they do not possess a villa; in such cases, a modest garden (as in the case of Florens Schoonhovius)⁴⁷ may do. However, a number of lucky humanists were the proud owners of villas or country houses, such as Petrarch (in Vacluse and Arqua), Lombardo della Seta,⁴⁸ Giovanni Pontano, Jacopo Sannazaro (in Mergellina) [Fig. 2.3F], Pietro Bembo, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Paolo Giovio [Fig. 2.3G], or Jean Salmon Macrin. Variouslly, they refer to the ancient Roman *otium*, the early modern *villegiatura*,⁴⁹ including a new type of scholar's room (*studiolo*),⁵⁰ early modern 'musea', such as in Giovio's case [Fig. 2.3G],⁵¹ and Neo-Stoic or Christian ascesis (such as Petrarch in his *De vita solitaria*⁵² or Lombardo della Seta in his *De dispositione vite sue*).⁵³ Among other things, humanist autobiographies display a peculiar hermeneutics of space and place, such as rural and/or bucolic landscapes, poet's places,

47 For Schoonhovius, see below.

48 The rich merchant Lombardo della Seta owned, among other properties, a villa in Sarameola; cf. Sabbadini V., *Giovanni da Ravenna* (Como: 1924) 56 and 189. His dialogue *De dispositione vite sue* probably reflects a stay in this country house, albeit in a peculiar way; cf. Enenkel, "Lucilius redivivus" *passim* and esp. 113.

49 Cf. J.S. Ackerman, *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country houses* (New York – Princeton: 1993); Ehrlich T., *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome* (Cambridge: 2002); Agache S., "La villa comme image de soi", in Galand-Hallyn P. – Lévy C. (eds.), *La villa et l'univers familial dans l'antiquité et à la Renaissance* (Paris: 2008) 15–44; Ribouillault D., "Hermeneutics and the Early Modern Garden: Ingenuity, Sociability, Education", in Enenkel–Melion (eds.), *Landscape and the Visual Hermeneutics of Place* 291–325.

50 Liebenwein W., *Studiolo: Die Entdeckung eines Raumtyps und seine Entstehung bis um 1600* (Berlin: 1977); Thornton D., *The Scholar in his Study: Ownership and Experience in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, Conn. – London: 1997); Campbell S., *The Cabinet of Eros: Renaissance Mythological Painting and the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este* (New Haven, Conn.: 2006); Hessler Ch.J., "Dead Men Talking: The Studiolo of Urbino. A Duke Mourning and the Petrarchan Tradition", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Göttler Ch. (eds.), *Solitudo. Spaces, Places, and Times for Solitude in Late Medieval and Early Modern Cultures* (Leiden – Boston: 2018) 367–404.

51 Giovio himself gave a description of his 'Musaeum' in his *Elogia viris clarorum virorum imaginibus apposita, quae in Musaeo Ioviano Comi spectantur* (Venice, Michele Tramezin: 1546), fols. A I v – A IV v; cf. Rave P.O., "Das Museo Giovio zu Como", *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae* (Munich: 1961) 275–284.

52 Enenkel, *Francesco Petrarca, De vita solitaria, Buch 1*. (Leiden et al.: 1990).

53 Cf. above.



FIGURE 2.3F Jacopo Sannazaro's villa with Santa Maria del Parto at Mergellina. Detail of "La fedelissima Città di Napoli", etching by Alessandro Baratta and Nicolas Perrey (Naples: 1680). Naples, National Library. Public domain

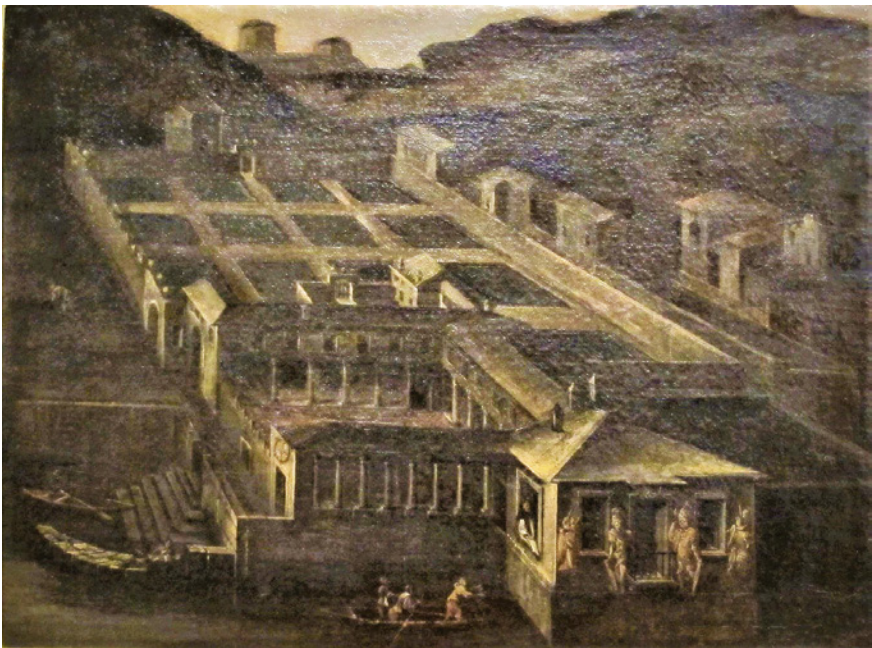


FIGURE 2.3G Villa of Paolo Giovio, at Lake Como. Veduta in the same villa, 17th century

remote and solitary landscapes (*locus asper/ amoenus*),⁵⁴ gardens,⁵⁵ sometimes in combination with the performative exposure of artificial elements, such as fountains, wells, grottoes, and bowers (as a sanctuary of the Muses, an anachoretic place of spiritual devotion, or a study), archaeological remains, or fake antiquities.

4. Identification with the supra-national *Latin language*, especially in its new humanistic shape with its re-introduction of classical grammar⁵⁶ and rhetoric, and its emphasis on idiomatic expressions, proverbs, and other types of authentic language. It is noteworthy that an important part of this identity formation was actually provided by early modern stylistic manuals, such as Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae* and Nicolò Perotti's *Cornucopiae sive Latinae linguae commentarii*, and collections of proverbs, such as Erasmus's *Adagia*. It is because of his mastery of Latin that Valla feels truly a 'Romanus'. The strong assertion of this identification is a peculiar feature because naturally no humanist was ever a Latin native speaker. Autobiographers who were not of Italian origin put even more emphasis on their identification with the Latin language: for example, the humanist Eobanus Hessus maintains that in contemporary Germany (i.e. around 1500–1515) there was such an excellent mastery of Latin that Germany has become almost 'more Latin than Latium itself'.⁵⁷
5. Identity formation through classical Latin literature and its "sacred" literary genres and discourses, including metres, poetic vocabulary, themes,

54 Cf. Enekel – Götter (eds.), *Solitudo*, esp. my "Petrarch's Constructions of the Sacred Solitary Place in *De vita solitaria* and Other Writings" (31–80); for Sannazaro, my chapter "Autobiographie in die Allegorie oder die Verlandschaftung des Ichs", in Enekel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 513–545; Enekel – Melion (eds.), *Landscape and the Visual Hermeneutics of Place*, part 2, "Constructions of Identity: Landscapes and the Description of Reality", therein my "Landscape Description and the Hermeneutics of Neo-Latin Autobiography" (89–123).

55 Cf. Coffin D. (ed.), *The Italian Garden* (Washington, D.C.: 1972); idem, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton: 1990); M. Treib (ed.), *Meaning in Landscape Architecture and Gardens* (London – New York: 2011).

56 Cf. e.g. Pade M., "Humanist Latin and Italian Identity: 'Sum vero Italus natione et Romanus civis esse glorior'", in Coroleu A – Laird A. (eds.), *The Role of Latin in the Early Modern World. Latin, Linguistic Identity and Nationalism, 1350–1800*, *Renaissanceforum* 8 (2012) 1–21; Bernstein E., "Group Identity in the German Renaissance Humanists: The Function of Latin", in Kessler E. – Kuhn H.C. (eds.), *Germania Latina/ Latinitas teutonica. Politik, Wissenschaft, humanistische Kultur vom späten Mittelalter bis in unsere Zeit* (Tübingen: 2002) 375–386; Moss A., *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: 2003); Jensen K., "The Humanist Reform of Latin and Latin Teaching", in Krayer J. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Humanism* (Cambridge: 1995) 63–81.

57 "Eobanus Posteritati", ll. 85–86: 'Nunc vero [sc. Germania nostra] Ausonias ita se convertit ad artes, / Ut Latio fuerit paene Latina magis'.

topics, and patterns of argument, and directed by the underlying concepts of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. With respect to humanist autobiographical writing, this kind of identity formation turned out to be of the highest importance. As I have shown in *Die Erfindung des Menschen*, the person described in humanist autobiographies depends very much on the chosen genre and discourse formation. In a sense it can be stated that the specific genre and its inherent discourse constitute the autobiographical “I”.

6. Identification with and appropriation of moral values expressed in Roman historical writings and philosophy, sometimes in combination with, sometimes in opposition to contemporary Christian values. This aspect was very much stressed by Hans Baron in his concept of ‘civic humanism’ with its supposed revival of Roman ‘republican’ values;⁵⁸ however, ‘civic humanism’ is neither as coherent and persistent, nor as ubiquitous and important as Baron thought; actually, the appropriation of antique Roman values is a much broader phenomenon, relevant also for humanists active at princely courts, and it is certainly not limited to *republican* values. On the other hand, Roman republican values were not only (and not even predominantly) appropriated by Italian humanists that worked in city states with a republican constitution. For example, the German baron Freiherr Johann von Schwarzenberg and Hohenlandsberg transformed Cicero’s republican moral manifesto, *De officiis*, into an emblematic mirror for Christian princes, and he presented the work as a manifestation of his personality; it is a telling detail that he equipped it with his portrait as author’s portrait on the verso of the title page [Fig. 2.4A], although the real author is Cicero.⁵⁹ Johann von Schwarzenberg identified himself with Cicero’s conception of political virtues, and he imagined Cicero’s virtuous politician as a medieval Christian knight who climbed on a stairway to heaven to meet there Jesus Christ, Mary, and St. Peter [Fig. 2.4B].⁶⁰
7. The identification with towns, places, regions, and people/“nations” of Roman antiquity; this is relevant for the identity constitutions of Italian

58 Baron H., *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance. Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton: 1966); idem, *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism. Essays on the Transition from Medieval to Modern Thought*, 2 vols. (Princeton: 1988).

59 Cf. my “A printed Emblem Book before Alciato: Johann von Schwarzenberg’s Emblematization of Cicero’s *De officiis* as a Mirror of Political Virtue”, in Enenkel K.A.E., *The Invention of the Emblem Book and the Transmission of Knowledge, ca. 1510–1610*, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 295 (Leiden – Boston: 2019) 179–230.

60 Ibidem 191–193.



FIGURE 2.4A
 Albrecht Dürer, portrait of Johann Freiherr von Schwarzenberg. From: Von Schwarzenberg's translation of *De officiis, Von den tugentsamen ämptern* [...] (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), verso of the title page



FIGURE 2.4B
 The virtuous man on his way to heaven. From: Von Schwarzenberg's translation of *De officiis, Von den tugentsamen ämptern* [...], (Augsburg, Heinrich Steiner: 1531), fol. XLVIII v (detail). Digi- munich

and non-Italian humanists as well. Even if late medieval towns and communities had no Roman origin, the humanists did their best to invent this type of identity. In doing so, they made use of Latin and Greek geographical works, such as the relevant books in Pliny's *Natural History*, Pomponius Mela's *De chorographia*, Solinus, and Strabo, and of Latin historiography. For example, Giannantonio de Teolis called himself Joannes Antonius Campanus after the antique region of Campania, Eobanus Koch adopted the name Eobanus Hessus because he construed for himself a regional identity based on the ancient Germanic tribe of the 'Chatti' or 'Hessi', and the Hollander Erasmus presented himself in the autobiographical *Adage* 3535 – "Auris Batava" ("The Batavian Ear"),⁶¹ a kind of sphragis to the first edition of the *Adagia* (1508) – as a 'Batavus'. He claimed to have been born in the homeland of the ancient Batavi ('insula Batavorum'), which was mentioned in Pliny's *Natural history* and Tacitus's *Historiae*. Erasmus's identification with ancient Batavia was meant as an antidote against the monopoly-like claim of the Italian humanists as the only legitimate heirs of Roman antiquity. Erasmus was not the only humanist from Holland who identified himself with ancient Batavia;⁶² it is but a curious detail that the ancient Batavians never lived in Holland.

8. Furthermore, in their self-presentations the humanists displayed a kind of group identity consisting of specific values that functioned as identity markers of the new Republic of Letters, such as continuous hard intellectual labour; the emphasis on personal intellectual virtue;⁶³ and the cult of vigilance viz. night work (*vigiliae*) – a sententious manifesto of Pliny the Elder (referring to his studious way of life) obtained an emblematic status among humanists, 'Vita vigilia est' ('life is wakefulness').⁶⁴ This starts with Petrarch, who was proud of interrupting his sleep every night in order to study,⁶⁵ and continues until the 17th century. Humanists such as Wigle van Aytta derived their personal device [Fig. 2.4C and D] from this sentence.⁶⁶ The Hungarian nobleman Sambucus interpreted his coat of arms (with two cranes holding a stone) as an emblematic symbol of

61 Cf. *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi* (ASD) II, 8, ed. A. Wesseling (Amsterdam: 1997) 36–44; Enenkel K.A.E. – Ottenheim K.A., *Ambitious Antiquities, Famous Forbears. Constructions of a Glorious Past in the Early Modern Netherlands and in Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2019) 152–153.

62 Ibidem 151–183.

63 Cf. above; esp. Garber, "De vera nobilitate" 444–503.

64 Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, Preface, § 18.

65 Cf. my *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft* 541 and commentary on Petrarch's *De vita solitaria* 227–228.

66 Cf. Enenkel, *The Invention of the Emblem Book* 295–305.



FIGURE 2.4C-D Personal representation medal of Viglius ab Ayta (1556) with his portrait and, on the reverse, his device viz. *impresa*. Original cast by J. Jonghelinck. Silver, gilt, 5.4 cm, 38.16 g. On the reverse Viglius's device VITA MORTALIUM VIGILIA; the image shows a table, and on it an hourglass, a burning candle, and a book which bears the words DE<VS//OP<TIMUS>/MA<XIMVS>; below, cartouche with the date 1556.

vigilance which enabled him to study assiduously and become famous:⁶⁷ ‘The gentry gave Sambucus this coat of arms, / So that he would gain with his studies eternal glory in the whole world.’⁶⁸ Wigle van Ayta (born 1507) used his device in various ways for his self-presentation: e.g. for his portrait medal (1556), his ex libris,⁶⁹ and his painted portraits. Hadrianus Iunius, who transformed it into an emblem (1565), remarked that many contemporaries were familiar with it.⁷⁰ Other elements of group identity were philological scrutiny and precision; an emphasis on the *labor limae*; and, importantly, the claim for eternal glory through literary and scholarly

67 Von Erffa H.M., “Grus vigilans. Bemerkungen zur Emblematik”, *Philobiblion* 1.4 (1957) 286–308; Henkel A. – Schöne A., *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart – Weimar: 1967/1996), cols. 819–823.

68 Sambucus Joannes, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1564) 200; cf. Enenkel K.A.E., “Emblematic Authorization – *Lusus Emblematum*: The Function of Junius’ Emblem Commentary and Early Commentaries on Alciato’s *Emblematum libellus*”, in Miert D. van (ed.), *The Kaleidoskopie Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575): Northern Humanism at the Dawn of the Dutch Golden Age* (Leiden – Boston: 2011) (260–289) 277–278.

69 Coppens Ch., “Vita mortalium vigilia: aantekeningen rond Viglius en het boek”, *De Gulden Passer* 68 (1990) 89–104.

70 Iunius Hadrianus, *Emblemata ad Arnoldum Cobelium* [...] (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin: 1565), emblem 5; Junius’s comment on p. 76: ‘Symbolum Viglii vulgatissimum [...]’.

production, viz. the *cult of posterity*.⁷¹ As Junius comments on Wigle van Aytta's device: 'Fame furthers those who are awake, and oblivion buries the lazy ones'.⁷²

9. Identity formation through new humanist institutions, such as academies and *sodalitates*, e.g. the Roman Academy of Pomponio Leto, the Academia Pontaniana (Academy of Pontano) in Naples, or the *sodalitas Danubiana* of Conrad Celtis.⁷³ In humanists' autobiographical writings, the affiliation and identification with, and the veneration of the heads the academies are important elements. For example, Pontano figures in Sannazaro's autobiography (*Elegy* III, 2, there indicated with his Academician's name 'Melisaeus')⁷⁴ as a shepherd whom Sannazaro admired so much that he decided to 'follow' him and partake in the 'shepherds' sacred rites', an allegorical way of saying that he became a member of Pontano's humanist academy. As a matter of fact, the meetings of the Academicians had a highly ritual character. The presidents of the academies celebrated them like priests of a religious cult or leaders of a religious sect. Membership indeed consisted of something like following the leader. A paradigm for this kind of identity formation is the fact that members owned portrait medals of the Academy's leader [Fig. 2.4E]; usually these medals have a little hole on top because they were meant to be worn on a necklace: thus, literally, the members had their symbol of identification at their hearts.
10. The *laureatio*, a special distinction of the humanist intellectual as poet laureate, bestowed especially by kings, the Roman emperors, and the

71 For these aspects, cf. ch. v.2, "Die Kompetenz des Autors. Nachweise literarischer, moralischer und sachlicher Befähigung", and v.4, "Schreiben für die Ewigkeit. Autorisierung durch den Anspruch des Fortlebens in der Nachwelt", in Enenkel, *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft* 521–537 and 579–589.

72 Junius, *Emblemata*, line 3 of his epigram (p. 11).

73 Cf., *inter alia*, Buck A., "Die humanistischen Akademien in Italien", in Hartmann F. – Vierhaus R. (eds.), *Der Akademiegedanke im 17. und 18. Jh.* (Bremen – Wolfenbüttel: 1977) 11–25; Chambers D.S., "The Earlier 'Academies' in Italy", in idem, *Individuals and Institutions in Renaissance Italy* (Aldershot: 1998) 1–14; Beer S. de, "The Roman 'Academy' of Pomponio Leto: from an Informal Humanist Network to the Institution of a Literary Society", in Dixhoorn A. van – Speakman Sutch S. (eds.), *The Reach of the Republic of Letters. Literary Societies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (Leiden – Boston: 2008), 1:181–218; Klaniczay T., "Celtis und die Sodalitas litteraria per Germaniam", in Buck A. – Bircher M. (eds.), *Respublica Guelpherbytana. Wolfenbüttler Beiträge zur Renaissance- und Barockforschung. Festschrift für Paul Raabe* (Amsterdam: 1987) 79–105; Matz M., *Konrad Celtis und die Rheinische Gelehrtenengesellschaft* (Ludwigshafen: 1903); Maylender M., *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia* (Bologna: 1926).

74 The name is coined after Virgil's shepherd called Meliboeus.



FIGURE 2.4E
Medal with portrait of Giovanni Pontano, president of the humanist Academy of Naples. Portrait medal by Adriano Fiorentino, bronze, 8.4 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection. Wikimedia commons

popes [cf. below Fig. 2.5B].⁷⁵ The *laureatio* is an important identity marker because the humanists were enormously proud of this award; they regarded it as an official approval of their kind of intellectual pursuit, as well as their personal achievement in the field of the *studia humanitatis*. From Petrarch on, many of them used the title of *poeta laureatus* as part of their author's name, e.g. on the title pages of their works and related paratexts.⁷⁶

11. The close association of the humanists with their patrons or the dedicatees of their works. Humanists frequently mention their patrons in their autobiographies. Gerolamo Cardano inserted in his autobiography *De propria vita* a whole chapter with a long list of his patrons' names (chapter xv). An important performance of this identification is the author's portrait, on which the author appears together with his patron as a kind of inseparable union: for example, Conrad Celtis had himself depicted in an author's portrait to his autobiographical collection of elegies, *Quattuor libri amorum*, together with the dedicatee, the Roman Emperor Maximilian I [Fig. 2.5B]. Celtis holds in his right hand the poet's laurels, which he had received from the emperor. An author's portrait of Cristoforo Landino together with the dedicatee Federico da Montefeltro

75 Flood J.L., *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire. A Bio-Bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols. (Berlin: 2006).

76 For this aspect, cf. my *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft*, ch. 11.2, "Autorisierung durch Ritual und Herrschaftszeremoniell: P.L. (*Poeta laureatus*) und P.C. (*Poeta Caesarus*) – Dichterkrönungen" 275–345.



FIGURE 2.5A
Cristoforo Landino with his dedicatee
Federico da Montefeltro, ca. 1474.
Illumination added to the dedication
copy of Landino's *Disputationes
Camaldulenses*, Biblioteca Apostolica
Vaticana, cod. Urb. Lat. 508



FIGURE 2.5B
Conrad Celtis with the dedicatee of
his *Quattuor libri amorum*, Emperor
Maximilian I. Author's portrait to the
Quattuor libri amorum (Nuremberg:
1502), fol. ai v

is in the dedication copy of the *Disputationes Camaldulenses* [Fig. 2.5A]; Jakob Locher appears in his seminal edition of Horace together with the dedicatee, margrave Karl of Baden [cf. below Fig. 2.6A]. And there are many more of humanist author's portraits that are designed as double portraits with their patrons.⁷⁷ In general, humanist authorship is indissolubly connected with the phenomenon of dedication, as I tried to demonstrate in my *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neulateinischen Literatur*.⁷⁸

Already this short list of identifications (it could be extended) gives us an idea of the complexity of the phenomenon and its artificial character. In the framework of this short contribution it is, of course, impossible to discuss them all in detail. Most of the above-mentioned *identifications* appear already in the 14th century (Petrarch and his European network of humanists), and they are still valid until the end of the 17th century, albeit in diverse forms, and enriched with more shades and tastes which were caused by, *inter alia*, political, religious, and scientific developments. I would like to give just a few examples of some striking autobiographical identity performances.

The processes of identification of humanists with classical writers goes much further than what modern psychologists would consider normal and healthy. In their life-writing, the humanists in a way crept under their skin, merged with their personalities, and attempted to *become* like them. Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Girolamo Vida became new Virgils, *Vergilii redivivi*; Jakob Locher, Conrad Celtis, Jean Salmon Macrin, Georg Fabricius, Paulus Melissus, Florens Schoonhoven, and Jakob Balde appeared as new Horaces;⁷⁹ Giannantonio Campano, Giovanni Pontano, Michael Marules, Eobanus Hessus,

77 For the appearance of the dedicatee or patron in literary works, cf. my *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft*, ch. 1.2, "Der gemeinsame Auftritt von Autor und Autorisierungsinstanz im Veröffentlichungsakt: Strategien der Darstellung des Widmungsempfängers in Titeleien und Widmungsadressen" 58–138.

78 Enenkel, *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft* 55–274.

79 For the reception, imitation, and emulation of Horace, cf., *inter alia*, Laureys M. – Dauvois N. – Coppini D. (eds.), *Die Horaz-Rezeption in der neulateinischen Literatur vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* [...], 2 vols., *Noctes Neolatinae* 35.1–2 (Hildesheim – Zurich – New York: 2020), esp. Laburthe S., "Limitation d'Horace chez Macrin", in *ibidem* 3:881–932; Robert J., "Nachahmung, Übersetzung, Akkulturation", in *ibidem* 2:957–976, and Laureys M., "Die Horaz-Paraphrasen des Jacobus Wallius", in *ibidem* 2:977–998; Schäfer E., *Deutscher Horaz. Conrad Celtis, Georg Fabricius, Paul Melissus, Jakob Balde. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands* (Wiesbaden: 1976); for Celtis cf. Auhagen U. – Lefèvre E. – Schäfer E. (eds.), *Horaz und Celtis* (Tübingen: 2000); for Horace cf. Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 52–66; for Schoonhoven, *idem*, "Ein holländischer Horaz: Florentius Schoonhovius' *Poemata*", in Porteman K. – Van Vaeck M. – Manning J. (eds.), *The Emblem Tradition in the Low Countries. Selected papers of the Leuven*

Johannes Fabricius, and many others described themselves as new Ovids; Marsilio Ficino presented himself as a new Plato; Petrarch, Poggio Bracciolini, and Paolo Cortesi as new *Cicerones*; Conrad Gesner and Ulisse Aldrovandi appeared as new Plinies; Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna and Franciscus Junius the Elder as new Augustins, and so on, and all this was far-reaching. In his commented edition of Horace's *Opera* (1498),⁸⁰ Jakob Locher performs a curious identification with Horace: somehow, the editor-commentator and the edited author become one: in eye-catching woodcut portraits spread over the whole volume they appear as one and the same person. Horace wears the same clothes as Locher does, namely a long 15th-century scholar's or university professor's gown with long sleeves, 15th-century shoes (either overshoes or crakowes/ *Schnabelschuhe*), and a laurel wreath on his long hair (which was en vogue in the 15th century). In this way Horace does already appear as an accompanying image to the first ode addressed to his patron Maecenas [Fig. 2.6B], in a double portrait with Maecenas, just as Locher appeared a few pages before with his patron Karl of Baden [Fig. 2.6A].⁸¹ The author and the commentator are depicted as the same person. Locher was a university professor, and a *poeta laureatus*; of course, this is not true for Horace. However, Locher presented a kind of document of Horace's coronation as poet laureate [Fig. 2.6C].⁸² All this leads to a curious ambiguity regarding the author's portrait on the title page [Fig. 2.6D]. At the top of the page the name of Horace appears; he wears the same clothes as in the other illustrations and has long hair and the laurel wreath, all of which is in perfect personal union with Jakob Locher [Fig. 2.6D]. On the title page the author is reading on a medieval university cathedra; however, this does not prove that the person depicted simply represents

International emblem conference, 18–23 August 1996, Imago figurata. Studies 1b (Turnhout: 1999) 197–225.

- 80 For Locher's edition of Horace cf. Pieper Ch., "Horaz als Schulbibel und als elitärer Gründungstext des deutschen Humanismus. Die illustrierte Horazausgabe des Jakob Locher (1498)", in Enenkel K.A.E., *Transformation of the Classics via Early Modern Commentaries*, Intersections 29 (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 61–90.
- 81 On the *Spruchband* (banderole) one can read the first words of Horace's dedicatory poem: 'Mecenas [sic], atavis edite regibus' (*Ode* 1, 1, 1).
- 82 Actually, this curious document is part of Locher's commentary to Horace's first Ode, ll. 29ff. where the poet says that he regards it as the greatest reward if he may be acknowledged by his patron Maecenas as a lyrical poet (ll. 35–36). For this reward, Horace uses the images of 'reaching the stars' ('sublimi feriam sidera vertice', l. 36), 'becoming one of the gods' ('me [...] dis miscent superis', ll. 29–30), and being bestowed with 'the wreath of ivy, the reward of learned men' ('me doctarum hederæ præmia frontium [...]', l. 29). In Horace's poem, the ivy wreath is a symbolic image; he does not say that he was actually coronated or that he will be coronated. Locher, however, translated it in terms of the ritual of the early modern *laureatio*.



FIGURE 2.6A Dedicatee Karl of Baden (left) and commentator Jakob Locher (right). Author's portrait (woodcut) in Locher's edition of Horace (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498) fol. <2>v



FIGURE 2.6B Horace and his dedicatee Maecenas. Woodcut illustration to Horace's first ode in Locher's edition of Horace (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498)



FIGURE 2.6C The coronation of Horace as poet laureate. Woodcut illustration to Locher's commentary on Horace (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498), fol. Iir

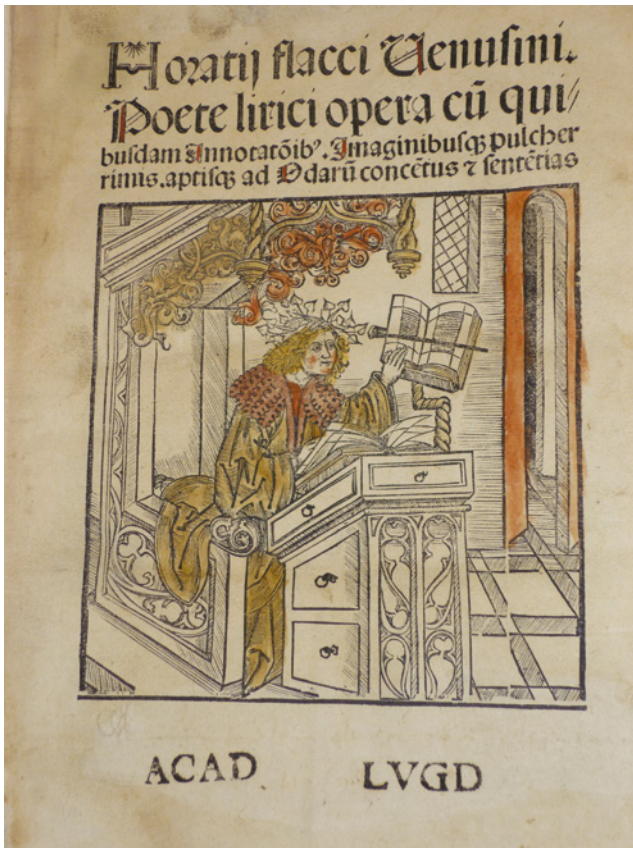


FIGURE 2.6D Title page of Locher's edition of Horace (Strasbourg, Johann Grüninger: 1498)

Locher: actually, it is meant in the first place as a portrait of the author Horace who is reciting his works to an imaginary audience of students.

The Leiden student Florens Schoonhovius of Gouda composed three books of *Odes/ Carmina*⁸³ (1613) comprising a number of autobiographical poems in which he identifies himself with Horace. As Horace did (I *Ode* 1, 1), Schoonhovius addresses his dedicatee with ‘decus meum’;⁸⁴ in the first ode after the dedication Schoonhovius describes his personality, and, curiously, he has the same features as Horace: he rejects wealth, luxury, political power, the *vita activa*, and living among the crowds. Therefore, he has withdrawn from the city, with its profane people (‘populus turba profanior’),⁸⁵ to the countryside, where he lives in leisure (*otium*); he devotes his life to poetry and the Muses, who have the power to revive a person ‘not only in the young but also in old age’ (‘quae recreent senem’):⁸⁶ the Muses unite him with the Gods (‘hae memet superis diis/ miscent’);⁸⁷ they ensure that he may live in ‘these remote valleys’ (‘per has vallibus abditus’)⁸⁸ and sing sweet songs to the *barbiton*;⁸⁹ they divide him from the crowds of people (‘me [...] populi coetibus eximunt’) and provide him with wisdom and self-knowledge.⁹⁰

Some details demonstrate how indissolubly Schoonhovius merged with Horace: for example, the remark that the Muses also re-create a person who is in old age suggests that the autobiographer is an old man who withdrew (maybe just because of his age) from the busy life of the city. This may have been true for Horace; Schoonhovius, however, did not withdraw from society and towns when he authored his poems: on the contrary, he was an eager student of law, lived in the city of Leiden, and was about to become a lawyer in his home town of Gouda. Of course, Schoonhovius did not live ‘in remote valleys’ – in Holland there are no valleys at all; it was Horace, who owned a villa in the Aniene valley in the Sabinan mountains (Licenza).⁹¹ Thus, in his autobiographical poems Schoonhovius locates himself in Horace’s landscape. Unfortunately, Schoonhovius’s family did not own a villa, but only a garden

83 *Carminum variorum libri III*, in Schoonhovius, *Poemata antehac non edita* (Leiden, Basson: 1613) 1–96 [recte 116].

84 In the last line of the letter of dedication.

85 Schoonhoven, *Carmina varia* 1, 2, 4 (p. 3).

86 Ibidem, line 14.

87 Ibidem, lines 15–16.

88 Ibidem, line 19.

89 Schoonhoven, *Carmina varia* 1, 2, 20 (p. 3).

90 Schoonhoven, *Carmina varia* 1, 2, 21–22 (p. 3): ‘Hae [sc. Musae] dant (quod sapientia est)/ Sortem nosse meam’.

91 Cf. Horace, *Carmina/ Odes* 1, 17, 17; *Epistles* 1, 16, 5–15.

by the Gouwe river;⁹² in many of Schoonhovius's odes, this garden replaces Horace's country estate. Furthermore, Schoonhovius did certainly not play the barbiton, a bass version of the antique cithara, but Horace mentions this instrument in his introductory ode;⁹³ Horace's claim for the 'Lesbian barbiton' does not mean that he actually played this instrument, but, symbolically, that he composed poems in the Sapphic metre. The way in which Schoonhovius puts it suggests that he imagined himself reciting poems while he accompanied himself on a lute or guitar. Also, Schoonhovius's association of wealth with the Arabs ('thesaurus Arabum', line 2) has little to do with authentic experience; he simply copies the ancient Roman association of oriental regions with wealth; he picked it up from Horace, *Odes* III, 24, 1–2 ('Intactis opulentior/ thesauris Arabum et divitiis Indiae [...]').

In his *Carmina varia*, Schoonhovius's identity formation after the example of Horace, despite its artificial character, is stable throughout all three books. There are quite a number of autobiographical poems which display the above-mentioned features. Time and again Schoonhovius characterizes his lifestyle as a withdrawal from the people and a devotion to *otium* and solitude. In the third book he dedicates a hymn to solitude, and he praises it as the proper habitat of the poet, as a prerequisite to compose 'a poem for eternity' ('Tuo poeta munere/ Perenne carmen concinit').⁹⁴ In *Carmen* I, 24, he gives another performance of Horatian identity in which he appropriates not only Horace's Sabinan woods and the sound of the Anio River but also the poet's wreath of ivy and claim to be acknowledged as a 'vates'. As Horace announced in his dedicatory poem, Schoonhovius presents his mindset in a Lesbian song, in the Sapphic metre:

*Quem semel Musae placidis ocellis
Viderint,*⁹⁵ *illum teneris ab annis
Magna delectant, populi profani*⁹⁶
Vilia sordent.

92 Cf. Enenkel, "Ein holländischer Horaz" 205.

93 Cf. Horace, *Carmina/Odes* I, 1, 34.

94 *Carmina varia* p. 103.

95 Cf. Horace, *Odes* IV, 3, 1–2: 'Quem tu, Melpomene, semel/ Nascentem placido lumine videris [...]'. The italics are mine and are intended to demonstrate the intertextuality with Horace's *Odes*.

96 *Ibidem* III, 1, 1.

Non lutum splendens cumulat nec ambit
*Sordidos plausus popularis aurae;*⁹⁷
 Ast ei rident *hederae, eruditae*
*Praemia frontis.*⁹⁸

Oppidi *fumos strepitusque* spermens⁹⁹
 Gaudet in solis recubare sylvis,
 Qua susurranti *trepidare rivo*
*Lympha laborat.*¹⁰⁰ [...]

Sive me *Musae placidusve* Apollo
*Viderit,*¹⁰¹ semper teneris ab annis
 Laurus arrisit *voluique vates*
*Inter haberi.*¹⁰²

At whomever the Muses looked propitiously/ he will be attracted by truly great things/ from early youth on and he will be displeased by unworthy values/ of the profane people.

He does not hoard gold, this glittering loam and he does not/ long for the contemptible applause of fickle people;/ but he is attracted by the ivy, the reward for the heads of learned men.

He has contempt for the fume and noise of towns,/ but loves to lay down in the loneliness of the woods,/ where the water is eager to ripple/ in the gurgling stream.

It does not matter whether the Muses or Apollo looked at me propitiously:/ in any case, from early childhood on I was attracted by the laurel,/ and longed for getting acknowledgement as a poet.

Petrarch already described himself in his autobiographical writings as a solitary poet living in the countryside. In doing so, he merged himself with Virgil. He had read in Suetonius's *Life of Virgil* that the Roman poet (although he owned a house in Rome) mostly stayed in the solitude of the countryside,

97 Ibidem III, 2, 17–21.

98 Ibidem I, 1, 29.

99 Ibidem III, 29, 11: 'Omitte mirari beatae/ Fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.'

100 Ibidem II, 3, 11–12.

101 Ibidem IV, 3, 1–2.

102 Ibidem I, 1, 35–36.

either in Campania or Sicily.¹⁰³ This information may contain a germ of historical truth, but it is probably due to an early autobiographical reading of Virgil's eclogues (the landscapes are designed after the ones of Sicily). Petrarch, however, certainly interpreted Virgil's poems in this sense, and he applied this reading to his own autobiography: actually, in his first *Bucolicum carmen*¹⁰⁴ Petrarch depicted himself as a Virgilian shepherd-poet in the Sicilian-Arcadian landscape of Virgil's *Eclogues*.¹⁰⁵ Petrarch's Arcadia (or Sicily) was the valley of Vaucluse in southern France, where he owned a country house close to the Fontaine de Vaucluse. Petrarch very much identified himself with this spot; he described the landscape of Vaucluse many times in the same way Virgil depicted the bucolic landscape in his *Eclogues*, characterized by woods, rocks, groves, grottoes, and shadowy trees. As one of Virgil's shepherds sings: 'nobis placeant ante omnia silvae' ('above all we love the woods').¹⁰⁶

Petrarch was identifying totally with these wood-loving shepherd-poets. In the majority of his autobiographical works he depicted himself as a *lonely dweller in the woods*. In order to emphasize this identification, Petrarch even adopted new names: he called himself *Silvanus* and *Silvius*, 'The Dweller in the woods'. On the one hand, all of this was clearly a performance of identity. On the other hand, Petrarch internalized it very much: maybe surprisingly, he used the name *Silvanus* even in private manuscript annotations. For example, in the margin of his copy of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* he writes: 'this is an argument against you, *Silvanus* [i.e. Petrarch himself], – Respond in *De vita solitaria*' [i.e. one of Petrarch's major works].¹⁰⁷ It is a consequence of this identification that Petrarch – in the persona of *Silvius/Silvanus*, dwelling in the valley of Vaucluse – took the next step in the process of merging with Virgil: as Virgil did, he took on the task of composing a Roman national epos. As Virgil authored the *Aeneid*, so did Petrarch write the *Africa*. And he claimed that he

103 Sueton, *Vita Vergilii* 13: 'habuitque domum Romae [...], quamquam secessu Campaniae Siciliaeque plurimum uteretur'.

104 On Petrarch's reception of Virgil's *Eclogues* in the *Bucolicum carmen*, see Berghoff-Bührer M., *Das Bucolicum carmen des Petrarca: Ein Beitrag zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Vergils Eclogen* (Bern: 1991); cf. also the commented Latin edition with English translation: Bergin Th.G., *Petrarch's Bucolicum carmen* (New Haven, Conn.: 1974); and Petrarch, *Bucolicum carmen*, Lat. text and French trans. M. François and P. Bachmann with F. Roudaut (Paris: 2001).

105 Cf. my "Petrarch's constructions of the Sacred Solitary Place" 61–69; for Virgil's Arcadia cf., *inter alia*, Jenkyns R., "Virgil and Arcadia", *Journal of Roman Studies* 79 (1989) 26–39.

106 Virgil, *Eclogues* 2, 62.

107 Cf. Enenkel, *Petrarca, De vita solitaria* 540–543.

received the inspiration to do so when he was dwelling in Vaucuse, on Good Friday of 1338.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, Jacopo Sannazaro presented himself in his autobiography (*Elegy* III, 2) as a dweller in the woods: he describes himself as a shepherd wandering around in a Virgilian bucolic landscape with dense, shady woods, mountains, and fountains, although he actually lived in urban Naples.¹⁰⁹ But he identified himself so completely with this landscape that he even gave himself a new rustic name: Ergastes, i.e. ‘The Husbandman’;¹¹⁰ located in this landscape, ‘The Husbandman’ first composed, just as Virgil did, bucolic poetry and later an epos (*De partu Virginis*). In several of his autobiographic elegies he states that staying in the woods is his *proper lifestyle*, and it is part of his close identification with Virgil and his shepherds that he also wanted to be buried in this Virgilian, bucolic landscape:

At mihi paganae dictant silvestria Musae
 10 Carmina, quae tenui gutture cantat amor.
 Fidaque secretis respondet silva querelis,
 Et percussa meis vocibus antra sonant. [...]
 15 Hoc vitae genus, hoc studium mihi fata ministrant;
 Hinc opto cineres nomen habere meos.¹¹¹

My pagan Muses dictate songs of the woods which love sings with slender throat. The trusty woods answer my covert laments of love, and the grottoes re-echo, struck by my words. [...]. The fates furnish me with this way of life, with this endeavour of mine. I wish that my ashes will have renown from this lifestyle.

In the same elegy Sannazaro imagines that his grave monument will be situated in the known landscape, and he composes his grave inscription: ‘here in the woods lies [...]’. This is again a literal quote from Virgil, who rendered shepherd Daphnis’s grave inscription – Sannazaro copied it and applied it to himself [‘Daphnis ego in sylvis’ Fig. 2.7A]. As Sannazaro could read in Suetonius’s *Life of Virgil*, Daphnis was the poet’s name of Virgil’s brother, who in real life

108 *Letter to Posterity* 21, ed. Enenkel, in idem – De Jong-Crane – Liebrechts (eds.), *Modelling the Individual* 270–271; Enenkel, *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft* 448–449.

109 Cf. Enenkel, ‘Landscape Description and the Hermeneutics of Neo-Latin Autobiography’.

110 Ibidem; Mancini C., ‘I Nomi Accademici di Jacopo Sannazaro’, *Atti dell’Accademia Pontiana* 24 (1894).

111 Sannazaro, *Elegy* I, 1, 9–16 (translation by Putnam, with alterations).



FIGURE 2.7A The Virgilian shepherds venerating Daphnis at his grave in an Arcadian landscape. Grave inscription: “Daphnis ego in sylvis” (“I am Daphnis [dweller] in the woods”, Virgil, *Eclogue* 5, 43). Woodcut illustration to Virgil’s 5th *Eclogue*, in idem, *Opera* (Strasbourg, Johann Gröninger: 1502)

was called Flaccus.¹¹² Finally Sannazaro imagines Virgil’s colleague shepherds venerating his, Sannazaro’s, grave:

- 17 Me probet umbrosis pastorum turba sub antris [...]
 21 Inde super tumulumque meum, Manesque sepultos
 Tityrus ex hedera sarta virente ferat.
 Hic mihi saltabit Corydon, et pulcher Alexis,
 Damoetas flores sparget utraque manu.¹¹³

May the troop of shepherds within their shady grottoes grant me approval [...]. Then over the grave that buries my remains may Tityrus spread

¹¹² Suetonius, *Vita Vergilii* 14.

¹¹³ *Ibidem* I, 1, 17–24.

garlands of fresh ivy. Here Corydon and beautiful Alexis will dance for me, with each hand Damoetas will scatter flowers.¹¹⁴

One's grave is, of course, a very powerful place in terms of identity performance. And in this respect Sannazaro longed to be as close as possible to his Virgil. When he became forty-two years old, Sannazaro managed to come even closer to Virgil. From his patron he received the precious present of a villa at Mergellina, just a bit north of the city of Naples. The most precious part was that on the parcel of the villa stood the *tomb of Virgil* (at least, in those days it was generally acknowledged as the poet's tomb) [Figs. 2.7B and C].¹¹⁵ The approximate location of Virgil's tomb was indicated by Suetonius in his *Life of Virgil*: 'His bones were transferred to Naples and buried in a tomb (tumulus) which is situated at the Via Puteolana, before the second milestone'.¹¹⁶ Suetonius also transmitted the grave inscription supposedly composed by the Roman poet himself.¹¹⁷

Sannazaro further organized his life in identification with Virgil. Not only had he moved physically to Virgil's tomb, but he also moved now, just as Virgil did, from bucolic poetry to the genre of the epos, and he composed one on the life of Jesus Christ, called *De partu Virginis*. And it was his wish to be buried as closely as possible to Virgil. Therefore, he had his grave chapel built at this spot, and he baptized it after his Virgilian epos, *Santa Maria del Parto*.¹¹⁸ Also, he wished his grave inscription to bear his Virgilian name: 'Sincerus' – 'The pure one', in imitation of Virgil's supposed moral integrity – 'therefore (Suetonius says) the people in Naples called him commonly "Parthenias" ("The virginial one")'.¹¹⁹ Sannazaro's grave epigram, composed by his fellow humanist

114 Translation by Putnam, with alterations.

115 Trapp J.B., "The Grave of Vergil", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984) 1–31.

116 *Vita Vergilii* 36: 'Ossa eius Neapolim translata sunt tumuloque condita, qui est via Puteolana intra lapidem secundum [...]'.
 117 Ibidem: 'Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuere, tenet nunc/ Parthenope; cecini pascua, rura, duces'.

118 Carrella A.M., *La chiesa di S. Maria del Parto a Mergellina* (Naples: 2000).

119 *Vita Vergilii* 11. Virgil was very famous by then. Suetonius combines the poet's moral integrity with his modesty and reluctance to accept veneration from his many fans. When he appeared in public in Rome, the people recognized him and pointed him out. In such cases, Virgil immediately withdrew into the next house: 'Cetera sane vita et ore tam probum constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias vulgo appellatus sit ac, si quando Romae, quo rarissime commeabat, viseretur in publico, sectantis demonstrantisque se subterfugeret in proximum tectum'.



FIGURE 2.7B The tomb of Virgil at Mergellina, close to the old Roman tunnel called Crypta Neapolitana or *grotta vecchia* (Naples, Piedigrotta district)



FIGURE 2.7C 'S V' – 'Sepulcrum Virgiliti' – Virgil's grave with a laurel tree above Sannazaro's grave chapel 'S.M.P.D.G.' ('Sancta Maria Partus Dei Genetrix'). Woodcut from Scipione Mazella: "Sito et antichità della città di Pozzuolo" (Naples: 1594)



FIGURE 2.7D Inscription on Sannazaro's grave. Naples, Santa Maria del Parto

Pietro Bembo, testifies to the identification of Sannazaro/Sincerus with Virgil [Fig. 2.7D]:

Scatter flowers to the sacred ashes. Here lays the well-known Sincerus
Who as a poet came closest to Virgil, as his grave is the closest to Virgil's.¹²⁰

One of the most puzzling observations is to register how many humanist autobiographers described themselves as *exiled persons*. This is even more puzzling if one looks at what is actually behind all these 'exiles': Joannes Fabricius, for example, described himself as living in faraway exile in Switzerland. Fabricius, however, was not pushed out of his home town. When he was the age of a school boy, his parents sent him to his uncle, Leo Jud, who lived in Zurich, in order to give him a better school education. Petrarch was no longer an exile when he wrote his *Letter to Posterity*. The Latin poet Michele Marullo describes himself as a patrician of Constantinople who was forced to leave the city when it was about to be seized by the Turks; he says that he lives now in exile in the cold Asian steppe, somewhere in the region of the Caucasus. However, Marullo

¹²⁰ For Sannazaro's tomb, cf. Demaraix, "Maroni musa proximus ut tumulo: L'église et le tombeau de Jacques Sannazar", *Revue de l'art* 95 (1992) 25–40.

had not yet been born when the Turks took Constantinople in 1453.¹²¹ Actually, he had never been in Constantinople and had never seen the Asian steppes.¹²²

The reason behind all these curious exiles is the humanist's identification with Ovid, who composed an autobiography in the form of an elegy (*Tristia* IV, 10) that is dedicated to the main topic of the poet's exile at Tomi, on the shores of the Black Sea. The underlying concept is that the life of a respectable humanist poet must be shaped by the experience and performance of exile. Somehow, this goes well with the physical homelessness that is suggested in many humanist autobiographies.¹²³ The identification with Ovid brings forth that exile takes on all kinds of shapes: 'exile' may be the term for a simple move by the autobiographer to a place outside his home town, based on his free will; it may be the experience of war refugees, or second-generation refugees, as in the case of Michael Marules; it may be the experience of religious refugees, such as in the cases of the chaplain Jacques de Slupere (Jacob Slupper), who lost his parish in Boezinge and escaped to Arras, and Franciscus Junius the Elder, a Calvinist preacher and theologian who was born in Bourges but left France, first to the Low Countries and then to the Pfalz;¹²⁴ it may be a travel or a stay abroad because of professional or personal reasons; it may be a good Christian's pilgrimage; it may be participation in a military campaign, as in the case of Lotichius Secundus and Joannes Fabricius; it may also refer to the Christian religious experience of living in this debauched world, far from the heavenly fatherland, or to the humanist experience of living in this insignificant and degenerated period, far from sacred antiquity (as in the case of Petrarch); or it may refer to the loss of poetic inspiration or language, as in the case of Sannazaro.¹²⁵

Sometimes, the idea of exile is especially far-fetched, such as in the autobiography of Fabricius. What happens there resembles more a *Rollenspiel* or a theatrical performance. In Fabricius's case this is all the more astonishing because he was a serious Calvinist preacher and theologian. How does this go together? There is a wonderful document, an autobiographical elegy from

121 Actually, he was born some five years after the fall of Constantinople.

122 Cf. my chapter "Todessehnsucht am Schwarzen Meer: Michael Marules' lyrische Autobiographik im ‚Exilgedicht‘ [...] und anderen Gedichten", in Enenkel, *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 368–428.

123 Cf. above.

124 For their autobiographies cf. my *Die Erfindung des Menschen*, ch. 21 (619–640) and 23 (670–727).

125 For these aspects cf. my chapter XVIII.7, "Verbannung aus der Dichterlandschaft – eine Rechtfertigung des Inspirationsverlustes" and XVIII.8, "Das passende Ethos des Autobiographen: Exil und Sprachverlust", in *Die Erfindung des Menschen* 542–545.



FIGURE 2.8A Uetliberg (870 m) at Lake Zurich, Zurich's *Hausberg*, the goal of Fabricius's botanical excursion

1551 by Theodorus Collinus, who was one of Fabricius's pupils at the Calvinist Fraumünsterschule in Zurich. In his elegy, Collinus describes a botanical excursion led by rector Fabricius to the Uetliberg just above Zurich [Fig. 2.8A].¹²⁶ Fabricius was in this period very much interested in botany and zoology, and he was befriended by the new Pliny, Conrad Gesner (who lived in Zurich too). The excursion, however, did not only have a botanical character. When the group reached the summit, it rested near a fountain and first made a prayer to God, the creator of nature. Then the group, adorned with wreaths of flowers, staged themselves as shepherds and performed Virgil's ten eclogues.¹²⁷ When it was the turn of Collinus (the author of the autobiographical poem) to recite the tenth and last *Eclogue*, it seemed to him as if he turned into Virgil himself: 'Mox ego progredior, velatus tempora ramis/ Ceu sacer ipse Maro talia deinde loquor:/ Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem [...]' ('Then when I came forward, my temples adorned with a wreath, I spoke as if I was Maro himself: Arethusa, allow me to compose my last song [...]').¹²⁸ Fabricius was

126 Collinus's elegy is published in Fabricius Joannes, *Poemata* (Zurich, brothers Gesner: [1556]) p. 32–35 (as the last poem of the *Sylvarum liber*).

127 *Ibidem* 35.

128 *Ibidem*; Collinus quotes here the first lines of Virgil's tenth *Eclogue*.



FIGURE 2.8B
 Albrecht Dürer, Portrait of Helius Eobanus
 Hessus, 1526. Drawing, 16.9 × 11.7 cm.
 London, British Museum, Department of
 Prints and Drawings

certainly pleased with the performance of his pupils; anyway, he liked Collinus's elegy so much that he published it among his own *Poemata*.

The cult of posterity is one of the stable identity markers of the humanist group identity, and it probably reflects the participants' greatest desire. For his autobiography, Eobanus Hessus had the compelling idea to conceive *Posteritas* as a person (a woman), and to address this desire in terms of erotic feelings; therefore, he shaped his autobiography as a love letter.¹²⁹ Many puzzling aspects of Eobanus's autobiography are connected with this special form of identity construction. For example, it is curious that Eobanus is praising the beauty and strength of his body: 'My body was handsome because of the good proportion of my limbs, and it was strenuous with its muscular arms, legs, and torso. I was beautiful in a masculine way, and I had a handsome, expressive face without flaws [...]'. It may have been that Hessus was a handsome man [cf. Dürer's portrait, Fig. 2.8B]; nevertheless, I suppose that his autobiographical

129 Cf. *Die Erfindung des Menschen*, ch. xv, "Autobiographie als Heroinnenbrief: Eobanus Hessus' Liebesbrief an die Nachwelt" 429–449.

remark does not mean that he was so pleased with his body that he totally identified with it. Rather, it seems to be an argument of a love letter, through which Eobanus is trying to persuade lady *Posteritas*. More particularly, one should understand the argument as part of Eobanus's competition with Ovid, who explained why he could not have a career as patron and orator: 'My body and my mind were not strong enough to cope with this labour', he said.¹³⁰ Another particularity is that Eobanus suppresses his surname Koch and his place of birth, the village of Halgenhausen: instead, he calls himself 'Hessus', the name of a 'nation' which he identifies with a certain tribe of the ancient Teutones or Germanic people, the Chatti. The Chatti were known for their martial character, which fits with Eobanus's claim of physical strength and which is again meant to impress lady *Posteritas*. Now, if Eobanus presents himself as offspring of the ancient Chatti, does this also mean that he identified with the German language? Interestingly, the answer is negative. Instead of that he identified himself, quite artificially, with the Latin language, and he even claims that 'nowadays' Germany was almost 'more Latin than Latium'. Thus, whereas Ovid lost his language among the barbarians of the Black Sea, Eobanus became a native speaker of Latin in faraway Germany.

In conclusion, our analysis shows that humanist "identity" is an extremely complex phenomenon. It excels by many disclaimers with respect to "common" identity affiliations, and it has a profoundly artificial character. However, its artificial character should not be a reason to dismiss it as something not serious, or futile or untruthful. One must be well aware that autobiographical writing from 1300 to 1700 was not defined – and shaped – in the same way as it was from the 18th century on, when the confession and expression of personal experiences and feelings constituted its core business. Actually, humanist autobiographies were never written for such goals. More important was the performative character of these writings; usually they were written in order to create acceptance and authority in the Republic of Letters in one way or another, certainly in the first place within the community of humanists, and in the second place with respect to a wider audience of intellectuals. Authorship was not a given fact in this period, but it depended on the ability of the writers to generate authority. In this sense, one should understand the performative character of identity formation in humanist autobiographical texts: they represent rhetorical writings that are performed in front of the audience of the Republic of Letters, in order to create authorial authority. Maybe the most important source of authority was the identification with parts of classical

130 *Tristia* IV, 10, 37: 'nec patiens corpus nec mens fuit apta labori'.

antiquity; in this sense, humanist identity formation is connected with the more general concept of the revival of classical antiquity.

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Female Faces and Learned Likenesses: Author Portraits and the Construction of Female Authorship and Intellectual Authority

Lieke van Deinsen

In 1644, the Dutch author Johan de Brune the Younger (1616–1649) opened one of the essays in what would become his bestseller *Wetsteen der Vernuften* (*Whetstone of Wits*) with the following lines: ‘I have watched the printed portrait of miss Anna Maria Schuurmans for a while and do not hesitate to share the thoughts that came to my mind in doing so!’¹ He then explains how the individual likeness of Van Schurman inspired his reflections on the changing views on women’s intellectual capacities and their ability to represent intellectual authority in general [Fig. 3.1]. This dual subject was perfectly suited for his collection of essays, meant for a public that wanted to engage with hotly-debated issues. In an attractive and eloquent style, combining prose and poetry, *Wetsteen* presented its readers with a confrontation of old and new ideas on important societal topics.² On the subject of women as knowledgeable human

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- 1 Research for this article was supported by NWO Rubicon Fellowship (grant nr. 019.173SG.017) and a Senior Postdoctoral Fellowship from the FWO Research Foundation – Flanders. De Brune (the younger) J., *Wetsteen van vernuften, oft bequaam middel, om van alle voorvallende zaken, aardighk te leeren spreken* (Amsterdam, Jacob Lescaijle: 1644) 126: “k heb een wijltje tijds op het afdrukzel van Joffer Anna Maria Schuurmans staan zien. De gedachten die my daar op zijn ingeschoten, vrees ik niet in ’t midden te stellen’. It is unclear which portrait of Van Schurman inspired De Brune, but most likely it was an engraving based on one of the two self-portraits of the learned lady included in Jacob Cats’s popular *’sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trou-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven* (Dordrecht, for Matthias Havius printed by Hendrick van Esch: 1637, first edition), which he frequently used as a reference and which also explicitly mentioned Van Schurman portrayed herself using a mirror. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author’s.
 - 2 On De Brune’s *Wetsteen van vernuften*, see Harmsen T., “Jan de Brune le Jeune montaignien”, in Smith P.J. – Enenkel K.A.E. (eds.), *Montaigne and the Low Countries (1580–1700)*, *Intersections* 8 (Leiden – Boston: 2007) 205–221; Grootes E.K. – Koning P., “Nawoord”, in De Brune (the younger), *Wetsteen der vernuften*, ed. Grootes E.K. – Koning P. (Amsterdam: 1990) 97–112. For De Brune’s opinion about Van Schurman, see Sneller A., “Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) als literair persoon. Een geleerde vrouw”, *Literatuur* 10 (1993) 321–328 (esp. 322–325).



FIGURE 3.1 Theodor Matham (engraver) after Anna Maria van Schurman (designer), portrait of Anna Maria van Schurman. Engraving, 21,7 × 13,8 cm, 1637. From: Cats J., *'sWerelts begin, midden, eynde, besloten in den trov-ringh, met den proef-steen van den selven* (Dordrecht, for Matthias Havius printed by Hendrick van Esch: 1637)
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

beings, De Brune noted, progressive viewpoints had recently started to challenge traditional precepts:

wy [hoeven] ons zelve niet meer [...] te vleyen, met die algemeene vizevaaz, dat het vrouwengetimmer veel dingen niet en dient te weten: dat de schoonheid 't eenigh vooruitdeel is, daar op zij mogen pratten, en dat het zoo ongevoechlik is heur een boek te zien behandelen, als een degen.³

We no longer have to go along with the common view that women do not need extensive knowledge, that beauty is their only proud boast, and that it is indecent to see her use a book as a sword.

However, to Brune's surprise, there were still learned men who clung to their traditional beliefs and regarded women as 'niet dan wangeboorten' ('nothing but flaws of nature') who could not live up to the intellectual abilities of their male counterparts.⁴ De Brune dismissed their position as 'Droomen van harssenlooze koppen' ('Illusions of mindless heads'), because recent philosophical observations had shown the male and female mind to be, in essence, identical.⁵ In addition, he pointed out that the customary portrayals of Virtues

3 De Brune (the younger), *Wetsteen van vernuften* 130.

4 De Brune (the younger), *Wetsteen van vernuften* 132. 'Natuur, zegenze, stelt zich altijd het volmaaktste voor, te weten, een knechtjen; als zy, door eenigh beletzels, daar toe niet geraken kan, maakt zy, deur een tweede gepoogh, een meysjen; invoegen dat de vrouw anders niet en is, als een vermijnkten en onvolmaakten man'

('Nature, they say, always represents itself in the most perfect form, that is, a boy; if she, by any impediment, not succeeds in her first attempt she will make a second, achieving but a girl; As such, women, they conclude, are nothing more than mutilated and imperfect men').

5 Although it remains implicit, De Brune's discussion of recent philosophical insights on the fundamental separation of the human body and soul and the consequential equality of the female and male mind strongly resonates the controversial thesis presented by René Descartes (1596–1650) in his *Discours de la méthode* (1637). The famous Cartesian credo, *cogito, ergo sum* not only constituted the basis for the definitive rise of rationalism, but also advanced a new ideology with regard to the position of women in society. The belief that the mind had no sex particularly appealed to learned women. In the words of the influential Cartesian François Poulain de la Barre: 'l'esprit n'a point de sexe'. As such, De Brune might be counted among the early adepts of the feminist implications of Descartes theory. For the implications of this theory for the position of women, see Schiebinger L., *The Mind has no Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA – London: 1989); Harth E., *Cartesian Women. Versions and Subversions of Rational Discourse in the Old Regime* (Ithaca – London: 1992); Stuurman S., *François Poulain de la Barre and the Invention of Modern Equality* (Cambridge, MA: 2004). On the impact of Cartesian thought on the consideration of the female body, see Jorink E., "Sekse, Decartes en het onderzoek van zeventiende-eeuwse

and Sciences as women vividly illustrated the mistakes of these ‘mindless conservatives’.⁶ When De Brune wrote his essay such abstract notions were often personified and given a specific gender, as was codified and explained in Cesare Ripa’s highly influential iconographical manual *Iconologia* (1593, first edition).⁷ De Brune’s final argument, however, is the most important one in the context of this chapter: the portrait of Van Schurman, De Brune concluded, proved that *actual* women could, indeed, embody intellectual authority.⁸

De Brune’s discussion of the representation of female intellectual identity reflects the emergence of emancipatory socio-philosophical views on the position of women in the intellectual field, while also revealing the increasing importance of portraits in the embodiment of female intellectual authority. Thus, he foregrounded one of the most visual signs of learned women’s growing prominence in the learned world – their physical images – and a still understudied formative aspect in the shaping of early modern female intellectual identity. This contribution investigates how learned women and their advocates attempted to visualise female intellectual authority, both at the individual and the collective level. More specifically, it examines the role that printed portraits of learned women played in this process. After an introduction of the uses and functions of portraits of the learned in the Republic of Letters, this chapter focuses on how the printed portraits of three of its prominent female figures – Anna Maria van Schurman, Margaret Cavendish and Maria Sibylla Merian – were used to represent their intellectual identity. More specifically, it examines if their portraits confirmed to the prevailing stereotypical image of the scholar as a man. As such, these portraits challenged the gender hierarchy in the early modern male-dominated learned community.

Nederlandse anatomen naar de fysieke verschillen tussen man en vrouw” in Everhard M. – Jansz U. (eds.), *Sekse. Een begripsgeschiedenis* (Hilversum: 2018) 21–39.

- 6 De Brune (the younger), *Wetsteen van vernuften* 130. ‘de deughden en wetenschappen, om anders geen reden, onder vrouwenanzichten verbeelt, als om te betoonen dat zy aan die sex natuurlik zijn en eigen’ (‘the virtues and sciences are imagined with the faces of women, for no other reason than to illustrate that they are natural to this sexe’).
- 7 On the depiction of the Arts and Sciences as allegorical female figures, see Schiebinger L., “Feminine Icons: The Face of Early Modern Science”, *Critical Inquiry* 14.4 (1988) 661–691.
- 8 For uses of Van Schurman’s portrait in biographical dictionaries and collections of images, see the contribution by Floris Solleveld, Chapter 5 in this volume.

1 The Rise of the Learned Portrait

Over the course of the early modern period, portraiture became an increasingly important medium in the scholarly identity construction of the learned individual.⁹ It also enhanced the cultural visibility of an intellectual community through recurring aesthetic elements and collective display.¹⁰ Although portraits of the learned had been circulating since classical antiquity, the genre definitely gained popularity from the sixteenth century onwards. Sixteenth-century humanists frequently included portraits of themselves in their letters, with the picture serving as the face-to-face introduction to a colleague whom they were unlikely to ever meet in person.¹¹ Images of learned men also received a prominent place in libraries and study rooms in this period.¹² Following classical examples, the humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) encouraged his contemporaries to decorate their libraries with pictures and busts of their learned predecessors. In his *De bibliothecis syntagma* (1602), a treatise on the history and uses of libraries, Lipsius emphasised the possible upsides of surrounding oneself with the faces of the intellectually like-minded: ‘Natura trahimur ad simulacra et effigies magnorum virorum noscendas, et illa corpora sive hospitia, quibus caelestis se animus inclusit: ecce hic erat’ (‘By nature we are drawn to familiarize ourselves with the depictions and images of great men, and those bodies or rather temporary abodes in which their heavenly minds enveloped themselves. Look, this was him!’).¹³ To be in their midst would spark one’s own intellectual mind. These likenesses were often painted in a very similar fashion and used as direct reference for new generations of (aspiring) men of letters who wanted to become part of this visual genealogy of the learned. As a result, a strong, consistent and, of course, masculine stereotypical image of the intellectual emerged.

The growing significance of scholarly portraits in the representation of an intellectual collective is also evident from various publication initiatives that arose in the context of academic jubilees such as the centenary of the

9 See, for example, Jardine L., *Erasmus. Man of Letters. The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton: 1995) 27–54; Pettegree A., *Brand Luther. How an Unheralded Monk Turned his Small Town into a Center of Publishing, Made Himself the Most Famous Man in Europe and Started the Protestant Reformation* (New York: 2015) esp. 147–163

10 See also the contribution by Richard Kirwan, Chapter 7 in this volume.

11 Waquet F., “Les savants face à leurs portraits”, *Nouvelles de l’estampe* 117 (1991) 22–28.

12 Le Thiec G., “Dialoguer avec des hommes illustres. Le rôle des portraits dans les décors de bibliothèques (fin XV^e–début XVII^e siècle)”, *Revue Française d’histoire du livre* 130 (2009) 7–52.

13 Critical edition and English translation: Hendrickson T., *Ancient Libraries and Renaissance Humanism. The De bibliothecis of Justus Lipsius* (Leiden: 2017) 120–121.

University of Tübingen (1596)¹⁴ or the University of Leiden in the early decades of the seventeenth century. Reacting to the rapidly growing status and intellectual appeal of the young university, Leiden printers published a series of books – the so-called *Icones* – with the portraits of renowned members of the city's academic community.¹⁵ If a portrait of an eminent professor was missing, they would include an empty frame which could be filled in later. In the preface to the first edition of the *Icones* (1609), the compiler reflected upon the value of faces in the representation of intellectual identity:

Sed praecipue in vultu id, quod quisque sumus, a natura est descriptum, in quo nostri imaginem magna illa mater proposuit lineisque ac ductibus quibusdam, quasi litteris, /expressit. Ita eruditio cuiusque, probitas ac candor, ut in animo latet, sic in oculis, ore ac fronte apparet.¹⁶

Especially in one's face it is by nature described what each one of us is. In our face, great mother Nature has showed our image, and has expressed this in a few lines and strokes as if with written letters. Thus, everyone's erudition, integrity and uprightness, as it lies hidden in the soul, appears through the eyes, mouth, and facial expression.

These printed faces functioned, as Anthony Grafton has argued, as 'the seventeenth-century equivalent of a website'.¹⁷ Just like their modern counterpart, these popular *Icones* presented an appealing collective image of the

14 See the contribution by Richard Kirwan, Ch. 7 in this volume.

15 I.e. *Icones ad vivum delineatae et expressae, virorum clariorum qui praecipue scriptis Academiam Lugduno Batavam illustrarunt* (Leiden: Andream Cloucqius, 1609); [Johannes Meursius, ed.], *Illustris academia Lugd-Batava: id est Virorum clarissimorum icones, elogia ac vitae* (Leiden: Andream Cloucqius, 1613); *Icones, elogia ac vitae professorum Lugdunensium apud Batavos* (Leiden: Andream Cloucqius, 1617); *Athenae Batavae. Sive, De urbe Leidensi, & Academia, virisque Claris* (Leiden: Andream Cloucqius and Elseviri, 1625). The popularity of the series is stressed by the publication of a clandestine copy by the competing publishing house of Jacob Marcus: *Illustrium Hollandiae & Westfrisiae ordinum alma academia Leidensis* (Leiden: Jacob Marci, 1614).

16 *Icones*, unpaginated. On the history of these books, see Tolsma M., *Van Icones tot Effigies. De in 1609 in boekvorm uitgegeven portrettencollectie van Leidse geleerden en haar navolgers* (Leiden: 2016).

17 Grafton A., *Athenae Batavae. The Research Imperative at Leiden, 1575–1650* (Leiden: 2003) 12. On the history of the academic portrait gallery of Leiden University, see Kersen-Halbertsma M. van – Ekkart R.E.O. – Waal H. van de (eds.), *Icones Leidenses. De portretverzameling van de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden* (Leiden: 1973).

university's intellectual community to a broad audience.¹⁸ Needless to say, women, who were generally excluded from the academic system, were absent from these collections.

More generally speaking, however, the increasing prominence of portraits of the learned was also reflected in the early modern book and print production.¹⁹ Just like learned men, a growing number of female intellectuals were confronted with a demand for their printed portraits. The rise in the publication of printed author portraits, which were not only included in books but were also sold, collected and displayed separately, was supported by changing printmaking technologies and a growing fascination with the biographical and physiognomic characteristics of the learned and the literate. In the course of the seventeenth century, portrait frontispieces became almost *de rigueur* in any new book published, as Anthony Griffiths has tentatively stated, and started to play a formative role in the construction of the intellectual authority of the portrayed.²⁰ As such, the purpose of printed author portraits changed from predominantly memorialising the commendable dead to depicting the intriguing living. As Roger Chartier argues, a portrait functioned as an 'expression of an individuality that gives authenticity to the work'.²¹ Prominently placed in the front matter of a book, it was used to ennoble the author, forcing the reader to recognise the authority conveyed by their gaze. A carefully selected caption written by an esteemed colleague often accompanied the

18 A similar collection of printed portraits of professors of the University of Groningen: *Effigies & vitae professorum academiae Groningae & Omlandiae* (Groningen: J. Nicolai, 1654). An attempt in Franeker in 1661 to publish a collection foundered, see Ekkart R.E.O., *Franeker professoren portretten* (Franeker: 1977) 13.

19 Enenkel K.A.E., *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neulateinischen Literatur (ca. 1350–1650). Zur autorisierenden und wissensvermittelnden Funktion von Widmungen, Vorworttexten, Autorporträts und Dedikationsbildern*, (Leiden – Boston: 2015).

20 Griffiths A., *The Print in Stuart Britain, 1603–1689* (London: 1998) 193; 212–225. Griffiths' observation has received some rightful corrections. Margaret Ezell, for example, has pointed out that this claim only applies to certain genres, such as intellectual and literary publications. Ezell M., "Seventeenth-Century Female Author Portraits, Or, The Company She Keeps", *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 60.2 (2012) 31–45. See also, Howe S., "The Authority of Presence. The Development of the English Author Portrait, 1500–1640", *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 102.4 (2008) 465–499. Esther María Villegas, Chapter 4 in this volume, connects the growing demand to a further commercialisation of the printing press and need for authors to distinguish themselves in the ever growing competition in the book market.

21 Chartier R., *The Order of Books. Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and the Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: 1994) 52. See also, Burke P., "Reflections on the Frontispiece Portrait in the Renaissance", in Köstler A. – Seidl E. (eds.), *Bildnis und Image. Das Portrait Zwischen Intention und Rezeption* (Köln: 1998) 150–162.

portraits, testifying to the undisputed intellectual capacities of the portrayed. As a result of the increasing ability of the printed author portrait to convey intellectual authority, not only profit-driven publishers and booksellers, but authors themselves also became actively involved in the construction, production and distribution of their public visual image.²² Several women who published their own work to achieve a respectable status among the learned and literate also brought their own printed portrait into circulation. However, it proved to be difficult to unite their feminine self and the more general convention regarding the representation of intellectual authority in one image.

2 An Erotic Enterprise? Depicting Learned Women as Intellectuals

The demand for and increased importance of printed portraits to the representation of intellectual identity presented early modern learned women with a challenge.²³ While a rapidly growing number of female intellectuals found their ways to the presses and published their works, printing their likeness complicated their public image. The increasing autonomy of the individual in the early modern period notwithstanding, the opportunities for women to participate in the public and intellectual domain remained severely limited. If speaking and writing were already considered challenges to the prescribed definition of modest female behaviour, printing a picture of one's person for purchase and distribution among a wide and often unknown audience, seemed all the more scandalous.²⁴ As a result, initially very few female author portraits were printed. When a female scholar decided to do so, portrait composition was no sinecure and even when a likeness was constructed with the utmost care, it could easily meet with public disapproval.

Learned women who wanted to use their portraits to embody intellectual authority often struggled with meeting social expectations at the same time.

22 E.g. Deinsen L. van – Geerdink N., “Cultural Branding in the Early Modern Period. The Literary Author”, in Braber H. van den et al. (eds.), *Branding Books Across the Ages. Strategies and Key Concepts in Literary Branding* (Amsterdam: 2021).

23 Simonin C., “Les portraits de femmes auteurs ou l'impossible représentation”, *Espaces de l'image, Europe XVI–XVII^e siècle* (2002) 35–57; Ezell, “Seventeenth-Century Female Author Portraits” 31–45; Deinsen L. van, “Visualising Female Authorship. Author Portraits and the Representation of Female Literary Authority in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic”, *Quaerendo* 49.4 (2019) 283–314.

24 On the commercial purpose of the author portrait in the early modern period, see Griffiths A., *The Print Before Photography. An Introduction to European Printmaking 1550–1820* (London: 2016) 396–397; The Multigraph Collective, *Interacting with Print. Elements of Reading in the Era of Print Saturation* (Chicago: 2018) 143–144.

This becomes strikingly clear in the example of Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) who was regarded the most learned woman of her time, not only of the Dutch Republic where she lived most of her life but of Europe. Van Schurman showcased an unprecedented interest in actively modelling her own public persona, both in word and image.²⁵ Especially in the early decades of her academic career, she deployed her talents and skills in the arts to produce various self-portraits, using a wide range of techniques and materials, such as pastel, pencil, wax, ivory, boxwood and gouache.²⁶ These efforts to model her own visual image were especially effective because from a young age Van Schurman had also mastered the skills of engraving and etching. Utilising the reproductive power of print, she was able to present her self-portraits to a wide audience.²⁷ To ensure that her image would circulate widely among her intellectual peers, Van Schurman included her portraits in letters to both learned men and women from all over Europe. In a letter to the Irish lady Dorothea Moore from 1 April 1641, she made her intentions abundantly clear: ‘Adjunxi insuper meam effigiem propria manu ad vivum depictam, quo tibi omni ex parte, quantum fieri potest, innotescam’ (‘I have added my portrait, depicted after life with my own hand, so as to make myself known to you from every side, as far as possible’).²⁸ In line with the contemporary custom among male correspondents, Van Schurman considered her physical appearance an essential aspect of her presence in the world of learning. In this light, we must also

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- 25 On the life and reputation of Van Schurman, see, for example: Baar M. de – Rang B., “Anna Maria van Schurman. A historical survey of her reception since the seventeenth century”, in Baar M. de et al. (eds.), *Choosing the Better Part. Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678)* (Dordrecht: 1996) 1–22; Beek P. van, *The First Female University Student. Anna Maria van Schurman (1636)* (Utrecht: 2010); Larsen A.R., *Anna Maria van Schurman, “The Star of Utrecht”. The Educational Vision and Reception of a Savante* (New York: 2016). On her self-representation initiatives, see Van Elk M., *Early Modern Women’s Writing. Domesticity, Privacy, and the Public Sphere in England and the Dutch Republic* (London: 2017) esp. 167–214; Peacock M.M., “The Inner Cause and the Better Choice: Anna Maria van Schurman, Self-Fashioning, and the Attraction of the Labadist Religion”, in Classen A. (ed.), *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (Berlin – Boston: 2014) 607–646.
- 26 Almost all self-portraits of Van Schurman are described in Stighelen K. Van der, *Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), of “Hoe hooge dat een maegt kan in de konsten stijgen* (Leuven: 1987).
- 27 Van Schurman developed her skills as engraver most likely in the large printmaking workshop of the Van de Passe family. On the relation between Van Schurman and the De Passes, see Stighelen K. Van der, “Et Ses Artistes Mains ...’. De kunstzinnigheid van Anna Maria van Schurman”, in Baar M. de et al. (eds.), *Choosing the Better Part* 55–69.
- 28 Schurman Anna Maria van, *Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, Gallica. Prosaica et metrica* (Leiden, Elsevier: 1648) 199.

consider her efforts to provide her publisher with carefully composed images and matching laudatory verses to accompany her publications.²⁹ As a result, Van Schurman's portraits were circulating widely; they passed from hand to hand, hung on the walls of other scholars' libraries and were put in several compendia on the great minds of the time. It is safe to say that Van Schurman's face belonged to the most well-known in the learned world, which explains why De Brune chose her portrait as the starting point of his essay on how women could embody intellectual authority.

The considerable reach of her portraits notwithstanding, Van Schurman's attempts to visually unite her gender with her intellectual aspirations were, at least initially, met with a mixed response. The reception of her first engraved self-portrait is a case in point. She etched this remarkable image [Fig. 3.2] in 1633, when she was only 25-years old but already expressed the ambition to become an intellectual counterpart of her contemporaries. She depicts herself in a pose similar to many of her male contemporaries: slightly below the shoulders, three quarters to the left. At the same time, she highlights her feminine characteristics: she wears a tight-fitting dress with wide sleeves and a lace collar. Her curly hair, adorned with pearls, hangs down to chin height. The lower part of the self-portrait is dominated by a wide cartouche hiding her arms. The Latin legend she included illustrates how the young Van Schurman exploits a modesty topos while simultaneously revealing her ambition to join the intellectual elite:

Non animi fastus, nec formae gratia suasit
 Vultus aeterno sculpere in aere meos:
 Sed, si forte rudis stilus hic meliora negaret,
 Tentarem prima ne potiora vice.

No pride of mind or beauty of my body prompted me to engrave my features in the everlasting copper; but if my unpractised pen would prevent a better result, I would not have tried to first dare my hand at something better.

29 See, for example, a letter from Van Schurman to her publisher Frederik Spanheim, dated 15 August 1648 and included in the second edition of the *Opuscula: Schurman Anna Maria van, Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, Gallica. Prosaica & metrica* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1652) 291–293. The portrait was requested by the publisher, see Stighelen K. Van der, *Anna Maria van Schurman* 28.



FIGURE 3.2
Anna Maria van
Schurman, *Self-portrait*.
Etch and engraving,
19,8 × 15,2 cm, 1633
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM
AMSTERDAM

On the one hand, these verses emphasise that engraving her own likeness was not a sign of vanity. On the contrary, Van Schurman stressed that she could only ruin her public image by using her untrained hand to depict herself. On the other hand, by composing these lines in Latin, she presented herself as versed in the *lingua franca* of the learned community. This was a rather extraordinary achievement since women were generally excluded from having a classical education.³⁰

In line with the custom of exchanging portraits, she disseminated her likeness among her intellectual peers, including Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687). This portrait inspired the well-respected intellectual to write a series of poems in which he somewhat teasingly responded to her showcased language skills by praising her intellect and sharp glance in eloquent Latin, Greek, Italian, French

³⁰ As she explains herself in her autobiography *Eukleria*, Van Schurman had been learning Latin from the age of eleven; see Van Beek, *The First Female University Student*, 13–15.

and Dutch verses.³¹ Huygens also makes stealthy allusions to the noteworthy absence of her hands. ‘De facie gratum est: sed enim bis quinta Dearum,/ Cur magis illustri parte stupenda lates?’ (‘It is pleasant because of the features of your face, but why, Tenth Muse after all, do you, awesome woman, hide when it comes to your more illustrious part?’), he asks her in the first poem, from 2 December 1634.³² Were her talented fingers possibly hurt by the sharp engraving pen or were there other reasons why the unmarried Van Schurman did not expose her ‘ringless’ fingers? His poetic responses are illustrative of the reactions that Van Schurman received from her contemporaries, who were keen to stress her remarkable talents along with her deliberately unmarried existence. Failing to comply with the obligations of motherhood did allow her to spend her time on her studies.³³ Apart from these innocent flirtations, Van Schurman must have been flattered by the appreciation of the intellectual heavyweight Huygens. She would, presumably, have been less content if she had known that her portrait also incited an amorous and somewhat erotic poetic duel between Huygens and his good friend, the Amsterdam professor Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), a few weeks later. In a poetic exchange loaded with erotic allusions, the self-proclaimed *twin adulterers* crossed pens to gain the exclusive right to, imaginatively, ask for the hand of ‘t Meysjen handeloos’ (‘the handless virgin’).³⁴ It was a hopeless quest, Barlaeus sighed at the end: ‘cupit Anna carere,/ Et causa est: non vult tangere virgo virum’ (‘Anna wishes to be without ,/ and for a reason: the girl does not want to touch a man’).³⁵ Thus, although Van Schurman deliberately and openly maintained her celibacy in

31 Huygens composed the poems over several days early December 1634. See Worp J.A. (ed.), *Constantijn Huygens, Gedichten. Deel 2: 1623–1636* (Groningen: 1893) 299–302. For a detailed analysis of the interaction between Huygens and Van Schurman, see Stighelen K. Van der – Landsheer J. De, “Een ‘suer-soete Maeghd’ voor Constantijn Huygens: Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678)”, in Kloek E. – Blom F. – L eerintveld A. (eds.), *Vrouwen rondom Huygens* (Hilversum: 2010) 149–202; Stighelen K. Van der, “Constantijn Huygens en Anna Maria van Schurman: veel werk, weinig weerwerk”, *De zeventiende eeuw* 3.2 (1987) 138–148.

32 Poem by Huygens to Van Schurman, dated 2 december 1634, Worp, *Constantijn Huygens, Gedichten. Deel 2*, 299.

33 Van Elk, *Early Modern Women's Writing* 176–179.

34 ‘Ergo sumus gemini, verum sine crimine, moechi’ (‘That is why we are twin-adulterers, but without actual adultery’). ‘Ad Constantinum Huygenium rem cum virgine eminus habentem’, poem by Barlaeus to Huygens. Worp, *Constantijn Huygens, Gedichten. Deel 2*, 307.

35 ‘In virginem Ultrajectinam, sine manibus pictam ad Constantinum Hugenium’, poem by Barlaeus to Huygens, dated 25 December 1634. Worp, *Constantijn Huygens, Gedichten. Deel 2* 304–305.

order to guarantee her intellectual development and reputation, some of her male contemporaries did refer to her sexuality.

These responses that Van Schurman's first self-portrait provoked are indicative of the broader attitude towards women's portrait engravings and the reception of (aspiring) female intellectuals in the strongly male-orientated early modern learned world more generally. Whereas the portraits of learned men were primarily connected to their reputation as public celebrities, the circulation of printed portraits of learned women were commonly associated with immorality and erotic desire. Naturally, these responses often remained limited to private conversations, but sometimes the association between the portraits of these women and erotic desire was also publicly exploited. In 1640, for example, Van Schurman's portrait was included in a portrait collection that originated in the commercial instinct of publisher and printmaker Crispijn de Passe jr. (1594–1670) [Fig. 3.3]. *Les vrais pourtraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la Chrestienté, déguisées en bergères* (*True images of some of the greatest and illustrious Christian women, disguised as shepherdess*)

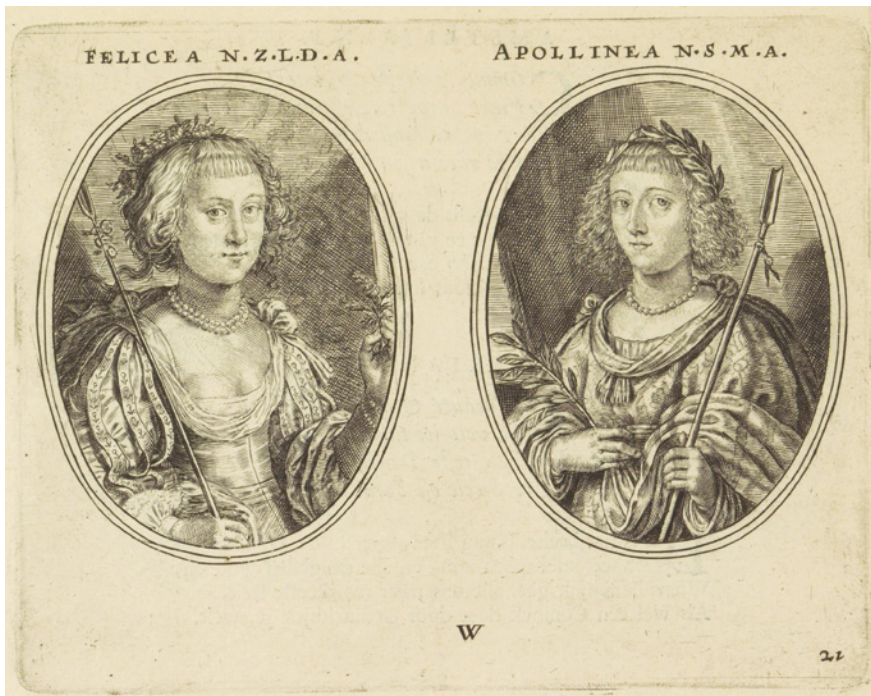


FIGURE 3.3 Crispijn de Passe, *Portrait of an unknown woman and Anna Maria van Schurman, both as shepherdesses*. From: Crispijn de Passe, *Les vrais pourtraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la chrestiente desquisees en bergeres* (Amsterdam 1631)

IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM



FIGURE 3.4 Crispijn de Passe, *Title page of Le miroir des plus belles courtisanes de ce temps*, engraving, 11,2 × 15,2 cm, 1635

IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

was, despite the seemingly modest title, presented as the sequel to De Passe's most controversial bestseller *Le miroir des plus belles courtisanes de ce temps* (1631, first edition, *The mirror of the most beautiful courtesans of this time*).³⁶ The title page of this compilation of portraits of Europe's most famous courtesans visualises the immoral connotations of women's portraits, depicting a brothel scene [Fig. 3.4]. One customer indicates the girl he desires by pointing at her portrait, while another – seated in front of a blazing fire – waits for the matchmaker to show him the face of a girl of his liking. Like these johns, readers were presented with a portrait catalogue of playful and promiscuous women. Although De Passe's *Les vrais pourtraits* did not contain the likenesses of *filles de joie*, but rather presented the faces of learned and noble women like

36 De Passe C. (the younger), *Les vrais pourtraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la chrestiente, desguisees en bergeres* (Amsterdam, Joost Broersz.: 1640); De Passe C. (the younger), *Le miroir des plus belles curtisannes de ce temps* (Amsterdam: for the author, 1631, first edition). On the De Passe's publishing house, see Veldman I.M., *Crispijn de Passe and his Progeny (1564–1670)* (Rotterdam: 2001).

Van Schurman, the association of their portraits with erotica also resonated in the sequel, clearly intended for a male audience. In its preface, the puckish publisher explained his attempt to maintain the modesty of the women portrayed in the edition:

[...] ik [heb] die zelve op een bezondere gewoonte wille vertoonē, onder kleding van Herderinnen; en dat onder bedeckte namen: om niet lichtelijck in oordeel te vallen [...] en boven al dat de Jong-mans geen roem zullen dragen, dat ze der Jufferens afbeeldingen in hun zacken hebben.³⁷

I wanted to show them in a special habit, that is Shepherdesses' clothing, and with covered names: so that they will not be judged lightly [...] and, above all, that the lads will not bear fame, for carrying these ladies' likenesses in their pockets.

Yet, despite these precautions, readers would not have had any trouble in recognising Van Schurman's half-heartedly disguised face. De Passe included her portrait in his collection at the peak of her fame. After being granted access to the University of Utrecht in 1636 – and becoming the first female university student in Europe – all eyes were focused on Van Schurman as the advocate for a woman's right to education.³⁸ However, her rising star and growing intellectual authority could not prevent her printed portrait from becoming the subject of male desire for a second time.

3 The Mutilated Faces of Margaret Cavendish

Van Schurman was not the only prominent seventeenth-century 'lady of letters' who was confronted with the challenge of combining her sex with her ambition to embody intellectual authority on her printed portraits. The

37 De Passe, *Les vrais pourtraits*, preface (1640 edition).

38 In 1638 she wrote her controversial *Dissertatio* on the aptitude of the female intellect for studying, see Van Eck C., "The First Dutch Feminist Tract? Anna Maria van Schurman's discussion of women's aptitude for the study of arts and sciences", in Baar M. de et al. (eds.), *Choosing the Better Part* 43–54. The publication inspired physician Johannes van Beverwyck (1594–1647) to feature Van Schurman and her portrait prominently in his bestselling *Van de Wtmentheyte des vrouwelicken geslachts* (*On the excellence of the female sex*) (1639). In doing so, he contributed greatly to her public reputation. On Van Beverwyck's view on female sex, see Moore C.N., "Not by Nature but by Custom': Johan van Beverwyck's *Van de wtmentheyte des vrouwelicken Geslachts*", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25,3 (1994) 633–651.

complexity of this matter is also evident from the genesis and reception of the portrait engravings of poet and philosopher Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673), second wife of William Cavendish (1593–1676), Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Comparable to Schurman, Cavendish put herself in the public spotlight by publishing on a wide range of topics and maintaining close contact with renowned learned men, including Descartes, Huygens, and Hobbes. She wrote a series of philosophical treatises, such as *Philosophical Opinions* (1655), *Philosophical Letters* (1664), *Grounds of Natural Philosophy* (1668) and *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (1666). In addition, she published several plays, poems, orations, short stories and even an autobiography.³⁹ Her various attempts to become part of the intellectual elite were met with suspicion by many of her male contemporaries. Still, she became the first woman to attend meetings of the illustrious Royal Society in London.⁴⁰

Cavendish was also highly involved in – if not obsessed with – constructing her public image through her publications. In the preface to her *Poems and Fancies* (first edition 1653) she candidly admitted her vainglorious intentions when it came to publishing her works: ‘For all I desire is Fame, and fame is nothing but a great noise, and noise lives most in a multitude, wherefore I wish my book may set a-work every tongue.’⁴¹ To ensure that her works would be widely read, she spared no effort or expense in distributing her volumes among prestigious libraries and important men of learning across Europe. Through Huygens, for instance, she presented the library of the flourishing University of Leiden with a volume of her key texts, which she had specially bound for this purpose. She also sent several copies to the different colleges of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Cavendish was clearly convinced that the material presentation of her books played an important role in the presentation of authorial image. For the most part, the nearly two dozen editions of her works that appeared during her lifetime are beautifully printed folios, often adorned with one of three carefully composed portrait frontispieces.⁴² These portrait

39 For a full bibliography of Cavendish's published work, see Withaker K., *Mad Madge. Margaret Cavendish, Dutchess of Newcastle, Royalist, writer and romantic* (London: 2003) 368–369.

40 For a detailed account of Cavendish' relation with the Royal Society, see Wilkins E., “Margaret Cavendish and the Royal Society”, *Notes and Records. The Royal Society Journal of the History of Science* 68.3 (2014) 245–260.

41 Cavendish Margaret, *Margaret Cavendish's Poems and Fancies: A Digital Critical Edition*, ed. L. Blake, website published May 2019, <http://library2.utm.utoronto.ca/poemsandfancies/> (consulted 6 May 2020).

42 Most of the works Cavendish published in the early decades of her career, were printed by the London booksellers John Martyn and James Allestry, central figures in the production of scientific texts. Later, Cavendish turned to Anne Maxwell to print her work.

engravings, all containing many iconographical references, played a vital role in Cavendish' public self-display. It has even been suggested that Cavendish purposefully selected a specific portrait for her presentation copies depending on the impression she wanted to leave on the recipient.⁴³

During her political exile in Antwerp in the early 1650s, Cavendish commissioned three designs for portrait frontispieces from the accomplished artist Abraham van Diepenbeek (1599–1675).⁴⁴ He designed these portraits and the Antwerp engravers Pieter van Schuppen (1627–1702) and Peeter Clouwet (1629–1670) translated them into the copper, each highlighting a different aspect of Cavendish' persona.⁴⁵ The first shows the laureled Cavendish seated next to her husband during an informal family gathering in their Antwerp house [Fig. 3.5]. The two are surrounded by a group of people next to a roaring fire. A second engraving places a dressed-up Cavendish at her desk in a closet, with only writing materials – including paper, pens and ink – beside her [Fig. 3.6]. Four *putti* are placing a poet's laurel upon her head. Here she is depicted as a seeker of solitude and a victim of melancholy. Only the servant's bell and the clock on her desk remind the observer of the existence of an outside world. The image accentuates the limited options that women of letters had. Still, Cavendish frames this inability to pursue a formal education – symbolised by the absence of books – as virtuous and creative. As the accompanying poem highlights, she is the true authentic genius. Instead of rising out of the 'dead ashes' of past thinkers, Cavendish is depicted here as her own source of imaginative fire. The third, and most popular, print portrays the extrovert Cavendish in a niche dressed up in classicising clothing in a statuesque pose, rising above the herms of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, and Apollo, the god of poetry [Fig. 3.7].

43 For some remarks on this issue, see Fitzmaurice J., "Front matter and the physical make-up of natures pictures", *Women's Writing* 4.3 (1997) 353–367. Exact bibliographical data on the matter is unavailable, but forthcoming research of Liza Blake will change this in the foreseeable future; for a project description, see Blake L., "Locating Margaret Cavendish's Books: Database, Map, and Analysis", *Digital Cavendish Project* (digitalcavendish.org/locating-margaret-cavendish.org).

44 On the impact of her stay in the Low Countries on her career, see Beneden B. van – Poorter N. De (eds.), *Vorstelijke vluchtelingen. William en Margaret Cavendish in het Rubenshuis 1648–1660* (Antwerp: 2006) 170; Weststeijn T., *Margaret Cavendish in de Nederlanden. Filosofie en schilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: 2008).

45 For a detailed description and interpretation of the portrait frontispieces of Cavendish in the light of her self-representation, see Fitzmaurice J., "Fancy and the Family: Self-Characterizations of Margaret Cavendish", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 53.3 (1990) 198–209.



FIGURE 3.5 Peeter Clouwet (engraver) after Abraham van Diepenbeeck (designer), *The Family of William Cavendish, Marquess of Newcastle-upon Tyne and his family in Antwerp*, engraving, 27 × 16,5 cm, 1656
 IMAGE © NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

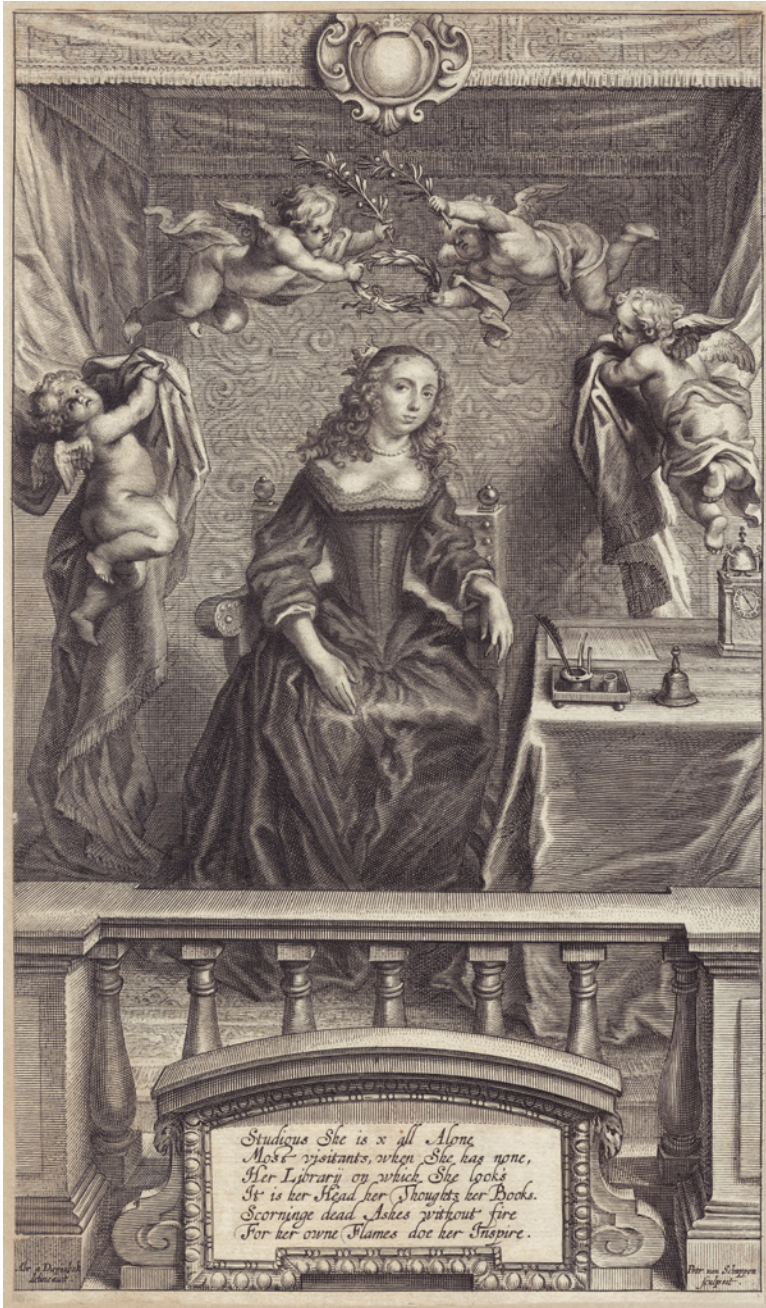


FIGURE 3.6 Pieter Louis van Schuppen (engraver) after Abraham van Diepenbeek (designer), Portrait of Margaret Cavendish, engraving, 27,4 × 15,9 cm, circa 1655

IMAGE © NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON



FIGURE 3.7 Pieter Louis van Schuppen (engraver) after Abraham van Diepenbeek (designer), Portrait of Margaret Cavendish, engraving, 27,5 × 16,2 cm, circa 1655

IMAGE © NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON

A comparison of the first portrait's preparatory drawing with the final engraving intended as the frontispiece of *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to Life* (1656), Cavendish' fifth published book, reveals the extent to which Cavendish's public image was consciously constructed to convey her intellectual aspirations while maintaining her female modesty. Van Diepenbeeck initially depicted her as the compositional focus of the domestic gathering, where she is seen to narrate her tales to her guests [Figs. 3.8 and 3.5].⁴⁶ In the final engraving, however, her active posture had made way for that of a passive listener, with her husband leading the conversation. Only the laurel wreath that crowns her head – and that of her husband – acknowledges her intellectual achievements. This image would be the only one Cavendish explicitly reflected upon, providing several explanations for its contents in the first edition of *Natures Pictures* (1656) and changing them in the second one of 1671.⁴⁷ While the engraving depicted her in a passive role, Cavendish at first still highlighted her leading role in the conversation. A poem that is included in the first edition, but is absent from the second, even jokes about her being the perhaps too vocal centre of attention:

My Lord, and I, here in two Chairs are set,
 And all his children, wives and husbands, met,
 To hear me tell them Tales, as I think fit,
 And hope the're full of Phansy, and of Wit.
 Ladies, I ask your pardons, mercies, I,
 Since I talk all, and many Ladies by.⁴⁸

In preparation of the second edition years later, Cavendish heavily revised this poem and reduced her role to a mere passive participant in the group's activity.⁴⁹ This is also the more general tenor of the poem she included in the final engraving: "Thus in this Semy-Circle, wher they Sitt,/ Telling of Tales of pleasure & of witt".

46 On the preparatory drawing, see Filipczak Z.Z., "Portraits of women who 'do not keep strictly to the Masculine and Feminine Genders, as they call them'", in Stighelen K. Van der – Magnus H. – Watteeuw B. (eds.), *Pokerfaced. Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces Unveiled* (Turnhout: 2010) 229–247; Härting U., "Abraham van Diepenbeeck 1596–1675. William Cavendish en zijn familie", in Beneden B. van – Poorter N. De (eds.), *Vorstelijke vluchtelingen 170*.

47 Fitzmaurice, "Front matter and the physical make-up of natures pictures".

48 Cavendish Margaret, *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (London, John Martin and James Allestrye: 1656) [A3v].

49 Cavendish Margaret, *Natures Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Life* (London, Anne Maxwell: 1671), no signature or page number.



FIGURE 3.8 Abraham van Diepenbeeck, preparatory drawing for *The Family of William Cavendish, Marquess of Newcastle-upon Tyne*, pen in brown drawing on paper, 18,2 × 16 cm, made in or before 1656

IMAGE © THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON

Still, several of her readers took offence to her rather openly conceited representations, as becomes apparent from many handwritten comments on her portrait engravings. For example, on the image of Cavendish in her *studiolo* present in a copy of her *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (1655), a contemporary reader who disapproved of Cavendish' open arrogance wrote in brown

ink the Greek remark ‘Ὠ γύ ναί –’ (O Women!) on the bannister.⁵⁰ It is no coincidence that this anonymous critic articulated this sentiment in Greek, one of the learned languages Cavendish herself had not mastered. In addition, by using the plural (*women* instead of *woman*), the critic expands his disapproval of Cavendish’ pursuit of a public reputation as an intellectual, to learned women in general.

In the same vein, it is not surprising that the most critical responses were directed at the famous third portrait engraving of Cavendish. This portrait presented her in a strongly traditional setting that previously was almost exclusive to male intellectuals. Underneath the engraving included in the copy that was sent to the Oxford Bodleian, a seventeenth-century reader noted the Horatian phrase “Stultitiam patiuntur opes” (Wealth permits stupidity), suggesting the wealth of the Cavendish family allowed Margaret to undertake this reprehensible intellectual endeavour.⁵¹ The same note or similar vanitas references can be found in several annotated copies of her works as well as in the individual portrait engravings that have survived.⁵² To express their disapproval of Cavendish’s pronounced intellectual superiority as represented in her portrait engravings, some even went a step further. Several anonymous critics *muti- lated* the image to fit alleged prescriptive female behaviour. A copy that currently resides in the Cambridge University Library contains a strategically blotched portrait [Fig. 3.9]. Cavendish’s face is mostly covered in brown ink and a ring was added to her finger to highlight her status as married woman.⁵³ The eyes of Apollo – the god of poetry but also a representation of the male sex – are covered to prevent him from gazing at her. The sun sceptre symbolising “fame” that he holds in his hand was also wiped out. The message is clear: a married woman should avoid the male public eye and refrain from chasing

50 Cavendish Margaret, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions, Written by her Excellency, the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle* (London, printed for John Martin and James Allestrye: 1655). Copy Cambridge Queens’ College Old Library, inv. no. B.1.13. With thanks to Liza Blake for sharing this and many of the following annotated portraits.

51 Cavendish Margaret, *Plays, never before printed* (London, A. Maxwell: 1668). Copy Oxford Bodleian Library, inv. no. A3 c.113. See Horace, *Epistles*, I.18, vs. 29.

52 See Peeter Clouwet (engraver) after Abraham van Diepenbeeck (designer), *The Family of William Cavendish, Marquess of Newcastle-upon Tyne*, engraving, 27 x 16 cm, 1656. Copy Metropolitan Museum of Art, Elisha Whittelsey Collection, inv. no. 62.600.484.

53 Cavendish Margaret, *Plays, never before printed* (London, A. Maxwell: 1668). Copy Cambridge CUL, inv. no. P*.315(C). This is not the only surviving copy which has Cavendish’ face blacked out, see also the portrait engraving in Cavendish Margaret, *Sociable Letters* (London, William Wilson: 1664). Copy Oxford Pembroke, inv. no. Ey CAV 13515.



FIGURE 3.9 Pieter Louis van Schuppen (engraver) after Abraham van Diepenbeeck (designer), mutilated portrait of Margaret Cavendish. From: copy Cambridge University Library P*3.15(C), Cavendish M., *Plays, never before printed* (London, Anne Maxwell: 1668)

IMAGE © CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

fame and intellectual authority. This opinion was not only applied to the outspoken Cavendish, but to learned women in general. Not surprisingly, most female writers ceased their intellectual endeavours when they married. In the dominantly heterosexual-masculine world of learning, women who choose an atypical path, such as Van Schurman and Cavendish, were regarded as both remarkable and reprehensible exceptions to the general rule of socially desirable behaviour. Yet the different strategies of self-representation both women applied had a different effect. Whereas Van Schurman, (literarily) hides behind the female modesty topos limiting the reactions to teasing comments, Cavendish' self-confident poses were met with harsh and open critique. Perhaps it was the extensivity and in most cases undeniably dismissive tone of these responses, that incited her to (albeit slightly) alter her authorial self-representation for the reprint.

4 Embodying Intellectual Authority

After a hesitant start, printed portraits of learned and literate women became a regular feature of their published works and the initial sceptical responses of (often male) contemporaries soon made way for more positive evaluations.⁵⁴ One of the first women to be depicted as an undisputed intellectual or even a scientific authority was the naturalist, entomologist and botanical illustrator Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717). Her portrait, engraved by the upcoming Amsterdam artist Jacobus Houbraken (1698–1780) was published shortly after her death in 1717 and was not only included in the last volume of the Dutch and Latin editions of her popular *Raupenbuch*-series (Caterpillar book, three volumes, 1679–1717) but also sold separately [Fig. 3.10]. Houbraken closely worked after a drawing made of Merian *ad vivum* (after life) by her son-in-law Georg Gsell (1673–1740), that was part of the renowned cabinet of the Amsterdam paper-cut artist Johanna Koerten (1650–1715).⁵⁵ So, although the portrait was printed posthumously, the image itself was, most likely, already known amongst the Amsterdam Art-loving elites. The likeness visualises Merian's undeniable

54 On the intensification of the production of printed female author portraits in the eighteenth century see Van Deinsen, "Visualising Female Authorship".

55 See *Catalogus van een overheerlyk konstkabinet papiere snykonst, door wylen mejuffrouw Johanna Koerten, Huisvrouw van wylen den Heer Adriaan Blok* (s.l.s.n) 12. The auction catalogue mentions the portrait under no. 15: 'Het Portrait van Maria Sebilla Merian, getekent door Gesellen' ('The portrait of Maria Sebilla Merian, drawn by Gsell'). The collection also included a portrait drawing by Houbraken ('met Root aard getekent', drawn with red chalk), presumably a preparatory study for his engraving.



FIGURE 3.10 Jacobus Houbraken (engraver) after Georg Gsell (designer), portrait of Maria Sibylla Merian, etch and engraving, 16,5 × 12,4 cm, ca. 1708–1780
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

expertise in the field of entomology largely comparable to the ways in which her contemporary male colleagues were depicted.⁵⁶

56 Merian Maria Sybilla, *Der rupsen begin, voedzel en wonderbaare verandering. Waar in de oorspronk, spys en gestaltverwisseling [...] vertoond word* (Amsterdam: Gerhard Valk, 1712–1717); Merian Maria Sybilla, *Erucarum ortus, alimentum et paradoxa metamorphosis* (Amsterdam, Johannes Oosterwyk: [1718]).



FIGURE 3.11 Jacob de Later (engraver) after Paul August Rumph (designer) for François Halma (publisher), portrait of Georg Everhard Rumphius, etch and engraving, 34,7 × 22 cm, 1696
IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM

Merian was born in Frankfurt am Main into a family with a distinguished background in the visual arts, particularly with respect to the study and exploration of the natural world.⁵⁷ As part of the artistic education the young Merian

57 The life and accomplishments of Maria Sibylla Merian have been the subject of ample research. For an excellent introduction, see Zemon Davis N., *Women on the Margins. Three*

received in the workshop of her stepfather, still-life painter Jacob Marrel (1614–1681), she collected insects and other specimens to feature in his compositions. In these formative years, nature – plants and caterpillars in particular – became Merian's primary subject of interest. She eventually started her own insect collection in order to study and document their metamorphosis. In 1665 she married Johann Andreas Graff (1636–1701), an apprentice of Marrel. The couple lived in Nuremberg between 1665 and 1670, where Merian published the first of her three major works, the *Neues Blumenbuch* (New Book of Flowers, three volumes, 1675–1680). Here she also started the publication of her second major work, the *Raupenbuch* series. In 1686 Merian, together with her two daughters, joined the religious community of the Labadists, possibly to escape marital difficulties she had been experiencing with Graff, whom she divorced several years later. Soon afterwards she moved to Amsterdam with her daughters where she started planning a voyage to the Dutch colony of Suriname to study insects in the land's interior. The research she conducted overseas resulted in the publication of her last major work, the *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium* (1705).⁵⁸ With her unprecedented studies, Merian revised and nuanced contemporary ideas about how insects developed and extensively contributed to the period's advance of entomology.

That Merian's work could easily measure up to that of her male colleagues also became part of her visual public image, as becomes strikingly clear when one compares her portrait with the likeness of the German-born botanist Georg Everhard Rumphius (1627–1702) [Fig. 3.11]. For many contemporaries the analogy between Merian and Rumphius was an obvious one: Merian's work closely followed in the footsteps of her predecessor and she had contributed several engraved copper plates to his posthumously published *D'Amboinsche Rariteitenkamer* (*Amboinese Cabinet of Curiosities*, 1704). It was no coincidence, therefore, that Simon Schijnvoet (1653–1727) used the engraved title page of the *D'Amboinsche Rariteitenkamer* as a direct inspiration for his design of the frontispiece for Merian's *Erucarum ortus, alimentum et paradoxa metamorphosis* [Figs. 3.12 and 3.13]. However, despite the clear compositional similarities between the two title pages, Schijnvoet gives his design a clear feminine twist. Whereas the title page for Rumphius's work depicts a male naturalist

Seventeenth-Century Lives (Cambridge, MA: 1997) 140–202; Reitsma E., *Maria Sibylla Merian & Daughters. Women of Art and Science* (Amsterdam: 2008).

58 For this work, see Merian Maria Sybilla, *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium. Verandering der Surinaamsche insecten – Transformation of Surinamese Insects*, facs. ed. Delft M. van – Mulder H. (Amsterdam: 2016).

surrounded by men in classical garb who share in the enthusiasm of his work, Schijnvoet's frontispiece for Merian's *Erucarum ortus, alimentum et paradoxa metamorphosis* pictures an all-female collective involved in the study of naturalia.⁵⁹

A comparable process of feminisation is visible in her printed portrait. Houbraken's portrait of Merian is greatly similar to the portrait of Rumphius. She is seated behind a desk, from the waist up, three quarters to the right, reaching out with her right hand. Like Rumphius she is surrounded by the objects and fruits of her studies, such as three books (possibly representing her key works); an inkwell with a feather; her drawings of shells, flowers, and insects; a paintbrush; a magnifying glass; a celestial sphere, and, of course, a plant with a butterfly. By applying an elaborated emancipatory iconographical program, however, Houbraken used the portrait to bring the depiction of female intellectual identity to a next level. His portrait of Merian hides neither her evident female sex nor the fact that she had to challenge prescriptive social expectations to fulfil her scientific ambitions. On the contrary, Houbraken highlighted Merian's rather unconventional life choices in favour of her intellectual career as becomes clear from the iconographical programme on the vase to which her hand guides the observer's attention. Carved or painted onto the front surfaces of the vessel, the attentive observer identifies a telling mythological scene: the female figure of Daphne who flees the grasp of the god Apollo who is pursuing her. This depiction of the myth alludes to a decisive moment in Merian's life: to pursue her ambitions, Merian eventually left her husband to live on a distant shore and conduct her research, freed of marital bonds. The metamorphosis of Daphne into laurel tree in the myth alludes not only to the more general theme of metamorphosis in Merian's work, but also to her personal transition: from daughter and wife to an independent woman and undisputed intellectual authority.

5 Conclusion

How women tried to secure a place in an overwhelmingly male learned community has been the subject of numerous studies over the last decades. The most visible sign of the growing presence of women in the early modern intellectual field – their printed portraits – has received surprisingly little critical attention. Especially from the seventeenth century onwards, a growing

59 For an analysis of this frontispiece, see Pick C., *Rhetoric of the Author Presentation. The Case of Maria Sibylla Merian* (Texas: 2004).



FIGURE 3.12
 Jan Goeree, engraved
 titlepage, etching,
 c. 34 × 22 cm, 1705.
 From: Rumphius
 G.E., *D'Amboinsche
 rariteitenkamer,
 behelzende eene
 beschryvinge van
 allerhande [...]
 schaalvisschen [...]
 als mede allerhande
 hoorntjes en schulpen*,
 3 vols. (Amsterdam,
 François Halma: 1705)

IMAGE © UNIVERSITY
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number of learned women anticipated the period's growing fascination with the intellectual's physiognomy and a rapidly increasing demand for printed portraits. Their likenesses presented the public with a carefully constructed image loaded with figurative and textual elements stressing their intellectual capacities. However, as De Brune rightfully stated in his essay, this new trend meant by no means that learned male contemporaries were ready to accept women as their intellectual equals. As my analysis of the reception of the likenesses of Anna Maria van Schurman and Margaret Cavendish – two of the most prominent seventeenth-century learned women – has shown, printed portraits of learned women were still largely seen as challenges to the prescriptive



FIGURE 3.13 Simon Schijnvoet, frontispiece, etching, c. 23.8 × 17 cm, 1717.
 From: Merian M.S., *Erucarum Ortus* (Amsterdam, Johannes Oosterwyk: 1717)
 IMAGE © STAATSBIBLIOTHEK BOMBERG

definition of modest female behaviour. Not seldom, these images became the subject of erotic or harsh criticisms. These responses illustrate the continues dominance of the hetero-masculine paradigm in the early modern Republic of Letters, which proved nearly impossible to counter by learned women who tried to gain a reputation as undisputed intellectual authorities, regardless of their sex. Even when women, such as Van Schurman, openly refrained from

their feminine qualities and social obligations – for example by remaining unmarried and renouncing motherhood – they remained a *curiosity* in the eyes of many of their male contemporaries.

Over the course of the period, few women eventually did manage to represent intellectual authority in a way equal to their male colleagues. As the popular portrait of Maria Sibylla Merian shows, the very iconographical strategies that were customary in contemporary portraits of learned men were used in female author portraits. The apparent perception of a link between iconographical features and intellectual authority also confirms that these portraits were not simply a medium to capture intellectual identity, but also to construct it. While apparently depicting an existing reality – that is, a somewhat realistic portrait of a human being – they were actually creating a new reality by challenging the archetypal image of the scholar as a man. These portraits presented the public with an unprecedented image that merged two hitherto long seemingly incompatible socio-cultural categories: being a *woman* and being *learned*.

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Scholarly Identity and Gender in the *Respublica litteraria*: The Cases of Luisa Sigea (1522–1560) and Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673)

Esther M. Villegas de la Torre

The rise of humanist studies in the Western world brought with it the *Respublica litteraria*,¹ an intellectual community, real and imagined, crossing over time, social, and geographical boundaries, along with publications of a similar kind.² Latin would remain the *lingua franca*. Yet, from the start in the fifteenth century, the rise in the learned use of vernacular languages made possible a new, more inclusive discourse about the literary act and its place in society. The advent of print fuelled the commercialization of literary products, by men and by women, which increased, particularly, in the seventeenth century.³ Such changes were initially influenced by Dante, who considered the vernacular as universal, and by Petrarch, who justified it by placing it in a classical context. Boccaccio's first edition of Dante's works also acted as a defence of vernacular poetry, and he transcribed the earliest redaction of Petrarch's vernacular collection.⁴ Christine de Pizan, moreover, exemplified the humanist fascination with Graeco-Roman ancient culture from the conscious stance of a female author, in works that became key in the *Querelle des femmes* literary debate. Here is how Pizan fashioned Sappho:

Remarquablement écrits et composés, ses œuvres et poèmes sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, et demeurent des modèles d'inspiration pour les poètes et écrivains assoiffés de perfection. Sappho inventa plusieurs genres

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- 1 This work was funded by the European Commission (Ref. H2020-MSCA-IF-2018, 841036).
 - 2 Darnton R., "What Is the History of Books", in Finkelstein D. – McCleery A. (eds.), *The Book History Reader* (London: 2006) 22; Cayuela A., "Esta pobre habilidad que Dios me dio: autores, impresores y editores en el entuerto de la publicación (siglos XVI–XVII)", *Tiempos modernos*, Special Issue "Cultura escrita y memoria en el Siglo de Oro" 8.31 (2015) 299–300; Fumaroli M., *The Republic of Letters*, trans. L. Vergnaud (New Haven – London: 2018) 35.
 - 3 Marino A., *The Biography of "the Idea of Literature" from Antiquity to the Baroque*, trans. V. Stanciu – C.M. Carlton (New York: 1996) 128–129, 186–187.
 - 4 Eisner M., *Boccaccio and the Invention of Italian Literature. Dante, Cavalcanti, and the Authority of the Vernacular* (Cambridge: 2013) 3, 5.

lyriques et poétiques: lais et dolentes élégies, curieux chants d'amour désespéré et autres poèmes lyriques d'inspiration différente, qui furent appelés saphiques pour l'excellence de leur prosodie. Horace rappelle à ce sujet qu'à la mort de Platon, ce très grand philosophe et le maître même d'Aristote, on trouva sous son oreiller un recueil des poèmes de Sapho.⁵

Her [Sappho] writings and poems have survived to this day, most remarkably constructed and composed, and they serve as illumination and models of consummate poetic craft and composition to those who have come afterward. She invented various lyrical and poetical genres, short narratives, tearful laments and strange lamentations about love and other emotions, which were so well made and so well ordered that these were named 'Sapphic' after her. Horace recounts, concerning her poems, that when Plato, the great philosopher who was Aristotle's teacher, died, a book of Sappho's poems was found under his pillow.

Pizan admits to learning about her through Boccaccio (presumably, *De claris mulieribus*), but Sappho had also served as an authoritative model for Catullus, Horace, Ovid, and Isidore of Seville (in *Etymologiae*; Libri XX, 1.39.7) – the *Etymologiae's* Augsburg *editio princeps* of 1472 stands as one of the earliest incunables.⁶ Leonardo Bruni, another best-selling author and model for humanists, recalls her authority to defend women's study of rhetoric in *De studiis et litteris* (ca. 1405–1429), whose print editions date from 1472.⁷ Sappho's

5 Pizan Christine de, *La Cité des dames*, ed. Th. Moreau – E. Hicks (Paris: 2000) 96. For the English translation, I chiefly relied on *The Book of the City of Ladies*, trans. E.J. Richards (New York: 1982) 67–68.

6 Boccaccio Giovanni, *On Famous Women*, intro. and trans. G.A. Guarino (New York: 2011) 99–100. Freeman P., *Searching for Sappho. The Lost Songs and the World of the First Woman Poet* (New York: 2016) 168–169; Isidore de Seville [Saint], *Etimologías: edición bilingüe*, ed. and trans. J. Oroz Reta – M.A. Marcos Casquero – M.C. Diaz y Diaz (Madrid: 2004) 340; Lawrance J., "Isidore of Seville in the Renaissance (1500–1700): The Role of Golden Age Spain", in Wood J. – Fear A. (eds.), *A Companion to Isidore of Seville* (Leiden: 2019) 604, 614; see also Griva A., "The Reappearance of Sapphic Fragments in the Italian Renaissance", *Asian Journal of Language, Literature and Culture Studies* 2.2 (2019) 1–10.

7 Bruni's treatise was originally entitled, *Epistola Leonardi Aretini ad Illustrem mulierem Baptistam de Malatestis, in litteris ac studiis humanitatis facundissima*. See also Bruni Leonardo, "Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo, De Studiis et Litteris: An English Version", in Woodward W.H. (ed.), *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge: 1912) 123; and Hankins J., "Humanism in the Vernacular: The Case of Leonardo Bruni", in Celenza C.S. – Gouwens K. (eds.), *Humanism and Creativity in the Renaissance. Essays in Honor of Ronald G. Witt* (Leiden – Boston: 2006) 11–29.

'Ode to Aphrodite', furthermore, was printed within Dionysius's *De compositione verborum* (XXIII) by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1508, and again in 1556, this time in France by Henri Estienne as part of her "complete" work. Fragment 31 ('He is a god to me'), for its part, appeared twice in 1554: first, in Basel by the scholar Francesco Robortello (in the pseudo-Longinian treatise *On the Sublime*), and then, in Venice by Marc-Antoine Muret (in his *Catullus, et in eum commentaries M. Antonii Mureti*); and for the first time in the vernacular, in 1556 by André Wechel (in Rémi Belleau's French translation of Anacreon's odes).⁸ Sappho's model was still being invoked and celebrated for its *auctoritas*, alongside modern female ones,⁹ throughout the seventeenth century: in her English translation of Book VI of Abraham Cowley's *Plantarum libri sex* (London, 1668), Aphra Behn added three verses (not in the original Latin) to Cowley's on the laurel wreath, singling out in a footnote that, in such verses, 'the translatress in her own person speaks' ('Let me with Sappho and Orinda [Katherine Philips] be, / Oh ever Sacred Nymph, adorn'd by thee; / And give my verses Immortality').¹⁰ The tendency to take Sappho and other ancient women (i.e. Corinna and Aspasia) as models by and for learned women publicly, in fact, mirrors the male models of Virgil or Horace. By celebrating and reinforcing, in their own times, a sense of shared memories and of a common past, learned women and their peers document a group identity within the *Respublica litteraria*, as well as a reference frame of female literary agency.¹¹

8 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *On Literary Composition. Being the Greek Text of the De Compositione Verborum (in Greek and English)*, ed. W.R. Roberts (London: 1910) 238–239; Tylus J., "Naming Sappho: Gaspara Stampa and the Recovery of the Sublime in Early Modern Europe", in Falkeid, U. –Feng A.A. (eds.), *Rethinking Gaspara Stampa in the Canon of Renaissance Poetry* (Farnham: 2015) 15–16.

9 Ribera Pietro Paolo de, *Le Glorie immortali de Trionfi, et Heroiche Imprese D'ottocento quarantacinque Donne Illustri antiche e modern* (Venice, Appresso Evangelista Deuchino: 1609) 323–324.

10 Cowley, Abraham, *Six Books of Plants*, VI, trans. Aphra Behn (London, Printed for Charles Harper: 1689) 143. The first two books of Cowley's *Plantae* were published in 1662 (*Plantarum libri duo*, London, Typis J. Flesher, & prostant apud Nath. Brooks sub Signo Angeli: 1662); the full six books were published posthumously in 1668 by Thomas Spratt as part of Cowley's Latin poems: *Poemata latina: in quibus continentur, sex libri plantarum, viz. duo Herbarum, Florum, Sybvarum, et unus miscellaneorum* (London, Typis T. Roycroft, impensis Jo. Martyn: 1668).

11 Here I am building on Rigney A., "Plenitude, Scarcity and the Circulation of Cultural Memory", *Journal of European Studies* 35.1 (2005) 14, 17, 23; as well as on Cox V., "Leonardo Bruni on Women and Rhetoric: *De studiis et litteris* Revisited", *Rhetorica* 27.1 (2009) 66–68.

This chapter, therefore, reflects on the relation of scholarly identity, collective memory, and gender¹² from an interdisciplinary, comparative perspective by focusing on published texts by Luisa Sigea (1522–1560) and Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623–1673). The aim is to illuminate the position of women within the learned world by interrogating secular self-fashioning and publishing strategies before and after the major commercialization of literature in the first four decades of the seventeenth century: to reconstruct the real place of any group identity within intellectual memory, we need to turn to the literary and material form(s) of their contributions.¹³

1 Luisa Sigea (1522–1560): Scholarly Identity in the Sixteenth Century

On 15 March 1551, Luisa Sigea addressed a Latin epistle to Pompeyo Zambecari, Bishop of Sulmona, then also apostolic nuncio in Lisbon. The epistle opens with a quotation that she attributes to Cicero (she evidently cites from memory, because the source is actually from Quintilian), conceding the idea that one's true thoughts never hide behind eloquent words.¹⁴ The epistle, in fact, shows her effort to attract sincere intellectual praise, one of the strongest stimulants to a passion for literature, and mentoring, after reaching renown as a polyglot through intellectual exchanges in person, correspondence, and publication:

Vidisti igitur heri quantum ab illa tua de me concepta opinione degenerem, quantumque a linguarum peritia qua me pollere audieras, cum nihil non plane rusticum atque obsoletum coram te dixerim. Nec me solatur benignitas qua in me commendanda es usus, cum abjectos aut submittentes se libenter allevemus, quia hoc facere tanquam majores

12 I understand gender to be a socially situated performance, whose meaning only exists in transactions. Crawford M., *Talking Difference. On Gender and Language* (London – Thousand Oaks – New Delhi: 1995) 7–19.

13 McGann J.J., *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Charlottesville – London: 1992) 84. McKenzie D.F., *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (New York: 1999) 23; Scott-Baumann E., *Forms of Engagement. Women, Poetry, and Culture, 1640–1680* (Oxford: 2013) 7; Cayuela, “‘Esta pobre habilidad que Dios me dio’: autores, impresores y editores en el entuerto de la publicación (siglos XVI–XVII)” 297; O’Callaghan M., “‘My Printer, must haue somewhat to his share’: Isabella Whitney, Richard Jones, and Crafting Books”, *Women’s Writing* 26.1 (2019) 15–16.

14 Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, xii, 1, 29: ‘Prodit se, quamlibet custodiatur, simulatio, nec unquam tanta fuerit loquendi [Sigea has ‘fuit eloquendi’] facultas ut [Sigea has ‘quae’] non titubet ac haereat, quotis ab animo [Sigea has ‘ab eo quod latet’] verba dissentiant’. Sigea Luisa, *Epistolario latino*, ed. M.R. Prieto Corbalán (Madrid: 2007) 101, note 22.

videmur; et quoties discessit aemulatio succedit humanitas. Vellem potius talem me in vena exhibuisse talemque esse ut te timerem aemulum quam jactarem inscitiae meae habere defensorem.¹⁵

You saw yesterday how unworthy I showed myself of the opinion that you have of me and of my knowledge of languages – to which, according to what you had heard, I owed my renown – for everything I said in your presence was utterly clumsy and vulgar. And I find no consolation in the kindness that you employed to instil confidence in me, for we elevate the humiliated and the fallen voluntarily only because that gesture seems to make us feel better about ourselves. For, as soon as rivalry disappears, humanity follows. I wish I had shown to have such talent of myself and to be such to fear you as a rival, rather than to boast that I had you as a defender of my clumsiness.

To this end, Sigea stresses the role of rivalry in the pursuit of knowledge and the solace one finds in knowing that friendship develops from sharing values and intellectual practices; she also underlines being occupied by some serious writing. Crucially, the epistle concludes with a note of gratitude and a promise to be forever obliging, rooted in first-hand experience: Sigea thanks Zambecari for sending her a book by Vittoria Colonna, which she admits to appreciating more than light itself, both because of its author and its donor.

Sigea made not a single reference to her sex in this Latin epistle. That a woman humanist found her female condition irrelevant in an appeal for intellectual mentoring, in such an ‘intimately theatrical’ form,¹⁶ is of the utmost importance. It dismantles several preconceived ideas about women and the learned world: neither criticism nor the use of masculine generic linguistic terms, even in Latin (i.e. ‘viri’), precluded Sigea from identifying with experiences depicted in male-authored texts, which substantiates the existence, power, and scope of ideologies other than patriarchal at the time.¹⁷ One vital

15 Sigea Luisa, [*Cartas*], in Serrano y Sanz M. (ed.), *Apuntes para una biblioteca de escritoras: desde la formación del lenguaje hasta nuestros días*, vol. 11 (Madrid: 1975) 411 (with ‘quantum’ for ‘quantum’ in the first line). My translation.

16 Jardine L., *Erasmus, Man of Letters. The Construction of Charisma in Print* (Princeton – Oxford: 2015) 151.

17 Poska A.M., “The Case for Agentic Gender Norms for Women in Early Modern Europe”, *Gender & History* 30.2 (2018) 354, 361; Gilleir A. – Montoya A.C., ‘Introduction: Toward a New Conception of Women’s Literary History’, in Gilleir, A. – Montoya A.C. – Dijk S. van (eds.), *Women Writing Back. Transnational Perspectives from the Late Middle Ages to the Dawn of the Modern Era* (Leiden: 2010) 18–19.

finding of cognitive research on gender is the connection between raising consciousness and having schemata for a female perspective in literature; another, that a simple instruction to consider something differently can induce a change in a female reader's outlook on that same thing.¹⁸ A case in point is Erasmus's colloquy *Abbatis et eruditae* (Basel, 1524), which positively addresses the question, practices, and marital experiences of learned women as a contemporary social phenomenon in Spain, Italy, England, and Germany.¹⁹ In short, Renaissance²⁰ learned women knew they could be considered on an equal footing to their male peers, thereby confirming that positive symbolic constructions about them – i.e. via factual paratexts: name, sex, hometown, cultural practices –²¹ helped shifting readers' outlooks on women's intellectual worth more thoroughly than has been thought.

Women's agency to act independently and exert authority from a female perspective²² in the *Respublica litteraria* was increasingly exemplified by those who, like Sigee, 'formed intellectual relationships with men and were invited to participate in humanist life and practices'.²³ In her humanist epistle, Sigee mentions Vittoria Colonna, Marchioness of Pescara, a poet in the Petrarchan tradition and an author of prose works, first written as epistles, who like Christine de Pizan, found success through vernacular manuscript. Colonna actively promoted the publication of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (Venice, 1528), a social treatise that rapidly became an European best-seller, proving instrumental for the consolidation of women's secular authorship across borders: drawing on ancient and modern history, Castiglione prescribes a theoretical and practical view of female courtiers that closely matches that of the male

18 Crawford – Chaffin, "The Reader's Construction of Meaning: Cognitive Research on Gender and Comprehension", in Flynn E.A. – Schweickart P.P. (eds.), *Gender and Reading. Essays on Readers, Texts, and Contexts* (Baltimore: 1986) 11, 25.

19 Erasmus Desiderius, *Familiarum colloquiorum opus* (Antwerp: 1541) 309. It was first published under the characters' names (Antronius and Magdalia) within the *Colloquia* Basil edition of 1524, soon appearing also in vernacular languages (i.e. in 1529 in Spanish). Ledo J., "El abad y la muchacha instruida", in Solana Pujalte J. – Carande R. (eds.), *Erasmus de Róterdam. Coloquios*, vol. 1 (Zaragoza: 2020) 493.

20 I am referring to a degree of frequency exclusively, since the authorial signature left through self-inscription in Marie de France's *Lais*, for instance, already substantiates this knowledge – it represents 'the trace both of her authorship and her invention'. Edwards, R.R., *Invention and Authorship in Medieval England* (Ohio: 2017) 60.

21 The notion of 'factual paratext' is identified and explained in Genette G., *Paratexts. Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. J.E. Lewin (Cambridge: 1997) 7–8.

22 Rivera Garretas M.M., "La historia de las mujeres que nombra el mundo en femenino", *Acta Historica et Archeologica Mediaevalia* 26 (2005) 1160.

23 Allen P., *The Concept of Woman. The Early Humanist Reformation*, vol. 11 (Grand Rapids, Michigan – Cambridge: 2002) 935. Cox, "Leonardo Bruni on Women and Rhetoric" 71–75.

courtier.²⁴ Colonna's *Rime de la Divina Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara* (Parma, 1538) was printed, in the sixteenth century alone, nineteen times, twelve during the author's lifetime.²⁵ This success stimulated the rising number of publishing women during the sixteenth century across borders – in England, for instance, she may have influenced Aemilia Lanier.²⁶

Not only was she perceived as an equal to the finest male poets of her age, but Colonna's consecration as an author also promoted a model for legitimate literary expression by secular women and a canon of female voices she herself headed.²⁷ Such self-authorization strategies built on those of Boccaccio and Christine de Pizan: in the Introduction to Day 4 of the *Decamerone* (ca. 1353), Boccaccio places himself in a community of modern vernacular poets under the pretext 'to defend [their] continued love for the ladies'; his larger strategy was to authorize himself by canonizing others.²⁸

Poetry was regarded as the literary art *par excellence*.²⁹ Colonna herself developed as an author through writing verse – Sappho's recognized expertise –, and this is representative of the early modern period across Europe. So is that she was labelled a 'Tenth Muse', the title Plato accorded to Sappho for her superb literary skills, which turned her into an authoritative model: in *Phaedrus*, for instance, Sappho is used by Socrates as an authority to support his criticism of Lysias's speech on love.³⁰ Indeed, many Renaissance and Baroque learned women were adorned with ancient names (i.e. Sappho, Corinna, and

24 Castiglione Baldassare, *The Book of the Courtier*, trans. and intro. G. Bull (London: 2003) 219; Villegas de la Torre E.M. (intro., ed., and trans.), *El canto de la décima Musa: poesías del Renacimiento y el Barroco* (Barcelona: 2020) 23–29.

25 Och M., "Vittoria Colonna in Giorgio Vasari's 'Life of Properzia de' Rossi'", in McIver K.A. (ed.), *Wives, Widows, Mistresses, and Nuns in Early Modern Italy. Making the Invisible Visible through Art and Patronage* (London – New York: 2012) 126.

26 Font Paz C., "Writing for Patronage or Patronage for Writing? Two Case Studies in Seventeenth-Century and Post-Restoration Women's Poetry in Britain", in Font Paz C. – Geerdink N. (eds.), *Economic Imperatives for Women's Writing in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2018) 102.

27 Colonna Vittoria, *Sonnets for Michelangelo. A Bilingual Edition*, ed. and trans. A. Brundin (Chicago – London: 2005) 5, 19; see also Crivelli T., "The Print Tradition of Vittoria Colonna's *Rime*", in Brundin A. – Crivelli T. – Sapegno M.S. (eds.), *A Companion to Vittoria Colonna* (Leiden: 2016) 69–139.

28 Eisner, *Boccaccio and the Invention of Italian Literature* 5, 9.

29 Marino, *The Biography of "the Idea of Literature"* 123.

30 Plato, *Phaedrus*, ed. and trans. R. Waterfield (Oxford: 2009) 13.

Minerva)³¹ and titles ('Tenth Muse', 'Fourth Grace'), based on Plato's authority and intent, and later those of his leading followers (i.e. Garcilaso de la Vega):

En los antiguos fue frecuente llamar a las Damas doctas Décima Musa, o quarta Gracia [...]. Assi llamò Platón *lib.1. Anthol.* a Sappho Poetria de Grecia. *Sappho Pierÿs est Decima* [...]. Y nuestro Garci-Lasso en el *Soneto* 24. a la Marquesa de la Padula [...], *Décima moradora del Parnaso.* / Yo di el mismo atributo a [...] FENISA Dama q[ue] en este siglo merece ser referida con quantas acuerda la fama.

Among the ancient it became customary to call learned Ladies Tenth Muse, or fourth Grace [...]. This is how Plato called Sappho Poetria of Greece *lib.1. Anthol.. Sappho Pierÿs est Decima* [...]. So did our Garcilaso [de la Vega] in Sonnet 24 regarding the Marchioness of Padula [...], *Tenth dweller of the Parnassus.* / I gave the same attribute to [...] FENISA, a Lady, who in this century deserves to be recalled along with those fame concurs.³²

Again, this echoed practices applied to learned men: in his depiction of Petrarch, Boccaccio's use of epithets draws on the concept of the *vir illustris*, transmitted from Roman antiquity and based on the idea of coincidence of virtue and fame; in the seventeenth century, this also manifests in the presentation of authors as equivalents to ancient and the "first" modern authorities, both implicitly and explicitly (i.e. Lope de Vega as Virgil, Petrarch, and Garcilaso; Ben Jonson as 'the English Horace, Martial').³³ In both cases, the

31 Stapleton R.F., "Minerva of Her Time: Luisa Sigea and Humanist Networking", in Armstrong-Partida M. – Guerson A. – Wessell Lightfoot D. (eds.), *Women and Community in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Nebraska: 2020) 230.

32 Pellicer de Ossau y Tovar, Joseph, *Lecciones solemnes a las obras de Luis de Gongora y Argote* (Madrid, Imprenta del Reino: 1630) 575–576, my translation. See also Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen A.M., "Anna Roemers Visscher: de tiende van de negen, de vierde van de drie", *Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (1980) 3–13, about the Dutch poet Anna Roemers-Visscher, whom the Dutch Neolatin poet Daniel Heinsius called the 'Tenth Muse', the 'Fourth of the Three' (Graces), and 'a Dutch Minerva' – epithets reiterated by other vernacular poets, such as Jacob Cats and Joost van den Vondel, the latter also calling her 'een Hollandsche Sappho' (10).

33 Enenkel K.A.E., "Modelling the Humanist: Petrarch's Letter to Posterity and Boccaccio's Biography of the Poet Laureate", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Jong-Crane B. de – Liebrechts P. (eds.), *Modelling the Individual. Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance, With a Critical Edition of Petrarch's "Letter to Posterity"* (Amsterdam – Georgia: 1998) 43. Sánchez Jiménez, A., *Lope pintado por sí mismo: mito e imagen del autor en la poesía de Lope de Vega Carpio* (London: 2006) 15; Kay D.W., *Ben Jonson. A Literary Life* (London: 2017) 49.

practice was financially worthwhile, too, given its special recurrence in the paratextual apparatus of print publications throughout the period, even when concerning religious authors (i.e. Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz), precisely because this *difference* helped the publication to stand out.³⁴

Luisa Sigea was also celebrated as a ‘Tenth Muse’ during her lifetime, an authoritative intellectual status, which was notably enlarged by the papal support she had; in 1546, she sent Pope Paulus III a Latin epistle (she had also done so in 1540), accompanied by a copy of her first work, *Sintra*, to which he responded positively in 1547.³⁵ *Sintra* (c. 1546) is an ode, which shows a ‘structural similarity’ with Sappho’s ‘Ode to Aphrodite’.³⁶ Specifically, it is a bucolic evocation in verse (with four epigrams) of the royal gardens of Sintra, Portugal, wherein a lake nymph addresses the humanist author by her name: Sigea is sitting nearby, and the nymph prophesizes on the fortunate future of Mary of Portugal, Duchess of Viseu, Sigea’s very own patron and the richest woman in Renaissance Europe. Sigea and her sister were tutored by their Flemish father, Diego Sigeo, as did later the children of the fourth duke of Braganza; in 1542 Rainha Catherine of Austria, wife of John III of Portugal, invited Sigea to become a lady-in-waiting at her court, and soon she and her sister began to serve the Infanta Mary of Portugal, as her Latin and music tutors. Indeed, a number of payments are recorded in *Livro de moradia* of Rainha Catherine for “donna Luisa de Sygea, latina”.³⁷ The term *latina* could simply refer to learned ladies at court.³⁸ Nonetheless, prioritising women’s roles as teachers in female education had a long tradition at Portuguese courts, notably shown by their female patronage of two Portuguese translations of Pizan’s *Le Livre des trois vertus à l’enseignement des dames*.³⁹ In Sigea’s case, this role is deemed as

34 Tylus, “Naming Sappho: Gaspara Stampa and the Recovery of the Sublime in Early Modern Europe” 17. Bourdieu P., *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. and intro. R. Johnson (Cambridge: 1993) 106; see also Villegas de la Torre E.M., “Décima moradora del Parnaso’: género y tolerancia en la República literaria de la primera modernidad”, in García Cárcel R. – Serrano Martín E. (eds.), *Historia de la tolerancia en España* (Madrid: 2021) 171–183.

35 Sigea, *Epistolario latino* 97.

36 Stevenson J., *Women Latin Poets. Language, Gender, & Authority from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: 2005) 214.

37 Baranda N., “De investigación y bibliografía: con unas notas documentales sobre Luisa Sigea”, *Lemir*, 10 (2006) 5.

38 Carabias Torres A.M., “Beatriz Galindo y Lucía de Medrano: ni maestra de reinas ni catedrática de derecho canónico”, *Investigaciones Históricas, Época Moderna y Contemporánea* 39 (2019) 192.

39 See Villegas de la Torre E.M., “Gender in Early Constructions of Authorship, 1447–1518”, *Theory Now: Journal of Literature, Critique and Thought*, Special Issue “El autor en la modernidad” 1.2 (2019) 33–50.

factual (not verisimilar) in several contemporary letters and in a seventeenth-century biography of the Infanta.⁴⁰

This promotion of gender complicity becomes all the more significant when considering that Sigea reached international renown as a humanist authority and a scholar,⁴¹ linked to the Infanta's 'Universidade Femenina [Female University]';⁴² as her literary academy was known. The phrase was perhaps inspired by women's attested connections with universities in Iberia and elsewhere,⁴³ or indeed, by Pizan's gendered discourse: in the Portuguese translations of her treatise on women's education – its print version, *O Espelho de Cristina* (Lisbon, 1518), was commissioned by the Infanta's aunt, Rainha Eleanor of Viseu –, Pizan addresses her readers as 'colegio feminino [women's college]' and as 'universidade das mulheres [women's university]'.⁴⁴ In this regard, Erasmus's influence may have played a part, too: in his colloquy *Senatulus* (1528), five female characters, bearing ancient and modern names (Cornelia, Margareta, Perotta, Julia, and Catarina), plan to form a women-only council and engage in public debates concerning women's lives.⁴⁵

A year after addressing her epistle to Zambecari, Sigea married Francisco de Cuevas, an untitled noble, and completed her other major extant work, *Duarum virginum colloquium de vita aulica et privata* (c. 1552; its dedication dates from 1553), in prose and dialogue form, drawing on Plato, Plutarch, Cicero, Seneca, St Augustin, Petrarch, and Erasmus – in *Phaedrus*, as we remember, Socrates marshalled Sappho as an authority. In her colloquy, two young learned women (Flaminia and Blesilla) debate whether a public life at court is better than a private one in retirement within city walls, favouring the latter. It is, therefore, a small yet significant variation – it is based on gender – on the old debate between the active and the contemplative life with regards to the attainment of happiness.⁴⁶

40 Pacheco Miguel, *Vida de la Serenissima Infanta Doña María* (Lisboa, Ivan de la Costa: 1675) fols. 89–91, 94–97.

41 Miert D. van, "Language and Communication in the Republic of Letters: The Uses of Latin and French in the Correspondence of Joseph Scaliger", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 72 (2010) 17, 24.

42 Sigea, *Epistolario latino* 26, 42; Pacheco, *Vida* 98–99.

43 Ribera, *Le Glorie immortali* 294–295, 307–310. Borreguero Beltrán C., "Puellae Doctae en las cortes peninsulares", *Dossiers Feministes* 15 (2011) 80–86; see also Oettel Th., "Una catedrática en el siglo de Isabel la Católica", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 107 (1935) 289–368. Allen, *The Concept of Woman* 935.

44 Pizan Christine de, *O Livro das Tres Vertudes a Insinança das Damas*, ed. M.L. Crispim (Lisboa: 2002) 309, 78.

45 Erasmus, *Familiarum colloquiorum* 557–559.

46 Vian Herrero A., "El *Colloquium duarum virginum* de Luisa Sigea en la tradición dialógica del escepticismo académico", in Vian, A. – Baranda C. (eds.), *Letras humanas y conflictos*

In her epistles, poetry, prose, and dialogues, Sigea represented a female voice in Latin to underscore her authority as a scholar, upholding the sense of friendship and camaraderie of the *Respublica litteraria*.⁴⁷ The dedications to her female patron served this purpose, too, since her ‘social respectability’⁴⁸ as a humanist, like Petrarch’s, depended on patronage. In all such writings, Sigea exploited seemingly personal circumstances – being a learned woman was one – for the *captatio benevolentiae*, such as in the purportedly Ciceronian (in fact, Quintilian) quotation in the opening of the epistle addressed to Zambecari.⁴⁹ Such efforts helped in her construction of an *auctoritas* suitable for the times: certainly, with her chosen signature ‘Per Loysam Sygeam Toletanam’ emulating others (i.e. ‘Per Des. Erasmus Roterodamus’), Sigea fashioned herself as a known, recognizable, and confident scholarly *woman author* (‘utility and novelty’),⁵⁰ born to a learned, middle-class family of Flemish and Spanish origin, connected with Toledo (Charles V’s main residence) and Portuguese courts.⁵¹ In Johannes Vasaeus’s *Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae* (Salamanca, 1552),⁵² for instance, Sigea (and her sister) is praised as a contemporary learned referent of ‘puellas aliquot & mulieres’ across nations with supportive fathers: the preliminaries include a laudatory poem by Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas, known as *El Brocense*, famous to this day for his editions and translations of classical and modern works. In 1553, she was praised alongside Aspasia, Sappho, the daughters of Thomas More, Angela of Foligno, Catherine of Siena, and Vittoria Colonna, in a French print publication by Guillaume Postel on the most admirable victories of modern women, dedicated to Margaret of Valois, who was born that year. Learned women as a group must have felt most appreciated, especially when reading about Sigea’s accomplishments in the name of women – ‘à la Femme n’est rien impossible’ [for a woman, nothing is

del saber: la filología como instrumento a través de las edades (Madrid: 2008) 190, 198–199, 207–208.

- 47 I am building on Jiménez Calvente T., *Un siciliano en la España de los Reyes Católicos: los Epistolarum familiarum libri XVII de Lucio Marineo Sículo* (Alcalá: 2001) 122.
- 48 Enenkel, “Modelling the Humanist” 47.
- 49 Villegas de la Torre E.M., “Writing Literature for Publication, 1605–1637”, in Wilkinson A.S. – Ulla Lorenzo A. (eds.), *A Maturing Market. The Iberian Book World in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: 2017) 127; Stapleton, “Minerva of Her Time: Luisa Sigea and Humanist Networking” 242.
- 50 Minuzzi S., *The Invention of the Author. The ‘Privilegio di Stampa’ in Renaissance Venice* (Venice: 2017) 14–15.
- 51 Pask K., *The Emergence of the English Author. Scripting the Life of the Poet in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: 1996) 2; Sigea, *Epistolario latino* 36.
- 52 Vasaeus Johannes, *Chronici rerum memorabilium Hispaniae* (Salamanca, excudebat Ioannes Iunta: 1552) fol. 19.

impossible], as Postel added.⁵³ But also when any such celebrated women allegedly experienced envy-driven ridicule and this was publicly undermined on gender and humanistic (erasmian) grounds:

But these men that so saye do in my judgement eyther regarde but lytell what they speke in this mater or els as they be for the more parte unlearned they envy it and take it sore to hert, that the other shulde have that precious jewell whiche they nother have theym selfe nor can fynde in their hertes to take the payne to gette [...]. I suppose nowe a dayes a man coude nat devyse a better waye to kepe his wyfe safe [...] than if he teche her the latyn and greke tonge and suche good sciences as are written in them.⁵⁴

Two key examples are the vernacular publications of Gaspara Stampa and Louise Labé, which appeared shortly after that of Postel and those including Sappho's Fragment 31, as the products of 'Tenth Muses' (i.e. 'Saffo de nostri giorni', Sappho of our times)⁵⁵ – Stampa's book was published posthumously in Venice, but Labé's collected works appeared in Lyon during her lifetime, following humanistic practices (i.e. 'par Lovize Labé lionnoize').⁵⁶

In 1557, when their daughter was born, Sigea and her husband secured positions at the Valladolid court of Reina Mary of Hungary and Bohemia, sister of Charles v and an Erasmus's correspondent, including the dedicatee of his *De vidua christiana* (Basel, 1529). A year later, she was praised as a 'Tenth Muse' in Salvador Solano's *Poetica* (Salamanca, 1558), whose preliminaries again include a laudatory poem by *El Brocense*.⁵⁷ In 1559, while living on two pensions left to them by the late Reina Mary, Sigea sent a Latin epistle, in the form of a *curriculum vitae*, to Philip II of Spain, stressing her teaching work for the Infanta Mary of Portugal and her singularity as the then most celebrated *woman*

53 Postel Guillaume, *Les Tres-Merveilleuses Victoires des Femmes do Nouveau Monde, et comment elles doibvent à tout le mon par raison commander, & même à ceulx qui auront la Monarchie du Monde vieil* (Paris, chez Jehan Ruelle, à la Queuë de Regnard, ruë Saint Jacques: 1553) 19, 16. My translation.

54 Thomas Hyrde such writes in the accompanying preface to Erasmus Desiderius, *A devout treatise upon the Pater Noster made fyrst in latyn by the moost famous doctour mayster Erasmus Roterodamus and tourned in to englisshe by a yong vertuous and well lerned gentylwoman of xix. yere of age*, trans. Margaret More Roper (London, Thomas Berthelet: [1526]) A2r–A4r.

55 From Benedetto Varchi's contribution to the preliminaries of Stampa Gaspara, *Rime di Madonna Gaspara Stampa* (Venice, per Plinio Pietrasanta: 1554) A4r.

56 Labé Louise, *Evvres de Lovize Labé Lionnoize* (Lyon, par Ian de Tovmes: 1555) 9.

57 Miralles Maldonado J.C., "Jacobco Salvador de la Solana, un humanista murciano del XVI", in Valverde Sánchez M. – Calderón Dorda E.A. – Morales Ortiz A. (eds.), *Koinòs lógos: homenaje al profesor José García López*, vol. II (2006) 648–650.

scholar: Sigea's confidence may have seemed plausible enough, since print works (i.e. Domenichi's all-women anthology, containing fifty-three women poets, Colonna and Stampa among them, was published then in Lucca) increasingly showcased learned women 'as active in literary coteries, urban networks of literary women and men, and the republic of letters in general'.⁵⁸ Around this time, too, her husband requested employment in writing for both, on the basis of a lack of funds and their former work; he as secretary and she 'por las habilidades que tiene y por haber enseñado a la Infanta de Portugal' [for the abilities she has and for having taught the Infanta of Portugal].⁵⁹ On 1 February 1560, again to no avail, Sigea applied for a position – based on shared intellectual interests – at the court of Elisabeth of Valois, a sister of Postel's dedicatee, and the king's wife (since 1559) via Sébastien de l'Aubespine, the French ambassador. Sigea died months later.⁶⁰

Philip II conceded a life-long pension to Públia Hortênsia de Castro (1548–1595), another female humanist linked to Rainha Catherine's Portuguese court, however. Furthermore, when Sigea approached him for work, Sofonisba Anguissola had just (in 1559) been appointed to serve his young wife as 'artista de compañía' [a lady-in-waiting and a painting teacher]: Anguissola stayed with Reina Elisabeth until 1573.⁶¹ In her epistle to de l'Aubespine, Sigea speaks of patronage struggles as a societal problem in Spain, which she also exploits for aesthetic purposes in her vernacular poetry. Curiously, in the preface to his revised Part III of *Le Vite* (Florence, 1568), Giorgio Vasari dwells on such patronage struggles in Italy, too, while including a life and a portrait of the sculptor Properzia de' Rossi, as well as references to the Spanish court's appreciation of Anguissola.⁶² In other words, Sigea's late frustration seems to have referred to her milieu, in which poets and artists alike struggled to climb the social hierarchy, rather than to personal (gender) reasons.⁶³

Sintra was printed in 1566 by Denis du Pré in Paris. The paratextual apparatus includes Sigea's epistle to Pope Paulus III, laudatory poems by Portuguese and Italian humanists – Jorge Coelho (who compares her to Sappho), Gaspar

58 Robin D., *Publishing Women. Salons, The Presses, and the Counter-Reformation in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago – London: 2007) 51–52.

59 Cited in Baranda, "De investigación y bibliografía: con unas notas documentales sobre Luisa Sigea" 7. My translation.

60 Sigea, *Epistolario latino* 118–123, 73.

61 Sebastián Lozano J., "Sofonisba Anguissola: una mirada femenina en la corte", in Calvo Serraller F. (coord.), *Maestros en la sombra: la otra cara del Museo del Prado* (Barcelona: 2013) 190, 192 and 194; Ribera, *Le Glorie immortali* 313–316.

62 Vasari Giorgio, *The Lives of the Artists*, trans. J. Conaway Bondanella – P. Bondanella (Oxford: 2008) 283, 343; Ribera, *Le Glorie immortali* 313–316.

63 Marino, *The Biography of "the Idea of Literature"* 131; Villegas de la Torre, *El canto de la décima Musa* 92–96; see also Font Paz, 'Writing for Patronage or Patronage for Writing'.

Barreiros, André de Resende, Girolamo Britonio, and Claudio Monselli –, and two epistles on the printing arrangement that existed since October 1561 between her father and Jean Nicot, the French ambassador in Lisbon. In short, the print version documents a concerted effort to preserve and capitalize on Sigea's singularity, memory, and fame in Spain, France, and Italy. Below is Nicot's epistle to Sigea's father, Diego Sigeo:

Eccum tibi, mi Sygae, Aloysiae tuae carmen [...]. Nunc ad te redit ornatum Cl[audii]. Monselli peritissimi viri commendatione. Tu cura, ut Infans Maria, quid iudicium de ejus alumna in Gallia factum fuerit, id vero intelligat. Aloysia, Sygae, ex te denuo nascitur: immo vero prorsus numquam interiit. Vivet autem saeculis innumerabilibus hoc pulcherrimarum artium, quas illa studiosissime coluit, adjumento; ac tanquam fax nunc magis accensa non Hispanas modo feminas, sed ceteras quasvis etiam incredibile litterarum amore inflammabit.⁶⁴

Here is for you, my Sigeo, the poem of your Luisa [...]. I am returning it now with the recommendation [and praises] of Claudio Monsello, the most outstanding expert in oratory. Do as much as you can so that Infanta Dona Maria appreciates this opinion for what it is worth, for never before had it been held in France a judgment of such calibre regarding a lady-in-waiting of hers. Luisa, dear Sigeo, is born once again thanks to you, although, in all truth, she had never died completely. She shall live for countless centuries thanks to the exquisite beauty of those arts that she cultivated with such great zeal. And now, like a torch, still all the more burning, she will set alight Spanish women and on all the others, with her wondrous love for the Letters.

2 Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673): Scholarly Identity in the Seventeenth Century

The endeavours of learned women continued to be celebrated as belonging to a group identity within the *Respublica litteraria* over the following century –i.e. Ribera's *Le Glorie immortali de Trionfi, et Heroiche Imprese D'ottocento quarantacinque Donne Illustri antiche e moderne* (Venice, 1609) –, despite the occasional male ridicule, which continued to materialize in self-evident envy and/or literary banter. Furthermore, the old idea that the *Respublica litteraria* was

⁶⁴ Cited from Serrano y Sanz, *Apuntes* 403. My translation.

formed by all the writers ‘of all ages’ and ‘of all countries’ resurfaced then in institutional, categorizable forms (i.e. dictionaries, catalogues), projecting dreams of social organization, liberty, and equality.⁶⁵ One such example is the third volume of Schottus’s *Hispaniae Bibliotheca* (Frankfurt, 1608), which references (under the epigraph, ‘POETRIAE ET FOEMINAE HISPANIAE / eruditione clara’) sixteenth-century female humanists of international renown (i.e. Luisa Sigea, Oliva Sabuco de Nantes, and Juliana Morell), as well as the self-proclaimed *unlearned*, St Teresa, whose *Vida* in English translation would circulate from 1611.⁶⁶ Similarly, when acknowledging Sigea’s intellectual contributions in Louis Moréri’s *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (Paris, 1681), her seventeenth-century French ridicule is put to an end immediately: ‘Mais l’Ouvrage qu’on a publié sous son nom *De arcanis Amoris & Veneris* est plus moderne’ [But the work that has been published under her name, *De arcanis Amoris & Veneris*, is more modern].⁶⁷ The seventeenth-century *Respublica litteraria* also projected dreams of profit. Indeed, despite ongoing criticism – allegedly, for being improper and for degrading one’s art – , the commercialization of the literary product during this century brought with it the professionalization of the writer’s career and a greater, more prominent role on the part of the (printer-)publisher in the publishing enterprise, making print and vernacular languages the favourite tools for dissemination.⁶⁸ The transnational circulation of Bartoli’s *Dell’Huomo di lettere difeso et emendato*

65 Marino, *The Biography of “the Idea of Literature”* 184, 187; Suárez de Figueroa Cristóbal, *Plaza universal de todas ciencias y artes: parte traduzida de Toscano* (Madrid, Luis Sanchez: 1615) 128.

66 Schottus Andreas, *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*, III (Francofurti, Apud Claudiusm Marnium & haeredes Iohan. Aubrii: 1608) 336, 340–344. Spinnenweber K., “The 1611 English Translation of St Teresa’s Autobiography”, *SKASE: Journal of Translation and Interpretation* 2.1 (2007) 5.

67 Moréri Louis, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique, ou le Melange Curieux de l’Histoire Sacree et Profane*, vol. nio (Lyon, chez Jean Girin, & Barthelemy Riviere: 1681) 471, my translation. Maestre Maestre J.M., “La carta en latín de un Scholasticus Toletanus a Luisa Sigea: ¿misiva verdadera o falsificación literaria?”, *RELAT: Revista de Estudios Latinos* 19 (2019) 162–163, 207.

68 Richardson B., *Printing, Writers and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: 1999) 80; Pinciano López, *Philosophia Antiqua Poetica*, ed. A. Carballo Picazo, vol. I (Madrid: 1973) 155; Saavedra Fajardo Diego de, *República literaria*, ed. J.C. de Torres (Madrid: 1999) 65; Crisciani C., “Histories, Stories, Exempla, and Anecdote: Michele Savonarola from Latin to Vernacular”, in Pomata, G. –Siraisi N.G. (eds.), *Historia. Empiricism and Erudition in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge – London: 2005) 316; Bouza F., “Para qué imprimir: de autores, público, impresores, y manuscritos en el Siglo de Oro”, *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, 18 (1997) 33; Cayuela, “Esta pobre habilidad que Dios me dio: autores, impresores y editores en el entuerto de la publicación (siglos XVI–XVII)” 304–305.

Parti due (Rome, 1645) bears witness to some of these changes ('It is a *How to* of starting the work of writing' in the Baroque),⁶⁹ both in terms of content and material form: 'Do you realize that through the press you are speaking, not to a hundred, or a thousand, but to all the sages of the world as your reading audience?';⁷⁰ asks Bartoli in the English translation (London, 1660), whose title page defensively insists on 'the right of the Muses' via Latin quotations from Aristotle, Seneca, and Sabellico; the Spanish one (Madrid, 1678) highlights its original language and existing vernacular translations (Latin, French, English, German, and Portuguese), while the censor authorizing it claims to choose print 'para hazer mas universal' [to make it more universal].⁷¹

Authorial ambivalence, such as when a commercial author also makes self-negating statements ('this incorrect Essay, written in the Country without the help of Books, or advice of Friends'),⁷² was certainly accentuated by the implied economics of print production and the rapid rise of common readers. Yet the struggle to invent an acceptable *ethos* was not new: to avoid being accused of vanity, Petrarch already presented himself as critical of his vernacular achievements, also via the category of the wondrous and miraculous.⁷³ Seventeenth-century vernacular works often make novel claims, evince a disdain for pedantry, while evoking the idea of genius, or the naturally learned – hence the popular (albeit often misunderstood) practice of calling an author a 'miracle', a 'monster of nature', and 'Phoenix'.⁷⁴ Furthermore, their paratexts – many in epistolary form – increasingly served as an important *locus* for self-promotion, often dressed as readings on religious, philosophical, and societal matters, such as the inspiration and encouragement learned women and men (i.e. Marie de Gournay and Ben Jonson)⁷⁵ found in ancient and modern

69 Bartoli Daniello, *The Man of Letters. Defended and Emended*, trans. G. Woods (New York: 2018) vi.

70 Ibidem 188–189.

71 From 'Censura del Doctor Don Felix de Lucio Espinosa y Malo, Doctor en ambos derechos, por la insigne Unversidad de Napoles', in idem, *Hombre de letras. Escrito en italiano [...] y aora nuevamente en castellano*, trans. Gaspar Sanz (Madrid, por Andrés García de la Iglesia [...]). A costa de Iuan Martin Merinero, Mercader de libros. Vendese en su casa en la Puerta del Sol: 1678) C4r.

72 From 'To the Reader', in Dryden John, *Of Dramatick Poesie, an Essay* (London, Printed for Henry Herringman, at the Sign of the Anchor, on the Lower-walk of the New Exchange: 1668) A4v.

73 Enenkel, "Modelling the Humanist" 42–43.

74 Pal C., *Republic of Women. Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: 2012) 3; Villegas de la Torre, *El canto de la décima Musa* 271–272; Trambaioli M., "La fama póstuma de Lope de Vega", *Studia Aurea* 10 (2016) 174.

75 Gournay Marie de, "Marie le Jars de Gournay: The Equality of Men and Women", in Clarke D.M. (ed.), *The Equality of the Sexes. Three Feminist Texts of the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: 2013) 62; Jonson Ben, *Timber: or, Discoveries; Made Upon Men and Matter: As They*

sources. In the case of women, this was fuelled by their rising roles in printing houses – a trade ‘profoundly dependent’⁷⁶ on kinship, marriage, and the representation of domesticity – since roughly 1557 in London, or even from an earlier period onward, in Antwerp, Louvain, and Douai.⁷⁷

Take, for instance, Margaret Cavendish’s words, below. She references the relation between the theory of humours and one’s desire for contributing to cultural memory through intellectual fame and generic masculine terms (*men* and *he*) in vernacular print. Once again, this indicates an appreciation of literary conventions as embodying universal values and experiences, with which her book producers clearly concurred:

But there is no humor or passion so troublesome as desire, because it yields no sound satisfaction. For it is mixed most commonly with pleasing hopes, and hope is a greater pleasure than enjoyment [...]. But desire and curiosity make a man to be above other creatures [...]. And man, as he hath a transcendent soul to outlive the world to all eternity, so he hath a transcendent desire to live in the world’s memory as long as the world lasts [...] that his works may beget another soul, though of shorter life, which is fame: for fame is like a soul, an incorporeal being.⁷⁸

The passage is part of the preface, ‘Of Moral Philosophy and Moralists’, included in a single-authored publication, which appeared in folio in London in early 1653, subtly echoing the discipline of philosophy through the title (*Poems and Fancies*), authorial characterization (‘by the right honourable, the Lady Margaret countesse of Newcastle’), the printer (Thomas Roycroft, who had recently printed Thomas Hobbes’s *De corpore politico*), and the booksellers (Martyn and Allestry, the official publisher for the Royal Society from 1660).⁷⁹

have flow’d out of his daily Readings, or had their reflux to his peculiar Notion of the Times (London: 1641) 89.

76 Johns A., *The Nature of the Book. Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago – London: 1998) 76.

77 Bell M., ‘Women and the Production of Texts: The Impact of the History of the Book’, in Hinks J. – Gardner V. (eds.), *The Book Trade in Early Modern England. Practices, Perceptions, Connections* (New Castle – Delaware – London: 2014) 114. See also the database of female printers in Antwerp, Louvain and Douai, compiled by Heleen Wyffels at the Catholic University of Leuven: <https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/impressae-women-printers-in-early-modern-antwerp-leuven-and-douai>.

78 Cavendish Margaret, *Poems and Fancies with The Animal Parliament*, ed. B.R. Siegfried (Toronto – Tempe: 2018) 139. Henceforth referred to as *Poems and Fancies*.

79 Hobbes Thomas, *De corpore politico, or The elements of the law, moral and politick with discourses upon severall heads, as of [brace] the law of nature, oathes and covenants, severall kinds of government: with the changes and revolutions of them* (London, Printed by

In fact, the publication has been described as a ‘conversation with Lucretius’s *De rerum natura*’, which somewhat presumes readers familiarity with that work.⁸⁰

Poems and Fancies illustrates how a mid-seventeenth-century vernacular female author, aided by her distinguished book producers,⁸¹ strived to fashion a scholarly identity to suit the demands of an increasingly nationalistic, diverse, even aggressive, reading public.⁸² It contains 280 self-identified philosophical poems (i.e. ‘A Dialogue betwixt the Body and the Mind’),⁸³ divided into five parts and brought to a close by a prose parable (*The Animal Parliament*) and a conclusion in the form of four poems. Dividing a work into various parts for having more dedicatees was not an innovation (i.e. Erasmus, Gessner), but in the seventeenth century this was also used for targeting different audiences more closely and at once.⁸⁴ The six parts of Cavendish’s *Poems and Fancies* are intended for several interpretative communities: noble and worthy ladies, the common reader, natural philosophers, poets, writing ladies, and valiant soldiers.

Part 1, for instance, opens with a laudatory poem by the author’s husband, William Cavendish, then Marquis of Newcastle. In it, the countess (now referred to as *duchess*) is praised as a highly-regarded noble poet for managing to rob Spenser, Jonson, and Shakespeare of their ‘glorious fame’.⁸⁵ This praise overtly situates the work within seventeenth-century courtly and commercial vernacular production by leading male poets, with pedagogical and philosophical (humanistic) ambitions – Spenser achieved a status equal to the Greek and Latin authorities (‘our English Virgil’),⁸⁶ Shakespeare did similarly

T.R. for J. Ridley, and are to be sold at the Castle of Fleestreet: 1652). For information on Cavendish’s printers and booksellers, see Kroetsch C., “List of Margaret Cavendish’s Texts, Printers, and Booksellers (1653–1675)”, *Digital Cavendish Project*, Accessed 19 July 2021 <<http://digitalcavendish.org/original-research/texts-printers-booksellers/>>.

80 From the introduction to Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 18.

81 Weber H., *Memory, Print, and Gender in England, 1653–1759* (New York – Basingstoke: 2016) 37.

82 On the often ignored, wide diversity of reading forms, meanings, and spaces in the early modern period, see Castillo Gómez A., *Leer y oír: ensayos sobre la lectura en los Siglos de Oro* (Madrid – Frankfurt, 2016) 121–152.

83 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 148.

84 Blair A., “Conrad Gessner’s Paratexts”, *Gesnerus* 73.1 (2016) 80; see also Villegas de la Torre E.M., “Autoría femenina y campo literario en la primera mitad del s. xvii”, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 20.4 (2019) 337–352.

85 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 58.

86 Digby Kenelme, *Observations on the 22. Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2nd. Book of Spencers Faery Queen. Full of excelent Notions concerning the Frame of Man, and his rationall Soul* (London, Printed for Daniel Frere Bookseller at the Red-Bull in Little Brittain: 1643) 2.

within the dramatic tradition, while Jonson, ‘the most learned and judicious Poet’,⁸⁷ succeeded through wide-ranging compositions, encompassing the comedy of humours and the commonplace book.⁸⁸ Such a strategy may have seemed reasonable enough, since the author wrote in the vernacular, was *naturally* learned (like Shakespeare, according to contemporary sources),⁸⁹ with great intellectual ambitions (‘there are poetical fictions, moral instructions, philosophical opinions, dialogues, discourses, poetical romances’)⁹⁰ – not to mention her husband was a courtier, a literary patron (i.e. for Jonson), and a poet himself.⁹¹

A dedication to her ‘Noble Brother-in-Law’, Sir Charles, signed by her initials (‘M.N.’), follows, wherein the author humorously undermines women’s traditional practices (‘spinning with fingers’), to emphasize the power of her *natural* inclination to study and write poetry (‘spinning with the brain’). Here, readers are directly confronted with her ambition to become a cultural icon: ‘I made my delight in the latter [...], which made me endeavor to spin a garment of memory to lap up my name, that it might grow in after-ages.’⁹² Such paratexts had a commercial purpose – women authors had been self-identifying as ‘learned wives, mothers, and equal partners in their household salons’ from the late sixteenth century.⁹³ The author’s husband (since December 1645), like Sir Charles, his younger brother, had links with renowned philosophers (i.e. Thomas Hobbes, René Descartes, Pierre Gassendi). By advertising learning within the family, ‘Margaret Newcastle’ hoped to reinforce a scholarly reading of her first printed work, and rightly so – the staged situation resonated with the learned woman’s supportive marital experiences described in Erasmus’s colloquy *Abbatis et eruditae*, while the literary work itself also conversed with seventeenth-century scientific thought (i.e. Thomas Hobbes and William Davenant).⁹⁴

87 From ‘The Printer to the Reader’, in P[urslowe] E[lizabeth] [printer], *Jonsonus Virbius or, The Memorie of Ben Johnson Revived by the Friends of the Muses* (London, Printed by E.P. for Henry Seile, and are to be sold at his shop, at the Tygers Head in Fleetstreet, over-against St Dunstons Church: 1638) fol. A2.

88 Pask, *The Emergence of the English Author* 95, 106, 109.

89 Marino, *The Biography of “the Idea of Literature”* 199.

90 From ‘To Her Grace the Duchess of Newcastle’, in Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 66.

91 Ross – Scott-Baumann (eds.), *Women Poets of the English Civil War* (Manchester: 2018) 199.

92 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 58, 60.

93 Ross S.G., *The Birth of Feminism. Woman as Intellect in Renaissance Italy and England* (Cambridge – London: 2009) 2.

94 Erasmus, *Familiarum colloquiorum* 306; Scott-Baumann E., *Forms of Engagement. Women, Poetry, and Culture, 1640–1680* (Oxford: 2013) 32.

In 'All Noble and Worthy Ladies', Cavendish states that she prefers the approval of women, allegedly the largest interpretative community, because she writes in verse, a practice most akin with women, and fame derives from great noise.⁹⁵ Such authorial claims reinforced and celebrated lettered women as a powerful group within the learned world: in seventeenth-century Italy, for instance, women's power as an audience extended to the dissemination and authorization of scientific theory.⁹⁶ Ultimately, the claims served to commercialize the work under the pretext of protecting her authorial reputation by targeting the authoritative interpretive community she represented, one firmly rooted in intellectual memory – the author's characterization in the title page already echoes those of Colonna in *Rime* and Wroth's *Urania*, for example. Hence Cavendish only recalls, in a vague manner (i.e. Mary Wroth is not named), women's responses as authors and as literary characters to public disputes:

Therefore, pray strengthen my side in defending my books, for I know women's tongues are as sharp as two-edged swords and wound as much when they are angered. And in this battle, may your wit be quick, and your speech ready, and your arguments so strong as to beat them out of the field of dispute. So shall I get honor and reputation by your favours; otherwise, I may chance to be cast into the fire. But if I burn, I desire to die your martyr; if I live, to be / Your humble servant, / M. N.⁹⁷

This gender complicity (for 'arousing their feelings'),⁹⁸ invested in women's publications, proved worthwhile within the fifteenth-century *Querelle des femmes* literary debate and thereafter. For instance, *Chaine of Pearle* (London, 1630), with which Cavendish and her book producers may have been familiar (*The Animal Parliament* draws on Elizabeth I, for instance),⁹⁹ is overly promoted on class and gender grounds via its (full) title, author (Lady Diana Primrose), and audience's stance – it includes two dedications, 'To All Noble Ladies, and Gentle-Women' and 'To the Excellent Lady, the Composer of this

95 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 61.

96 Ray M.K., *Daughters of Alchemy. Women and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Cambridge – London: 2015) 157.

97 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 62.

98 Minnis A.J., *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: 1988) 49.

99 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 46.

Worke', signed by the author and some Dorothy Berry, respectively.¹⁰⁰ Similar practices could also be found elsewhere. In the late 1630s and 1640s, gender complicity famously served María de Zayas, held as a 'Tenth Muse', a 'miracle', and a 'new Safo', within the business of prose fiction: Aphra Behn would also achieve great success by following suit later in the century.¹⁰¹

The commercial importance of female authors to attract a female readership also explains the continuous role of women (in Iberia, since roughly 1588) in the print promotion of male-authored works: Zayas, for instance, was able to take on this role thirteen years before she had her first major work (a volume of *novellas*) printed, concerning Pérez de Montalbán's *Orfeo en lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1624), for which she joined Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina, among others.

And the array of paratexts of *Poems and Fancies* continues in a concerted effort to provide grounds for Cavendish's novel contribution to the female group identity and literary agency, established in Antiquity. Accordingly, a letter-epistle to Lady Elizabeth Toppe is then presented, along with her response, to lend credibility to the enterprise by suggesting that an intellectual friend judged and censured the volume prior to its publication.¹⁰² Such paratexts also serve to underline Cavendish's embodiment of the old idea of coincidence between virtue and fame ('it is part of honor to aspire towards fame') and *natural* singularity ('you were always circumspect by nature, not by art') within English letters: 'You are not only the first English poet of your sex, but the first that ever wrote this way. Therefore, whosoever write afterwards must own you for their pattern.'¹⁰³ Here, too, past readings (i.e. Pizan's on Sappho) and self-promotional conventions, both in classical (i.e. Virgil in Eglogue VI) and modern authors (i.e. Boccaccio, Sannazaro, Cervantes, Zayas, and Jonson), were echoed and followed.¹⁰⁴ Moreover, Cavendish's female agency is held up as an example for future women – 'your Grace [...] shineth in all places (especially where your Grace hath been: France, Flanders, Holland, etc) to your

100 Primrose Diana, *Chaine of Pearle, Or a Memoriall of the peerles Graces, and Heroick Vertues of Queene Elizabeth of Glorious Memory* (London, Printed for Thomas Paine, and are to be sold by Philip Waterhouse, at his shop at the signe of St. Pauls-head in Canning-street neere London-stone: 1630) A2r.

101 Villegas de la Torre, "Décima moradora del Parnaso": género y tolerancia en la República literaria de la primera modernidad" 176–183; Altaba-Artal D., *Aphra Behn's English Feminism. Wit and Satire* (Selinsgrove – London: 1999) 202.

102 Bartoli, *The Man of Letters* 241.

103 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 63, 66, 65.

104 Villegas de la Torre, "Writing Literature for Publication, 1605–1637" 129; Kay, *Ben Jonson. A Literary Life* 51.

everlasting honor and fame' –,¹⁰⁵ just like Nicot did in his letter to Sigea's father, when he wrote that Sigea's example would kindle (*inflammabit*) future Spanish women.

Two more addresses, one to 'To Natural Philosophers' and one 'To the Reader', come next, along with four authorial poems: in 'The Poetess's Hasty Resolution', Cavendish addresses the question of financial loss associated with print ('For shame, leave off, and do the printer spare; / He'll lose by your ill poetry, I fear')¹⁰⁶ on quality (not gender)¹⁰⁷ grounds, a strategy utilized by nobles to appear uninterested in the 'economics of publication'.¹⁰⁸ In all such pieces, modesty topoi ('the very mark of literariness')¹⁰⁹ are adapted to project a naturally learned ethos that would seemingly please noble and common readers, while invalidating possible criticism from the most conservative learned ones: 'Margaret Newcastle' claims to publish for conveying truth and escaping idleness; refers to the discussion of literary arrangement as food; calls her book a child; claims to be uneducated and mentally limited, as well as fearful of receiving criticism and of writing under constraints.¹¹⁰ Even the claim that she understood no foreign language, curiously at a time when language manuals abounded,¹¹¹ functions as an adaptation of the trope of *rusticitas*, given its spatial location within the book (within the paratext, 'To All Natural Philosophers') and her intermittent insistence on possessing knowledge (i.e. on atomic theory)¹¹² for the learned:

If you dislike and rise to go away,
Pray do not scoff and tell what I did say.
But if you do, the matter is not great,
For 'tis but foolish words you can repeat.

105 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 66.

106 *Ibidem* 72.

107 Ross – Scott-Baumann, *Women Poets of the English Civil War* 211.

108 Richardson, *Printing, Writers and Readers* 60.

109 Pender P., *Early Modern Women's Writing and the Rhetoric of Modesty* (Basingstoke: 2012) 3.

110 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 66–67; Curtius E.R., *European Literature and Latin Middle Ages*, trans. W.R. Trask (Princeton: 1990) 83, 87.

111 Sumillera R.G., "Language Manuals and the Book Trade in England", in Pérez Fernández, J.M. – Wilson-Lee E. (eds.), *Translation and the Book Trade in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: 2014) 68–69.

112 Siegfried sees the work's coherence as relying on three Epicurean themes: 'atomic motion and form by which is expressed Nature's creative variability; the pleasures, pains, and paradoxes of perception in relation to knowledge; and the tension between the constant emergence of new life [...] and the inevitability of death'. Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 14.

Pray do not censure all you do not know;
*But let my atoms to the learned go.*¹¹³

‘Consider my Sex and Breeding, and [...] fully Excuse those Faults which must Unavoidably be found in my Works’, she would still claim in her seventh print publication, *Sociable Letters*, printed in London by William Wilson in 1664 – in Letter 26, nonetheless, her foreign language education is suggested on the grounds of social custom, gender, and class.¹¹⁴ Another specific treatment of female authorship is found in Part IV. The prefatory essay, ‘To All Writing Ladies’, provides not one single woman’s name, despite being concerned with the manifestation and application of wit from a female authorial perspective:

It is to be observed that there is a secret working by Nature, as to cast an influence upon the minds of men. Like as in contagions, when as the air is corrupted, it produces several diseases, so several distempers of the mind, by the inflammations of the spirits. And as in healthful bodies are purified, so wits are refined; yet it seems to me as if there were several invisible spirits, that have several but visible powers, to work in several ages upon the minds of men [...]. In some ages all men seek absolute power, and every man would be emperor of the world, which makes civil wars [...]; and it seems as if there were spirits of the feminine gender, as also the masculine. There will be many heroic women in some ages, in other very prophetic; in some ages very pious and devout, for our sex is wonderfully addicted to the spirits. But this age hath produced many effeminate writers, as well as preachers, and many effeminate rulers, as well as actors.¹¹⁵

Was this a final paratextual strategy to make her *first* publication stand out within *English* letters? Certainly, learned women across borders and where she had admittedly lived (France, Flanders, and Holland) enjoyed then greater visibility through print than in the previous age, both via their own Latin and vernacular works – i.e. Oliva Sabuco de Nantes’s *Nueva filosofía de la naturaleza del hombre* (Madrid, 1587, 1588; Braga, 1622), esteemed by seventeenth-century scientists like Charles le Pois and Étienne de Clave; Lucrezia Marinelli’s *La nobiltà et eccellenze delle donne* (Venice, 1600), another reputed philosophical

113 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 68–69. My italics.

114 From ‘To All Professors of Learning and Art’; idem, *Sociable Letters*, ed. J. Fitzmaurice (Ontario: 2004) 40, 73.

115 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 167.

work, which went through various editions; the correspondence and other publications of Anna Maria van Schurman and her network; and of course, Anne Bradstreet's *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung Up in America* (London, 1650), canonizing others, such as Sidney, du Bartas, and Queen Elizabeth, as part of her self-promotion –,¹¹⁶ and via their acknowledgment in bio- and bibliographical accounts of contemporary literature, either in the vernacular, or in more scholarly publications, such as Schottus's *Hispaniae Bibliotheca*. But this is not all. Having argued their contribution to society throughout the ages philosophically, Cavendish, nevertheless, speaks of women as 'poor, dejected spirits, that are not ambitious of fame' before calling for action, which again, has the effect of heightening her *natural* leadership:¹¹⁷

And if it be an age when the effeminate spirits rule, as most visibly they do in every kingdom, let us take the advantage, and make the best of our time [...]; whether it be in the Amazonian government, or in the politic commonwealth, or in the flourishing monarchy, or in schools of divinity, or in lectures of philosophy, or in witty poetry, or in anything that may bring honor to our sex. *They are poor, dejected spirits that are not ambitious of fame* [...]. But let us strive to build us tombs while we live, of noble, honorable, and good actions (at least harmless), That though our bodies die, Our names may live to after memory. [my italics]

Here, too, Cavendish was drawing on popular ideas (since Plato)¹¹⁸ for her authorial self-fashioning: for instance, Erasmus's *eruditae* could envision women presiding in schools of theology and preaching in churches; van Schurman defended that some women, not all, are naturally talented; while for Bartoli, acts and deeds were 'the most natural testimonies of potentiality'

116 Sabuco de Nantes, Oliva, *New Philosophy of Human Nature: Neither Known to nor Attained by the Great Ancient Philosophers, Which Will Improve Human Life and Health*, trans. and ed. M.E. Waithe – M. Colomer Vintró – C.A. Zorita (Illinois: 2007) 3; Allen P. – Salvatore P., "Lucrezia Marinelli and Women's Identity in Late Italian Renaissance", *Renaissance and Reformation* 28.4 (1992) 11; Larsen A.R., "A Women's Republic of Letters: Anna Maria van Schurman, Marie de Gournay, and Female Self-Representation in Relation to the Public Sphere", *Early Modern Women Journal* 3 (2008) 107; Pal, *Republic of Women* 3, 57; Seidler Engberg K., *The Literary Politics of Anne Bradstreet and Phillis Wheatley* (Lanham – Boulder – New York – Toronto – Plymouth: 2010) 28–32.

117 I am building on Dodds L., *The Literary Invention of Margaret Cavendish* (Pittsburgh – Pennsylvania: 2013) 225.

118 Plato, *Republic*, ed. and trans. R. Waterfield (Oxford: 2008) 165–169.

to establish a disposition for the arts, or the sciences.¹¹⁹ Therefore, Cavendish's prefatory essay makes clear that such ideas continued to be reinforced and celebrated consensually, as well as exploited for profit. Put differently, the omission of women's names in this paratext should be suspect: by claiming to lack in knowledge and not drawing attention to others, she appeared cleverer as a result (according to Erasmus's *eruditae*)¹²⁰ while seemingly invalidating all female competition – the use of protofeminist discourse simply reinforces its female appeal. Crucially, the strategy builds on Renaissance practices – i.e. Stampa does similarly concerning Sappho – and resonates with other contemporary cases, such as Zayas's deliberate silence over modern referents.¹²¹ That the preface essay was not included in the 1664 and 1668 revised versions (perhaps influenced by Caramuel Lobkowitz's newly published printing manual)¹²² further substantiates that *Poems and Fancies* engaged with and exploited ongoing intellectual debates – gender was only one –¹²³ and publishing practices.¹²⁴ Hence the advertisement on which it ends, also absent from the revised versions: 'Reader, I have a little tract of philosophical fancies in prose, which will not be long before it appears in the world.'¹²⁵

Curiously, the removal of such a prefatory essay from its later editions matches the time when Katherine Philips, the admired scribal poet, scholar, and founder (in the 1650s) of the literary salon 'Society of Friendship', was being publicised through print. This is noteworthy, because Philips's 1667

119 Erasmus, *Familiarum colloquiorum* 309; Schurman Anna Maria van, "A Dissertation on the Natural Capacity of Women for Study and Learning", in Clarke D.M. (ed.), *The Equality of the Sexes. Three Feminist Texts of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: 2013) 80; Bartoli, *The Man of Letters* 182.

120 Erasmus, *Familiarum colloquiorum* 309.

121 Tylus, "Naming Sappho: Gaspara Stampa and the Recovery of the Sublime in Early Modern Europe" 38; Zayas Sotomayor María de, *Honesto y entretenido sarao (Primera y segunda parte)*, ed. J. Olivares, vol. 1 (Zaragoza: 2017) 16; see also Villegas de la Torre E.M., "Erudición y lucro en la República literaria barroca: a propósito de María de Zayas", *Criticón*, Special Issue "Las novelas amorosas y ejemplares de María de Zayas" (forthcoming).

122 I am building on Blair A, "Errata Lists and the Reader as Corrector", in Baron S.A. – Lindquist E.N. – Shevlin E.E. (eds.), *Agent of Change. Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth L. Eisenstein* (Massachusetts: 2007) 26.

123 An only general interest in gender issues has been deemed characteristic of van Schurman's scholarly network; see Pal, *Republic of Women* 66.

124 The call for acknowledging the also hybrid (mixed-sex) nature and contingency of pre-modern women's print publication within the Anglo context is not new. Smith H., *Grossly Material Things. Women and Book Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 2012) 217. I am also indebted to Elizabeth Scott-Baumann and Sarah Ross for sharing with me, "Corrected by the Author? Women, Poetry, and Contingency of Seventeenth-Century Print Publication", ahead of its publication this year.

125 Cavendish, *Poems and Fancies* 365.

posthumous publication includes new scholarly material and an extensive collection of prefatory poems, even an authorial portrait, showcasing her ample intellectual ability and experience, right from its title – *Poems by the Most Deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda: to which is added Monsieur Corneille's Pompey & Horace, Tragedies; with several other Translations out of French*. The publisher's preface includes a letter addressed to a 'Worthy Poliarchus', signed by Philips, wherein the 1664 publication is deemed 'a false Copy'. Nonetheless, its material context, literary form, the scholarly additions, and the prominent role of the printer-publisher make the claim suspect, given the catchpenny value associated with secretly handed work when it finally reached print ('with authority or without it')¹²⁶ – not to mention distancing oneself from the act of publication was becoming a common strategy, even among ostensibly commercial authors, while such paratexts did indeed heighten interest in the 'authorized' volume.¹²⁷ In fact, the 1667 publication is promoted as the 'Monument' Philips 'erected for her self', which not only enacts Cavendish's concluding words in 'To All Writing Ladies', but is also 'to be honoured as the honour of her Sex, the emulation of ours, and the admiration of both' for concerning 'the English Sappho', a long-proven publishing strategy. Even Philips's preferred name, *Orinda*, 'deserves to be added to the number of the Muses', adds the publisher.¹²⁸

In this new light, *Poems and Fancies* stands as the *commercial* product, or event,¹²⁹ of an English, scholarly-driven female author of the times, in which the crave for personal distinction and the economics of publication increasingly overshadowed collegiality, especially in secular print. Cavendish's

126 Sheavyn P., *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, ed. and rev. J.W. Saunders (Manchester: 1967) 167; Cayuela, "Esta pobre habilidad que Dios me dio: autores, impresores y editores en el entuerto de la publicación (siglos XVI–XVII)" 314–317; Wall, W., *The Imprint of Gender. Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca – London: 1993) 175.

127 Villegas de la Torre, "Writing Literature for Publication, 1605–1637" 136–140. For a discussion on the volume's printer-publisher and retailer, see Crabstick B., "Katherine Philips, Richard Marriot, and the Contemporary Significance of Poems. By the Incomparable, Mrs. K. P. (1664)", in Coolahan M.L. – Wright G. (eds.), *Katherine Philips. Form, Reception, and Literary Contexts* (London – New York: 2018) 63–83.

128 Philips Katherine, *Poems by the Most Deservedly Admired Mrs. Katherine Philips, The Matchless Orinda: to which is added Monsieur Corneille's Pompey & Horace, Tragedies; with several other Translations out of French* (London, Printed by J.M. for H. Herringman, at the Sign of the Blew Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange: 1667) A1r, A1v, A2r.

129 'a text accompanied by a narrative frame in which to set it, and supported by a variety of pendant pieces of printing, from title-page woodcut to dedicatory letters'. Jardine, *Erasmus, Man of Letters* 175.

‘thoroughgoing monumentalisation’¹³⁰ included over a dozen original print works – poetry, essays, plays, orations, epistolary philosophy and science fiction romance, political parody, biography and memoir (here ‘in imitation of Classical writers’¹³¹ since Petrarch) – and renown in natural philosophy, which immediately inspired other women and their book producers to follow suit. ‘Margaret Newcastle’ herself sent her philosophical works to many well-known philosophers and to the faculties at Cambridge and Oxford, and in 1667, she attended the Royal Society of London by invitation.¹³² In 1672, a year before she died in London, Antonius’s *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova* appeared in Rome and Paris, bearing a frontispiece by a professional Italian female painter and engraver: ‘Theresia del Pó sculp.’. The work lists women’s names from religious and secular traditions alongside their male counterparts (i.e. three women called Luisa, including Sigea, are preceded and followed, in alphabetical order, by men whose first names begin with Ludovicus and Lupercius), but also in a separate section, thereby further reinforcing women’s real place within the learned world: the separate section is entitled *Gynaeceum Hispanae Minervae, sive de gentis nostrae foeminis doctrina claris scriptorum* (Hispanic women’s literary quarters in the Greek household), thus tying in those represented with ancient women, and by extension, with all learned women up to then.¹³³

3 Conclusions

Thus even a short comparative, transnational analysis, which prioritizes cultural products over ideologies, yields a different interpretation of the early

130 Ross – Scott-Baumann, *Women Poets of the English Civil War* 19.

131 Enenkel, “Modelling the Humanist” 16.

132 Akkerman N.N.W. – Corporaal M.C.M., “Mad Science Beyond Flattery: The Correspondence of Margaret Cavendish and Constantijn Huygens”, *Early Modern Literary Studies* SI 14 (2004) 21.

133 Antonius Nicolas, *Bibliotheca Hispana, sive Hispanorum*, vol. II (Rome, Nicolaus Angelus Timassius: 1672) 56–58 and 337–347: the introduction to this appendix to a Catholic collection even praises the argument in defence of women’s intellectual capacities, published by van Schurman, ‘who resided in Utrecht the past few years, and who would be a miracle of our age, had she not dishonoured her outstanding gifts by contracting the infection of an heretic climate’ (338: ‘... a clarissima Anna Maria Schurman, Ultrajecti superioribus annis manente, atque huius saeculi miraculo futura, nisi praestantissimas dotes haeretici coeli contracta infectione dehonestaret’). See also Floris Solleveld’s contribution to this volume about the position of women in collective biographical dictionaries, in Isaac Bullart’s *Académie* (1682), Charles Perrault’s *Hommes illustres* (1696–1700) and Jacob Brucker’s *Bilder-sal* (1741–1755), as well as Lieke van Deinsen’s contribution on Cavendish, Schurman, and Maria Sybilla Merian.

modern learned world – most notably, the fact that learned women represented a recognized group identity, which along with its readings, however different or contradictory at times, did not cease to be shared, celebrated, and reinforced as part of the Republic of Letters' cultural memory.

Right from the start, Luisa Sigea *Toletana* and Margaret Cavendish, or *Newcastle*, fashioned their female scholarly identities, aided by their male peers, to great success. In each case, the processes of self-fashioning and promotion were shaped according to textual tradition and the times in which they lived. To pursue and lay claim to personal distinction as a scholar was different before and after the major process of literary commercialization, which characterized the seventeenth century, as was to attract financial profit. Nonetheless, authorial promotion, male and female, continued to draw on convention, on the strategies utilized by classical and “the first” modern authors – in manuscript and print; in Latin and the vernacular. Ultimately, this adaptation and/or reformulation of publishing strategies responded to the author's situation (notably, class and religious status) and market needs.

Time and again, the analysis showed *materially* (via authorial and editorial practices) the important value invested in gendering works and audiences across borders – how Renaissance and Baroque individuals repeatedly reinforced scholarly opinion, even traded with women's publications. In sum, it documents an appreciation of writing and publication as universal spheres, rather than as specifically masculine, which begs us to reconsider women's contributions within the early modern learned world.

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The Republic of Letters Mapping the Republic of Letters: Jacob Brucker's *Pinacotheca* (1741–1755) and Its Antecedents

Floris Solleveld

Between 1741 and 1755, the historian of philosophy Jacob Brucker (1696–1770) and the Augsburg engraver and publisher Johann Jacob Haid (1704–1767) published a portrait gallery representing the famous learned authors of their day, *Bilder-Sal heutiges Tages lebender, und durch Gelahrheit berühmter Schriftsteller* (*Portrait gallery of living writers, famous for their learning*).¹ Executed in ten series of ten portraits each, ultimately bound together in two folio volumes, it had something of a very expensive set of football pictures, representing scholars in all disciplines from the German lands as well as from abroad, although the majority (75%) were German. It was simultaneously published in Latin as *Pinacotheca Scriptorum* (*Portrait gallery of writers*), with an eye to both an international, learned reading public and the more traditionally minded part of its German audience. The Latin edition seems to have sold much less well however. Eleven portraits were added in a later supplement (1766) that only appeared in German, and there was a 'prequel' in quarto format, the *Ehrentempel deutscher Gelehrsamkeit* (*Temple of honour of German learning*, 1747), with fifty dead German scholars from the past two centuries.

Brucker's portrait gallery shows us who mattered in the German learned world in the mid-eighteenth century, with a biography of some five pages extolling the author's virtues as well as a list of publications appended to each portrait. It is a learned world that is predominantly university-bound and occupied more with the humanities and the three higher faculties (law, theology, medicine) than with the new sciences (see Table 5.1). It is also a learned world

1 Brucker Jakob, *Bilder-Sal heutiges Tages lebender, und durch Gelahrheit berühmter Schriftsteller* (Augsburg, Haid: 1741–1755), 10 fasc. in 2 vols. Cf. Schreckenber C., "Die Gelehrtenbildnisse in Jacob Bruckers und Johann Jacob Haid's *Bilder-Sal*. Augsburg 1741–1755. Anmerkungen und Überlegungen", in Berghaus P. (ed.), *Graphische Porträts in Büchern des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 63 (Wiesbaden: 1995) 139–147; Zäh H., "Die Bedeutung Jacob Bruckers für die Erforschung der Augsburger Gelehrten-geschichte", in Schmidt-Biggemann W. – Stammen T. (eds.), *Jacob Brucker (1696–1770). Philosoph und Historiker der europäischen Aufklärung*, Colloquia Augustiana 7 (Berlin: 1998) 83–98.

TABLE 5.1 People in Jacob Brucker's *Bilder-Sal*

Nationality:

75 German, 11 Italian, 5 Swiss, 4 French,
3 Dutch, 1 Hungarian, 1 Spanish, 1 Polish

Field of scholarly publications:*

21 History / antiquarianism	9 Literature / rhetoric
20 Theology	5 Physics
20 Medicine	5 Mathematics
18 Law	4 Philosophy
10 Philology	3 Botany

Appendix (1766): 11 authors, all German,
active in 2 history/antiquarianism, 4 theology, 2 law, 2 medicine, 1 philosophy
& physics

* Totals are higher than 100 because scholars are active in several fields

that communicated primarily in Latin, though increasingly also in German, as the authors' bibliographies show; the foreigners in the *Bilder-Sal* are Italian antiquarians such as Scipione Maffei (1675–1755) and Ludovico Muratori (1672–1750) rather than French *philosophes*.

This chapter is concerned with the *Bilder-Sal* and its seventeenth-century antecedents as collective representations of the Republic of Letters. The most prominent among these antecedents – effectively, its French counterpart from half a century earlier – is *Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (*The illustrious men who appeared in France during this century*, 1696–1700) by Charles Perrault (1628–1703). It is a collection of a hundred portraits and biographies in two folio volumes, eulogizing the churchmen, generals, statesmen, authors, and artists that contributed to the glory of France and of Louis XIV.² The other collection that most closely resembles Brucker's both in format and in content is Isaac Bullart's (1599–1672) less prestigious, but more encompassing *Académie des Sciences et des Arts* (*Academy of Sciences and Arts*, 1682). It contains 275 portraits along with “the lives & historical eulogies of

2 A revised edition appeared in 1700; five further eighteenth-century editions without portraits are listed by David Culpin in Perrault, *Les Hommes Illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle, avec leurs portraits au nature*, ed. D. Culpin (Tübingen: 2003) xiv–xv.

illustrious men who have excelled in these professions since around four centuries among diverse nations of Europe”.³

What makes these three collections stand out among other printed portrait collections is their emphasis on scholarly virtues and the combination of text and image (many other printed portrait collections lack biographies). Each of these albums is a group portrait of an imagined learned community, brought together in Bullart’s imaginary ‘academy’ and in Brucker’s imaginary ‘gallery’ and ‘temple of honour’, or grouped around Bernini’s equestrian statue of Louis XIV on Perrault’s frontispiece [Fig. 5.1]. In Perrault’s community, men of letters and artisans had to give precedence to churchmen, generals, and statesmen; however, many of these higher-ups had scholarly credentials as well, and had held chairs in the Parisian academies. Thus, bringing together nobles and commoners among the *hommes illustres* was both a mild challenge to and a confirmation of the status quo, in which the Republic of Letters had been integrated into the state system designed by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683).⁴ In Bullart’s academy and Brucker’s gallery, worldly authorities and patrons have a smaller share, but all the same they occupy the first section in Bullart and the first place in most of Brucker’s fascicles.

Such collections not only mapped the Republic of Letters; in giving it a collective image and defining it through examples, they also contributed to making it. They were the culmination of a widespread practice of portrait collection in which representations of authors functioned as business cards, souvenirs, tokens of recognition, frontispieces, and objects of veneration. As Oded Rabinovitch argues in *The Perraults: A Family of Letters in Early Modern France*, the position of ‘men of letters’ was inherently unstable, dependent on networks, and to some extent established retroactively: ‘those who wrote lives of authors effectively assembled their reputation and authorial status’.⁵ What applies to men of letters applies *a fortiori* to the ‘Republic of Letters’, a humanist phrase revived by learned journalism in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Of the three authors discussed in this chapter, only Brucker used the phrase regularly; the Académie Française Dictionary (1694) defined it rather skeptically as ‘men of letters in general, considered *as if* they constitute

3 Bullart Isaac, *Académie des Sciences et des Arts, contenant les vies, & les éloges historiques des hommes illustres, qui ont excellé en ces professions depuis environ quatre siècles parmi diverses nations de l’Europe*, ed. J.I. Bullart, 2 vols. (Paris, Bilaine: 1682).

4 Bernard B., “‘Les Hommes illustres.’ Charles Perraults Kompendium der 100 berühmtesten Männer des 17. Jahrhunderts als Reflex der Colbertschen Wissenschaftspolitik”, *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte* 18.2 (1991) 23–46.

5 Rabinovitch O., *The Perraults. A Family of Letters in Early Modern France* (Ithaca, NY – London: 2008) 24.



FIGURE 5.1 Gérard Edelinck, frontispiece to Perrault, *Les Hommes illustres* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum)

a body'.⁶ Still, precisely as a contested concept, the 'Republic of Letters' is a more meaningful term than the neutral 'learned world'.

Through Brucker, Perrault, and Bullart, this chapter explores three aspects of the Republic of Letters: national differences, hierarchies, and the conflict between ancients and moderns. First, with regard to national differences, the leading question is to what extent there really was one Republic of Letters, as represented by Bullart's *Académie*, or only a patchwork of parallel networks like those of Perrault's illustrious Frenchmen and Brucker's geographically scattered German university professors. In other words, was Kasper Eskildsen right when he wrote about the *Frühaufklärung* that 'While philosophers in the rest of Europe still defended the eternal brotherhood, to most German and Scandinavian scholars the Republic of Letters was nothing more than a comical relic from a distant humanistic past'?⁷ Second, there are several hierarchies to take into account here: the power of church and state; the hierarchies between different disciplines and faculties; and the role of women in a male-dominated learned world. The latter issue is explicitly addressed by Brucker, who has four women (4%) in his *Bilder-Sal*; in contrast, they are absent from Perrault, although a 1771 sequel by an anonymous 'Society of Men of Letters' figures two female authors (5%).⁸ Bullart included six (2.2%) with a biography and three more with their portraits, and especially highlights the seventeenth-century Dutch erudite Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1674). Third, it was Perrault whose poem *Le Siècle de Louis-le-Grand* (*The Age of Louis the Great*, 1687) sparked off the *Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*, and *Les Hommes illustres* should be read as a continuation of that argument. In Brucker's mid-eighteenth-century academic world, less gallant but more independent and meritocratic than Perrault's, being modern was a more ambiguous and less polemical matter, but one that went to the heart of the German Enlightenment all the same: in different ways, figures such as Christian Wolff (1679–1754) and Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) were rationalizing and reforming the status quo rather than emulating a great past. For Bullart, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century (he died in 1672; his *Académie* appeared

6 'On appelle fig.[urément] *La république des lettres*, Les gens de lettres en général, considérez comme s'ils faisaient un corps', *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française, dédié au Roy* (Paris, Coignard: 1694), vol. II, 398.

7 Eskildsen K.R., "How Germany left the Republic of Letters", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65:3 (2004) 421–432, 429.

8 *Galérie française, ou Portraits des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres qui ont paru en France* (Paris, Herissant: 1771). The two 'celebrated women' are Châtelet and novelist, dramatist, and salonnière Françoise de Graffigny.

posthumously), being 'modern' was not yet much of an issue; his guiding concerns were the Counter-Reformation and the split between North and South. In retrospect, Bullart represents the humanist past that Perrault was struggling with and that Brucker's generation was taking leave of, the more so because Bullart's *Académie* was to a large extent a compilation from earlier sixteenth- and seventeenth-century collections and predominantly contains sixteenth-century scholars and artists.

The genre of the printed portrait collection goes back to Renaissance humanism, with Fulvio's *Illustrium Imagines* (1517), Giovio's *Elogia* (1546/1551), and Vasari's *Vite* (1550; 2nd ed. with portraits 1568); as the celebration of exemplary 'great men', it is the visual adaptation of an older genre of collective biography with roots in Classical Antiquity (Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*) and Christian hagiography (Jerome's *De Viris illustribus*), revitalized by Petrarch and Boccaccio in the fourteenth century.⁹ These were antecedents of which Brucker, Perrault, and Bullart were well aware: Perrault mentions Giovio, Vasari, and Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's *Éloges des Hommes illustres* (*Eulogies of illustrious men*, 1606/1644) to point out that his own collection covers a greater variety of illustrious men, while the introduction to the *Bilder-Sal* gives a list of 22 earlier collections and leaves aside many that were concerned with kings and nobles, artists, or local luminaries only. A longer list can be found in a 1728 manual for collecting portraits by Brucker's friend and correspondent, Siegmund Apin (1693–1732).¹⁰ As visual and textual reference works, Vasari's lives and portraits of artists and those of his Northern emulators (Van Mander, *Schilderboeck*, 1604; Sandrart, *Teutsche Akademie*, 1675–1680) can be seen as the most direct counterparts for Brucker's and Perrault's collections. Vasari and Van Mander were direct sources for Bullart and for his son Jacques Ignace who edited and completed the *Académie*, while Bullart in turn provided André Félibien (1619–1694) with translated materials about Flemish masters for his *Entretiens* (1666–1688).¹¹

9 Wartmann A., "Drei Porträtwerke aus der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts", in Berghaus (ed.), *Graphische Porträts* 43–60; cf. Fumaroli A., "Des 'Vies' à la biographie: le crépuscule du Parnasse", in *La République des Lettres* (Paris: 2015) 365–396.

10 Apin Siegmund, *Anleitung wie man die Bildnisse berühmter und gelehrter Männer mit Nutzen sammeln und denen dagegen gemachten Einwendungen gründlich begegnen soll* (Nürnberg, Felßecker: 1728) 115–175.

11 'Ce que j'ai d'Italiens, et de Flamends, n'est qu'un triage tiré de Vasari & de Vermander, qui en ont bien davantage.' Bullart, *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*, vol. 1, preface [by Jacques Ignace Bullart]. 'Monsieur Félibien, qui écrivoit en ce temps-là son livre intitulé, *Entretiens sur la vie & les ouvrages des plus excellens Peintres Anciens & Modernes*,

As a literary genre, these compilations fall somewhere in between histories and reference works. Obviously, the *Bilder-Sal* and its antecedents are not literary masterpieces. The biographical texts are strongly scripted and directly or indirectly derived from a limited number of sources. Neither the *Bilder-Sal* nor *Les Hommes illustres* was originally Brucker's or Perrault's idea. Brucker was drawn into the project by Haid, and Perrault built upon the portraits and notes collected by his sponsor Michel Bégon (1638–1710), *intendant* at La Rochelle. There is a higher degree of original work in Brucker, both because his biographies were longer and because he wrote about living authors, while Perrault only eulogized the dead, who had already been eulogized before.

The main virtue of their collections, however, is not as concatenations of commonplaces but as contributions to the history of learning, the genre known as *historia literaria*. The enumeration of scholarly achievements and merits contributed to a tableau of developments in different fields, and of learning at large as something that had a history – what Vasari and Van Mander did for art. As such, the *Bilder-Sal* should be read as the counterpart of Brucker's five-volume history of philosophy, *Historia critica Philosophiae* (*Critical history of philosophy*, 1742–1744), which mapped the great general systems of ancient and modern philosophy as well as developments in different branches (moral and legal, natural, metaphysical). While he was working on *Les Hommes illustres*, Perrault likewise set forth the *Querelle* in four volumes of dialogues, *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes* (*Comparison between the Ancients and Moderns*, 1688–1697), in which three characters representing reason, erudition, and taste and *esprit* discuss the merits of the ancients and moderns in, consecutively, art, rhetoric, poetry, and the sciences, and in doing so present a catalogue of these fields. It is probably this project that motivated Bégon to invite Perrault to work on his collection, and to which he was alluding in correspondence:

Vous m'avés écrit autrefois que M. Perrault avoit un dessein à peu près pareil, il faudrait nous unir ensemble, qu'il prist la peine de travailler aux Eloges ou plustost à l'abrégé des vies des hommes illustres scavants ou protecteurs des sciences et des arts de ce siècle, je lui donnerais les mémoires que j'ay commencé à ramasser et ceux que je pourrai recouvrer, et je continuerai à faire graver ceux qui ne le sont pas encore, nous conviendrons ensemble de tout ce qui serait nécessaire pour l'exécution de ce projet dont je lui céderai très volontiers tout l'honneur, et consentirai qu'il paroisse sous son nom me réservant seulement la satisfaction d'y

imprimé à Paris l'an 1666. dans lequel il a inseré aucunes choses touchant les Peintres du Pays-Bas dont mon Père lui fournissait les memoires', *ibidem*, vol. II, avertissement.

avoir contribué par mes soins et par la dépense que j'ay faite pour y parvenir, s'il accepte la chose je lui enverrai la liste de ceux que j'ay projeté de mettre dans cet ouvrage.¹²

You have written to me earlier that M. Perrault had a nearly similar design; we should join forces, that he takes the trouble of working on eulogies or rather on the abridged lives of illustrious learned men and protectors of arts and sciences of this century, while I would give him the memoirs that I have begun to collect and those that I can recover, and will continue to have engravings made of those that have not yet been made. We will agree on all that is necessary for the execution of this project for which I will gladly give him all the honour, and will consent that it appears under his name while keeping for me only the satisfaction of having contributed my cares and expenses. If he accepts this, I will send him the list of those that I have projected to include in this work.

1 Citizens of the Republic of Letters

Who belonged to the Republic of Letters? In Louis XIV's France, Perrault was not just its chronicler but one of its important gate-keepers. As secretary of the Petite Académie (the later Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres) and member of the Académie Française, he oversaw the French world of letters and had a voice on academy membership, one of the most important criteria for inclusion in *Les Hommes illustres*. Somewhat paradoxically, he only became a man of letters in full after his fall from grace during Colbert's final years, which left him without most of his prerogatives but with ample time to write.¹³ Earlier, as Colbert's adviser, he had drafted a memorandum (1666) for a 'general academy' uniting *belles-lettres*, history, philosophy, and mathematics.¹⁴ He is directly behind Colbert on Henri Testelin's painting *Colbert présente*

12 Michel Bégon to Esprit de Villermont, 11 April, 1692; quoted in Duplessis G., *Un curieux du XVII^e siècle. Michel Bégon, intendant de la Rochelle* (Paris: 1875) 41–42; see also Culpin's introduction to Perrault, *Les Hommes Illustres* (2003). Parts of Bégon's correspondence with Perrault and of their drafts have been preserved; unfortunately, these documents are now inaccessible as they were part of the confiscated assets of Gérard Lhéritier's Musée des Lettres et Manuscrits, closed in 2015 on suspicions of a Ponzi scheme. See lots 93 and 194 of the forced auction: <http://www.collections-aristophil.com/html/fiche.jsp?id=9475842&id=9475956> [accessed 31 March 2021].

13 Rabinovitch, *The Perraults* 99.

14 "Note de Charles Perrault à Colbert, pour l'établissement d'une académie générale" [1666], in Clément P. (ed.), *Lettres, Instructions et Mémoires de Colbert*. [...] Tome V:



FIGURE 5.2 Louis-Gustave Thibault after Henri Testelin, *Colbert présente à Louis XIV les membres de l'Académie Royale des Sciences* (Château de Versailles / Wikimedia Commons)

à Louis XIV les membres de l'Académie Royale des Sciences in Versailles [Fig. 5.2]. Perrault must have known almost all the illustrious men who lived in the second half of the century personally; one was his brother Claude (1613–1688), who sat in the academies of sciences and architecture.¹⁵

Perrault claimed that, among the great Frenchmen of his century, 'We have only followed in the choice of these great men the voice of the public that nominated them, without the least interest or flattery, hope or fear'.¹⁶ This is an overly impersonal way of saying that Perrault and Bégon excerpted much of their material from other printed sources; judging by David Culpin's list of Perrault's sources, 'the voice of the public' largely consisted of Moréri's *Grand*

Fortifications. Belles-Lettres, Arts, Bâtiments (Paris: 1868) 512–513; cf. Hahn R., *The Anatomy of a Scientific Institution. The Paris Academy of Sciences, 1666–1803* (Berkeley: 1971) 12–14; Lux D., "Colbert's Plan for the *Grande Académie*: Royal Policy towards Science, 1663–67", *Seventeenth-Century French Studies* 12.1 (1990) 177–188.

15 [Perrault], *Mémoires de Charles Perrault [...] contenant Beaucoup de particularités & d'Anecdotes intéressantes du ministère de M. Colbert* (Avignon: 1759) 43ff; Sturdy D., *Science and Social Status. The Members of the Academie des Sciences 1666–1750* (Woodbridge: 1995).

16 'On n'a suivi dans le choix de ces grand hommes que la voix publique qui les a nommez, sans que l'interest ou la flatterie, l'esperance ou la crainte y aient eu la moindre part'. Perrault, *Les Hommes illustres qui ont paru en France pendant ce siècle* (Paris, Dezallier: 1696–1700), vol. 1, preface.

Dictionnaire historique (Great historical dictionary) and the *Journal des Sçavans* (which was under Colbert's patronage, and included all *éloges* for deceased academicians).¹⁷ On the other hand, according to Francine Wild, 'burlesque or libertine authors were systematically left aside', even if Perrault was close to them;¹⁸ and despite his professed freedom from fear, Perrault had to retract articles about Jansenist authors Arnauld and Pascal after complaints from Jesuits at court.¹⁹ The result of this practice of compilation was that the cutting and pasting itself contributed to the construction of a collective memory, though of a narrower collective than he imagined.

In Brucker's *Gelehrtenrepublik*, there was no cultural metropolis such as Perrault's Paris. Its most prestigious members were at universities in Halle, Leipzig, Jena, Tübingen, and the new university of Göttingen as much as at the Berlin academy. What kept this world together was print, correspondence, and contacts acquired during academic peregrinations and *Bildungsreisen*. A 1782 tract *Vom Patriotismus in der deutschen Gelehrtenrepublik* (*Patriotism in the German Learned Republic*) would define as 'citizens of the Republic of Letters' in the narrow sense all those who wrote – from pamphleteers and occasional poets to founders of a science.²⁰ However, the German learned world functioned more like a guild than a public sphere, and that is how Friedrich Klopstock (1724–1803) described it in his satirical-programmatic pamphlet *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik* (*The German Republic of Letters*, 1774), complete with mock 'guild regulations'. Its frame of reference and habitus was largely determined by university education; its lower rungs were filled by preachers, gymnasium teachers, and librarians. Berlin publisher and leading *Aufklärer* Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811) acerbically characterized this 'gelehrte Völkchen' as a self-centred community, writing almost exclusively for other writers

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- 17 Of the 37 source texts identified in Culpin (ed.), *Les Hommes illustres* 513–515, 8 are from Moréri, *Le Grand Dictionnaire historique* (7th ed., 1694) 9 from the *Journal des Sçavans*, and 2 from Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697). According to Rabinovitch, even the biographical entry for Claude Perrault consisted largely of excerpts (*The Perraults* 18).
- 18 Wild F., "Perrault et les Hommes illustres", in Mombert S. – Rosellini M. (eds.), *Usages des Vies. Le biographie hier et aujourd'hui (XVII^e–XXI^e siècle)* (Toulouse: 2012) 111–131, 125.
- 19 Bezard Y., "Autour d'un éloge de Pascal. Une affaire de censure tranchée par Louis XIV en 1696", *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France* 33.2 (1926) 215–224; Culpin, "Introduction", x-xiii; idem, "The Exotic and the Creative Imagination in the 1690s: Charles Perrault's *Les Hommes illustres*", *Eighteenth-Century Life* 26.3 (2002) 31–44, 35; on Perrault's links to Jansenism, see *Mémoires* 11–20.
- 20 Beseke Johann Melchior, *Vom Patriotismus in der deutschen Gelehrtenrepublik* (Dessau – Leipzig, Buchhandlung der Gelehrten: 1782) 81f, as quoted in Bosse H., "Gelehrte und Gebildete. Die Kinder des 1. Standes", *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 32 (2008) 13–37, 16.

and the learned estate (*Gelehrtenstand*): ‘Very rarely a German scholar is a *Homme de Lettres*.’²¹

Nicolai’s description is somewhat exaggerated since it was a state of affairs that he sought to change, but it certainly applied to Brucker’s situation. Until 1744, when he obtained a parish at the Ulrichskirche in Augsburg, Brucker was a pastor and school rector in Kaufbeuren in Swabia, a day’s journey by coach; for lack of a large library there, he composed his *Kurze Fragen aus der philosophischen Historie* (*Short questions from the history of philosophy*, 1731–1736) from three volumes of notes procured from his correspondent Christoph August Heumann (1681–1764), editor of the *Acta Philosophorum* (*Acts of philosophers*) and author of the century’s most reprinted *historia literaria*, *Conspectus Reipublicae Literariae* (*Overview of the Republic of Letters*, 1718).²²

The composition of the *Bilder-Sal* reflects the role that journalism and *historia literaria* – two genres that overlapped, since both offered an overview of learning – played in the *Gelehrtenrepublik*. It also included Christian Gottlieb Jöcher (1694–1758), author of the eponymous *Gelehrten-Lexicon* (1750–1751) and editor of the *Deutsche Acta Eruditorum*; Albrecht (von) Haller (1708–1777), future editor of the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, as well as J.G. Krause (1684–1746) and J.G. Walch (1693–1775), editors of the *Neue Bücher-Saal der gelehrten Welt*, and Johann Christoph Gottsched, the most important figure in shaping German literary criticism before Lessing. Gottsched and his wife, Louise Adelgunde *née* Kulmus (1713–1762), formed a literary power couple that waged polemics with several other members of the *Bilder-Sal*, among them the famous ‘Dichterkrieg’ with J.J. Bodmer (1698–1783) and J.J. Breitinger (1701–1766), in which some of the arguments about rules vs. nature in poetic composition are analogous to those in the *Querelle*.²³ Brucker and Gottsched were already in regular correspondence about Brucker’s history of philosophy and

21 ‘Der Stand der Schriftsteller beziehet sich in Deutschland beinahe bloß auf sich selber, oder auf den gelehrten Stand. Sehr selten ist bey uns ein Gelehrter ein *Homme de Lettres*.’ Nicolai, *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldu Rothanker*, vol. 1 (Berlin – Stettin, Nicolai: 1773) 221.

22 Mulsow M., “Das verlorene Paket: Zur Kommunikationsgeschichte der Philosophiegeschichtsschreibung in Deutschland”, in *Prekäres Wissen. Eine andere Ideengeschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: 2012). As the title of Mulsow’s article indicates, Heumann’s notes then got lost in the mail.

23 Martus S., *Aufklärung. Das deutsche 18. Jahrhundert – ein Epochenbild* (Berlin: 2015) 294–301, 504–520; cf. Lütteken A. – Mahlmann-Bauer B. (eds.), *Johann Jakob Bodmer und Johann Jakob Breitinger im Netzwerk der europäischen Aufklärung*, Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert – Supplementa 16 (Göttingen: 2009).

his contributions to Gottsched's *Beyträge zur critischen Historie der deutschen Sprache, Poesie und Beredsamkeit*; Brucker began discussing the *Bilder-Sal* with Gottsched by gallantly requesting a portrait of his wife.²⁴

Brucker's correspondence with Gottsched is very enlightening about the production process of the *Bilder-Sal*. Its portraits, at least those of the Gottscheds [Figs. 5.3–5.4], involved several steps of copying and 'visual editing': first, the Gottscheds had their likenesses copied from paintings by a local engraver; these were then sent to Haid, who reproduced the image in a Rococo frame against a standard background (generally a bookcase with a curtain), and then sent the proofs back to Leipzig for correction. Brucker's letters mention similar corrections to the portrait of Lorenz von Mosheim (1693–1755) and sum up other paintings and prints sent to Augsburg for copying, or made at Haid's expenses.²⁵ Since they had not been drawn from life, but were based on copies or copies of copies, all portraits in the *Bilder-Sal* come off as stiff and wooden, even though Haid was an accomplished draughtsman and a master of the mezzotint technique.²⁶

Bullart was not a significant figure in the learned world like Brucker or Perrault. Born in Rotterdam and educated in Bordeaux, he spent most of his life as an administrator in Arras, where he managed the Saint-Vaast Abbey's real estate and the local *Mont de Piété* (municipal loan bank). The *Académie* is his only published work, although the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lille also preserves the unfinished manuscript for an album of heretics (mainly Protestants). According to an eighteenth-century *historia literaria* of the Low Countries, Bullart began collecting *mémoires* of great men's lives 'around 30 years before his death', i.e. in the early 1640s.²⁷ The manuscripts in Lille show

24 Brucker to Gottsched, 27 March and 20 April 1740, in Döring D. – Menzel F. – Otto R. – Schlott M. (eds.), *Johann Christoph Gottsched: Briefwechsel, unter Einschluß des Briefwechsels von Luise Adelgunde Gottsched*, vol. VI (Berlin: 2012) 444–448 and 500–502; Otto R., "Johann Christoph und Luise Adelgunde Gottsched in bildlichen Darstellungen", in Rudersdorf M. (ed.), *Johann Christoph Gottsched in seiner Zeit. Neue Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung* (Berlin: 2007) 1–75, 30ff.

25 Brucker to Gottsched, 29 Nov 1740, 13 Sep 1741, and 27 May 1742, in *Gottsched. Briefwechsel*, vol. VII (2013) 253–256, 528–533 and vol. VIII (2014) 166–171.

26 Sors A.-K. (ed.), *Die Englische Manier. Mezzotinto als Medium druckgrafischer Reproduktion und Innovation* (Göttingen: 2014) 23–28, 134–153.

27 Paquot Jean-Noël, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des Pays-Bas, de la principauté de Liège, et de quelques contrées voisines*, vol. III (Louvain, Imprimerie académique: 1770) 648–650.



FIGURE 5.3
 J.J. Haid after Anna Maria
 Werner, *Johann Christoph
 Gottsched*, from *Brucker's
 Bilder-Sal* (Amsterdam:
 Rijksmuseum)

his drafts, the elaborate versions, and the *abrégés* made by his son to bring the project back to manageable proportions.²⁸ Bullart employed two local artists, Nicolas de l'Armessin and Edmé de Boulonnois, to make copies of the portraits he compiled, ranging in quality from passable (Boulonnois) to plain clumsy (l'Armessin), often pasted side to side with the originals in the manuscript [Fig. 5.5]. This also makes it easier to identify his sources: many of the portraits are copied after Philips Galle's *Virorum doctorum de disciplina benemerentium effigies XLIIII* (*Forty-four effigies of learned men who served*

28 BM de Lille, Collection patrimoniale, 460–462 / Ms. 817–819 (Académie des Sciences et des Arts) and 463–467 / Ms. 690–694 (Recueil d'Éloges). The latter collection is numbered II–VI; vol. I is missing.



FIGURE 5.4

J.J. Haid after Elias Gottlob Hausmann, *Luise Adelgunde Gottsched*, from Brucker's *Bilder-Sal* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum)

the disciplines well, 1572) and Cock and Hondius' *Pictorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris effigies* (*Effigies of some famous painters of Lower Germany*, 1572/1610). This explains some remarkable inclusions, like Savonarola (who was burned as a heretic) among the 'illustres théologiens'. Three portraits are from the mid-sixteenth-century manuscript *Recueil d'Arras*, presumably owned by Bullart;²⁹ fifteen are from Van Dyck's *Icones Principum Virorum* (better known as *Iconography*, 1635/1645), the most recent of the collections he used as sources.

The bulk of Bullart's 275 assembled scholars and artists are from the Netherlands (96), Italy (85), and France (48) (see Table 5.2); without the 39 Italian and 43 Netherlandish artists, the proportions among scholars and

29 Campbell L., "The Authorship of the *Recueil d'Arras*", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977) 301–313, 312.

TABLE 5.2 People in Isaac Bullart's *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*

 Nationality:

96 Netherlandish, 85 Italian, 48 French
 12 British, 11 Spanish, 11 German, 9 Greek,
 3 Polish, 1 Hungarian, 1 Portuguese, 1 Danish

Main century of activity:

Pre-14th century: 6 14th c: 10 15th c: 42 16th c: 175 17th c: 42

Sections of volumes I and II:

20 Statesmen	18 Theologians
26 Historians	29 Philosophers/math./astr./med.
18 Jurists	23 'Diverse sciences' ^a
16 Rhetoricians/grammarians	18 Inventors ^b
39 Italian painters/arch./sculptors	20 Poets
	48 Netherlandish/north. painters

^a 'Diverse sciences': philologists, polymaths

^b Inventors: geographers, printers, explorers, musicians

In all three collections, the great dividing lines are national and confessional, although to different degrees. Brucker's protagonists are overwhelmingly either from the Holy Roman Empire or adjacent regions (Northern Italy, Switzerland, the Dutch Republic, Hungary, Poland); with the exception of Émilie du Châtelet (1706–1749), all the French are Huguenots working in Berlin. Although, as a pastor, Brucker was wont to praise piousness, he felt less urge to condemn Catholics, and even paid the same compliment to some of them; the wars of religion were over, and Augsburg was a bi-confessional city, in which Brucker's Ulrichskirche was attached to a larger Catholic basilica. Why he included Châtelet and not her lover Voltaire, who spent several longer periods in Prussia as well as travelling through the German lands in the 1740s and early 50s, is easy to explain: all German scholars *hated* Voltaire, so why would they pay for his portrait?

It appears that French birth was required for Perrault's illustrious Frenchmen, which would explain the exclusion of Cardinal Mazarin, born in Italy. Among émigrés only Descartes and Scaliger, i.e. the most internationally prestigious

are listed – the latter refashioned into a covert Catholic!³⁰ *Les Hommes illustres*, after all, was written a decade after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Among five other Protestants, worldly authorities are treated more leniently than scholars: statesman and general Maximilien de Sully (1559–1641) is portrayed as holding on to his faith although he was offered even higher positions if he would have converted, while two historians (David Blondel and Samuel Bochart) are castigated at length for their heresy where they could have known better and a third one (Paul Pellisson) is praised as a ‘miraculous’ convert after imprisonment.³¹

Bullart’s ecumenism had distinct limits. He maintained a distinction between ‘science as an object of the mind’ and ‘faith as a quality of the soul’;³² this implied that a Protestant doctor or jurist should be given the praise they deserved for their work, just as they deserved fair and equal judgement under civil law; while those who actively led others to damnation ended up in his album of *hérétiques* with Mahomet, Luther, Melanchthon, and Machiavelli. Catholic and pre-Reformation Europe, however, occupy over ninety per cent of the *Académie*. Netherlandish figures, especially painters, are overwhelmingly from the Southern Netherlands, even though Bullart conceived of the Low Countries as a geographic unity in spite of the split resulting from the Dutch Revolt. Even among the British, seven out of twelve were Catholics. The chameleonic faith of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) is muffled away, and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) (like Scaliger in Perrault) is enlisted as a silent convert to Catholicism.³³ The biography of Cornelius Jansenius (1585–1638), accompanied by Philip Fruytiers’ elaborate folio portrait print [Fig. 5.6] in the manuscript, is suppressed in the printed version, following the condemnation of Jansenism (and the French conquest of Arras in 1640). Ironically enough, Galileo’s biography in the *Académie* is completely silent about his trial, and so are those of Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621), his main accuser, and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), who wrote in his defence.

In short, these three collections show three different Republics of Letters from three different centuries. Does this corroborate Eskildsen’s point about ‘how Germany left the Republic of Letters’? Yes and no. If Brucker’s world only paid lip service to the ideal of a Republic of Letters, the *Bilder-Sal* was a rather monumental way of doing so. The German Enlightenment was, if anything, less

30 *Les Hommes illustres*, vol. II, 62.

31 *Les Hommes illustres*, vol. II, 25, 34, 75, 77 [Sully, Gassion, Blondel, Bochart]; vol. I, 51–52 [Pellisson]; cf. Culpin, “Introduction”, xxvi–xxviii.

32 ‘La science est un objet de l’esprit: La Foy est une qualité de l’Ame’. *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*, vol. I, preface.

33 *Académie des Sciences et des Arts*, vol. II, 215.



FIGURE 5.6 Philip Fruytiers, *Cornelius Jansenius* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum)

self-centred than Perrault's Ludovicocentric world. Moreover, even Bullart's less geographically fixed Academy shows a strong preference for his own country, language area, and confession.

2 Hierarchies in the Republic of Letters

If these three Republics of Letters each had different value systems, they also had a common core: a sense of imagined community.³⁴ They consisted of people who imagined a mutual connection between themselves and others over a spatial and temporal distance. The imagined communities of Brucker and Perrault were clearly more coherent and more directly connected than Bullart's, but even Bullart's community existed not only in his imagination – it was also what figures such as Lipsius and Grotius perceived as their past and present. Collections of portraits were among the more monumental manifestations of a widespread memory culture, which extended from busts on top of bookshelves to biographical lexicons and collected sayings, anecdotes, and correspondence. It is symptomatic, therefore, that Brucker's friend Siegmund Apin wrote a manual for collecting portraits (and one for collecting dissertations, as well as a portrait gallery of Altdorf university chancellors and a collective biography of its professors),³⁵ and that Bégon in La Rochelle and Bullart in Arras conceived of turning the contents of their cabinets into printed volumes. These were all works aimed at a community of collectors, not wholly equivalent to, but representative of, the learned world.

But their imagined community was also an exclusive community. Even at its most inclusive, it included only a small segment of the population: literate, leisured or institutionally affiliated, and mostly male. While the borderline criteria for inclusion were informal and porous, clear hierarchies prevailed – though

34 Anderson B., *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: 1983). Anderson defines nations as 'imagined communities' held together mainly by print culture, of which most members have not actually met, but where, 'regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (16). The most elaborate application of Anderson's concept to the early modern Republic of Letters is in Mayhew R., "British Geography's Republic of Letters: Mapping an Imagined Community, 1600–1800", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2004) 251–276.

35 On Apin's collecting activities, see Marti H., "Die Disputationsschriften – Speicher logifizierten Wissens", in Grunert F. – Syndikus A. (eds.), *Wissensspeicher der frühen Neuzeit. Formen und Funktionen* (Berlin: 2015) 203–242; Berger S., *The Art of Philosophy. Visual Thinking in Europe from the Late Renaissance to the Early Enlightenment* (Princeton: 2017) 41–72.

several rather than one. Academies, universities, and church ranks were parallel circuits; worldly powers not only prevailed upon but also participated in the life of letters. Neither of these institutions and estates fully controlled the trade in symbolic capital, such as recognition, obligations, and prestige; but without them, there was little to trade in.

One can see these different hierarchies at work in the organization of *Les Hommes illustres* and the *Bilder-Sal*. Perrault follows a linear hierarchy of churchmen, statesmen and generals, scholars, poets, and artists, while each section of Brucker roughly adheres to the hierarchy of the faculties: law and theology first, then medicine, and finally philosophy, preceded in most fascicles by a noble scholar or patron, and followed at the end by other literati. (As the articles were not paginated, they could also be reshuffled at will.) Authors are portrayed with the paraphernalia of their rank: Maffei and Büнау, as nobles, are depicted in armor, while Muratori wears a soutane and Formey a Genevan gown. But for all these and others, that rank and affiliation did not correspond to their main field of activity, and the hierarchy of the faculties does not reflect that of scholarly prestige: Wolff, Gottsched, Bernoulli, and Haller (Von Haller as of 1749, when he was knighted) are all in the lower half of their respective fascicle. In Perrault, there are similar discrepancies: the precedence of church over state reflects protocol rather than actual power – except in the case of Richelieu – and among churchmen, half were linked to university and colleges, and at least Mersenne and Tillemont were included not primarily because of their services to the church.

Obviously, the greater role for the first and second estate in Perrault when compared to Brucker reflects the greater integration of church and state, arts and sciences in Colbert's bureaucratic theatre state.³⁶ The Perrault family as described by Rabinovich is a case in point, with Charles' ties to Colbert, Claude's role as an architect in Versailles, and their brother Nicolas' involvement in disputes around Jansenism at the Sorbonne. Such cultural politics did of course also exist in Brucker's world: local rulers throughout the empire had built their own Versailles and maintained a university, often adorned with their own name, to train their own professional cadre. However, precisely because of this, the learned infrastructure was a patchwork of analogous

36 An overview of all *hommes illustres* and their occupations is in the appendix of Bernard, "Les Hommes illustres", 41–46. For Colbert as a bureaucrat, see Soll J., *The Information Master. Jean-Baptiste Colbert's Secret State Intelligence System* (Ann Arbor: 2009); for his state system as a 'theatre state' in which power was exercised through spectacle, see Burke P., *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven: 1992) 7. The concept of a theatre state comes from Geertz C., *Negara. The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: 1980).

structures in smaller and larger states, with permanent communication and mobility between them. According to later, early nineteenth-century commentators (Madame de Staël, Abbé Grégoire, George Ticknor) this political fragmentation gave German scholars greater independence to live ‘among themselves in a republic.’³⁷ While universities were not necessarily more independent than academies, they were at least, literally, guild structures with their own jurisdictions within the city.

From Bullart to Brucker, a shrinking role for the visual arts can be noted. In Bullart they constitute the largest segment, and Northern painters originally filled the entire third volume of the three-volume neat manuscript. Perrault puts them in the final and smallest section and they are completely absent in Brucker’s *Bilder-Sal*. This is not because there were no learned artists in the first half of the eighteenth century – although, by all standards, German art of that period makes a less impressive list than seventeenth-century French Baroque or the Flemish Primitives and Northern Renaissance celebrated by Perrault and Bullart – but because visual art was not part of Brucker’s conception of learning (*Gelahrheit*), rooted in universities and learned journals, and fell beyond the scope of *durch Gelahrheit berühmter Schriftsteller*. For Perrault, it was clear: painters and architects were part of the glory of *le Grand Siècle* and had Royal Academies. They were also an integral part of his own literary practice through his work on designs and inscriptions for royal building projects, his illustrated catalogues of the fairytale labyrinth of Versailles, and his own Cabinet of Fine Art.³⁸ Bullart, who collected prints, and who had married the painter Anna de Bruyns,³⁹ had every reason to take a special interest in Netherlandish art – even though, reliant on earlier collections, the *Académie* contains only ten artists of his own day. The most quoted passage from the

37 ‘Les hommes de lettres d’Allemagne vivent entr’eux en république; plus il y a d’abus révoltans dans le despotisme des rangs, plus les hommes éclairés se séparent de la société et des affaires publiques’. Staël Germaine de, *De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales* ([Paris]: 1800) 200; cf. Solleveld F., “Afterlives of the Republic of Letters: Learned Journals and Scholarly Community in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 5.1 (2020) 82–116, esp. 89–92.

38 Perrault and Benserade Isaac de, *Labyrinthe de Versailles* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale 1677) [ill. Sébastien le Clerc]; Perrault, *Le Cabinet des beaux Arts, ou Recueil d’Estampes gravées d’après les Tableaux d’un plafond où les beaux Arts sont représentés. Avec l’explication de ces mêmes Tableaux* (Paris, Edelinck: 1690) [ill. Gérard Edelinck, also the main illustrator of *Les Hommes illustres*]; cf. Martin M.-P., “Le Cabinet des beaux Arts de Charles Perrault: le monument d’un Moderne”, *La Revue de l’art* 190 (2015) 9–18.

39 Stighelen K. Van der, “Anna Francisca de Bruyns (1604/5–1656), Artist, Wife and Mother: a Contextual Approach to Her Forgotten Artistic Career”, in Moran S.J. – Pipkin A.C. (eds.), *Women and Gender in the Early Modern Low Countries, 1500–1750* (Leiden: 2019) 192–228.

Académie is a two-page description of Rogier van der Weyden's panels in the Brussels Town Hall, destroyed in the French bombardment of 1695.

In his letters to Gottsched, Brucker is pragmatic about the reason for his lack of attention to the visual arts: Haid wanted to save space.⁴⁰ However, the question is to what extent this shrinking role of the visual arts also reflects a different scheme of knowledge? In general, neither of these three collections contains elaborate theoretical statements about the relation *between* arts and sciences. All three use the compound 'arts and sciences' (*Künste und Wissenschaften*) with some understanding that the former is more practical and the latter more theoretical/general, but with different and disputable distinctions between which is which. Bullart, or rather his son, schematizes the arts and sciences in a *tableau demonstrative* [sic] in which history and poetry are listed as sciences, but grammar, rhetoric, and mathematics as arts (and music as a 'mathematical art') [Fig. 5.7]. Perrault's clearest statement on the division of the sciences can be found in his memorandum to Colbert for the establishment of an *académie générale*:

L'académie pourroit estre composée de personnes de quatre talens différens, sçavoir: belles-lettres, histoire, philosophie, mathématiques.
 Les gens des belles-lettres excelleroient, ou en grammaire, éloquence, poésie;
 Les historiens, ou en histoire, chronologie, géographie;
 Les philosophes, ou en chimie, simples, anatomie, physique expérimentale;
 Les mathématiciens, ou en géométrie, astronomie, algèbre.⁴¹

The Academy might be composed of persons of four different talents, to wit: *belles-lettres*, history, philosophy, mathematics.
 The men of *belles-lettres* would excel in grammar, eloquence, or poetry;
 The historians, in history, chronology, or geography;
 The philosophers, in chemistry, simples, anatomy, or experimental physics;
 The mathematicians, in geometry, astronomy, or algebra.

However, this does not entirely overlap with his division between the visual arts, poetry, rhetoric, and the sciences in the four volumes of *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes*. There, history is part of rhetoric, and the final volume

40 'Auf Künstler hat sich H. Haid wegen der kleinen Zahl, die man alle Jahre herausgeben kan, niemals einlaßen wollen'; Brucker to Gottsched, 27 March 1742, in *Gottsched: Briefwechsel* vol. VIII, 169.

41 "Note de Charles Perrault à Colbert" [1666] 512.

Table Démonstrative de l'Académie des Sciences, & des Arts.

Académie des Sciences, & des Arts.	Tome I.	Scien- ces.	Livre I. Politique.	Ministère de l'Etat. Ambassades. Négociations.			
			Arts.	Livre II. Histoire.	Antique. Moderne.		
				Liv. III. Jurisprudence.	Droit Civil. Droit Canon.		
		Livre IV.	Grammaire. Rhetorique.				
		Livre V.	Peinture. Sculpture. Architecture.				
	Tome II.	Scien- ces.	Livre I. Théologie.	Mystique. Morale. Scholastique.			
			Arts.	Livre II. Philosophie.	Logique. Physique. Metaphysique. Étique ou Morale.	Astrologie.	Empryrique. Botanique. Chirurgie. Pharmacie. Anatomie.
				Livre III. Mixte, ou Sciences mélicés.			
		Livre IV. Poëse.	Épique ou Heroïque. Tragique. Comique. Satyrique. Lyrique.				
		Arts.	Livre V.	Typographie. Géographie. Cosmographie. Mathématique.	Artillerie. Marine.	Géometrie. Arithmétique. Musique.	
			Livre VI.	Peinture. Perspective. Optique.			

In

FIGURE 5.7 [Ignace] Bullart, *Table démonstrative de l'Académie des Sciences & des Arts*, from *Académie* vol. 1 (Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg)

covers philosophy, mathematics, and medicine as well as navigation, geography, warfare, and music. What complicates comparisons with Brucker is that the *Bilder-Sal* is not an overview of arts and sciences, but of 'learned writers'. Brucker is not very explicit about what belongs to the domain of learning, apart from the four faculties. His conception of learning is broader than *Wissenschaft* alone, since the *Bilder-Sal* also prominently includes *Arzney-kunst*, *Dicht-kunst*, *Rede-kunst*, and the art of diplomatics; but then, these were arts that university professors practiced and taught.

The place of the new sciences within the general overview of learning was something of an unresolved issue generally. As Edelstein and others argue in their study of "The French Enlightenment Network", the *gens des sciences* had become a separate sub-network within the Republic of Letters in the eighteenth century.⁴² Arguably, they had been so since the establishment of Royal Academies of sciences in London and Paris in the 1660s. At any rate, the new sciences were not Bullart's, Perrault's, or Brucker's field of expertise, but they do have their share in each overview, mainly under the denomination 'philosophy'. Though Bullart was cautious enough to remain silent about Galileo's trial, and stressed that 'not all the learned have equally followed' the heliocentric system of Copernicus,⁴³ he included both astronomers among the 29 individuals (11%) in the Philosophy section along with Brahe, Kepler, Descartes, Aldrovandi, and of course Vesalius. In *Les Hommes illustres*, only Mersenne, Gassendi, Descartes, and Boulliau could count as representatives of the new sciences, but they are part of Perrault's argument in favour of the Moderns. Brucker discusses natural philosophy as one of the three main branches of modern philosophy in his *Historia critica Philosophiae*, but gives them a relatively small share in the *Bilder-Sal*. It is worth noting that two of its five physicists, Châtelet and Laura Bassi (1711–1778), are women, even though Brucker held the fair sex to be more fit for *schöne Wissenschaften* (belles-lettres).

The inclusion of women was an article of pride for Brucker as well as Bullart, both of whom regarded them, patronizingly enough, as an ornament to the history of learning. Already in the introduction of the *Bilder-Sal*, Brucker points out that 'because our times, too, are so lucky that here and there a woman gloriously presents herself on the stage of learning, a place in this collection

42 Comsa M.T. – Conroy M. – Edelstein D. – Summers Edmondson C. – Willan C., "The French Enlightenment Network", *The Journal of Modern History* 88 (2016) 495–534, 515–517; cf. Hahn, *Anatomy of a Scientific Institution* 35–58.

43 *Académie*, vol. II, 76.

is also reserved for her'.⁴⁴ But the standards by which women are judged are different: no Latin publications are listed, and Laura Bassi, the first woman who held a professorship, is praised for not neglecting the duties of motherhood. Still, Brucker stressed at length that women gifted with scientific talent should cultivate it, and ends the article on Châtelet with a laudatory poem by Luise Gottsched:

Du, die Du jetzt den Ruhm des Vaterlandes stüttest,
 Frau! die Du ihm weit mehr, als tausend Männer nüttest/
 Erhabne Chatellet! o fahre ferner fort
 Der Wahrheit nachzugehn. Sie hängt an keinem Ort.⁴⁵

You that support the Fatherland's renown,
 Woman! that serves it far better than a thousand men/
 Lofty Châtelet! O continue to pursue
 the truth. She belongs to no place.

Reconciling the pursuit of learning with the virtue of humility, however, condemned female authors in particular to a game of humblebrag.⁴⁶ According to Brucker, Châtelet 'was finally persuaded, in order to please her son', to write *Institutions de Physique* (1740), and apologized that it contained 'nothing new'; Pietist poetess Magdalena Rieger (1707–1786), the fourth female author in the *Bilder-Sal*, purportedly saw her poems published against her will.

The women in Bullart's *Académie* are an uneven set. Apart from Anna Maria van Schurman, they include the sculptress Properzia de' Rossi (c. 1490–1530), the poetess Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547), the Protestant 'six-day Queen' Jane Grey (1537–1554), the learned nun Juliana Morell (1594–1653), and the ideal muse, Petrarch's Laura. Of these, only Colonna, Morell, and Van Schurman can count as active participants in learned debate; the others rather have an ornamental role in his collection. Morell and Van Schurman were indeed widely celebrated in their day as polyglot prodigies: Van Schurman was exceptionally admitted to university and Morell even reputedly defended a thesis (though the record is unclear).⁴⁷ Van Schurman is indeed a showpiece in Bullart's

44 'Weil auch unsere Zeiten das Glück haben, daß sich hin und wieder Frauenzimmer auf der gelehrten Schaubühne mit Rühme zeigt, so ist auch demselbigen eine Stelle in diese Sammlung eingeräumet worden', *Bilder-Sal*, vol. I, Vorrede [n.p.] (fifth page).

45 *Bilder-Sal*, vol. I, fasc. IV [n.p.].

46 For an analysis of this pattern with Luise Gottsched as main example, see Martus, *Aufklärung*, 395–399.

47 Pal C., *Republic of Women. Rethinking the Republic of Letters in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: 2012) 52–77; Griswold Morley S., "Juliana Morell: Problems", *Hispanic*

collection, the only author to be represented by two portraits (one after her portrait by Jan Lievens [Fig. 5.8]; the other after her self-portrait). Moreover, her unabridged biography in the manuscript runs to ten folio pages, half of them a compilation of laudatory poems. More generally, such texts take up a large part of Bullart's manuscript, as a poetical counterpart and complement to portrait collecting.

Bullart appended three other portraits of women to the lives of their fathers and husbands. Two of these – Titian's daughter 'Jeanne' (actually Lavinia, allegedly represented on Titian's *Girl with a Basket of Fruits*) and Van Dyck's wife, Mary Ruthven – are only mentioned cursorily. The third is a more interesting case: Virginia Vezzi or da Vezzo (1601–1638), the wife of painter Simon Vouet (1590–1649), who was admitted to the Accademia di San Luca in Rome over which Vouet presided. A marginale in Bullart's manuscript notes her painful death from a Caesarean section ('they were forced to open up her side to save a child that she was unable to deliver').⁴⁸ Absent from the printed version is a biography of Bullart's wife at the end of the manuscript, which praises her self-sacrifice: she only consented to the marriage on the ardent advice of her parents and confessor; then largely had to give up her promising artistic career for the obligations of motherhood, and in her final years suffered 'great afflictions of body and spirit, caused without doubt by the displeasure she experienced from the wrongs done to her husband'.⁴⁹ The latter were probably accusations of financial mismanagement, repeated after his dismissal as bailiff of Saint-Vaast Abbey in 1660.⁵⁰ But then, Arras was besieged and conquered by the French in 1640 and almost reconquered in 1654, twice laying waste to the abbey's lands and resources;⁵¹ and it cannot be a coincidence that he was dismissed in the year the Habsburg-affiliated abbot of Saint-Vaast died.

Review 9.1 (1941) 137–150; idem, "Juliana Morell: Postscript", *Hispanic Review* 9.3 (1941) 399–402.

48 'on fut obligé à luy ouvrir le flanc pour sauver un enfant qu'elle ne pouvoit mettre au monde', Vol. III, Collection Patrimoniale 462 / Ms. 819, p. 368.

49 'grandes afflictions de corps et d'esprit, causées sans doute par le desplaisir qu'elle vecut des traverses qu'on faisoit à son mary', ibidem, 414–415; cf. Stighelen K. Van der, "Anna Francisca de Bruyns (1604/5–1656)".

50 Campbell, "The Authorship of the *Recueil d'Arras*", 312n; cf. Loriquet H. et al., *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Pas-de-Calais. Série H: Archives ecclésiastiques. Fonds de l'Abbaye de Saint-Vaast*, vol. I (Arras: 1902) 155. The files described in this inventory were all destroyed by the German artillery bombardment of Arras in 1915.

51 "Declaration faite par messire Isaac Bullart", quoted in Godin M. – Cotel M., *Inventaire-sommaire des Archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Pas-de-Calais. Série B: Archives civiles*, vol. I (Paris: 1875) 129.



FIGURE 5.8 Nicolas de l'Armessin after Jan Lievens, *Anna Maria van Schurman*, from the manuscript of Bullart's *Académie*, vol. II (Bibliothèque Municipale de Lille, Collection Patrimoniales 461 | Ms. 818, fol. 657)

3 Ancients and Moderns

Parallels between ancients and moderns abound in the *Bilder-Sal*. Its very opening sentence already states that collecting and displaying images of great and virtuous men is a matter ‘which dark Antiquity already recognized as fair and laudable, and has preserved through its example’, citing the testimony of Herodotus, Plinius, Valerius Maximus, and Seneca.⁵² The biography of learned patron Ernst von Manteuffel invokes the age of Augustus; medical doctor Friedrich Hoffman has brought as much honour to his branch of science as Asclepiades and Hippocrates, and flourished in Halle an der Saale, ‘das Saal-Athen’. All four female authors are included with reference to Classical precedents in philosophy and poetry. Most striking, however, is the lengthy parallel drawn in the biography of Christian Wolff:

Ja ich getraue mir noch ein mehrers zusagen; unsere neuere Zeiten würden in den Entdeckungen heilsamer und nützlicher Wahrheiten, und vernünftiger Anwendung des Natur-Lichtes Griechenlands Glückseligkeit nicht übertroffen haben, wann sie nicht solche grosse Geister hervor gebracht hätten, welche durch ihre Einsicht in die Weltweisheit der Alten Ruhm weit hinter sich gelassen, und ihrem Glanz durch ihre Vortrefflichkeit verdunkelt haben. Wäre es nöthig, oder dieses Ortes, so wurde es nicht schwer seyn, die philosophische Historie hievon zum Zeugen aufzurufen, und einem Anaximander einen Verulamius, einem Socrates einen Pufendorf, einem Plato einen Thomasius, einem Aristoteles einen Cartesius, einem Democritus einen Leibnitz, einem Pythagoras einen Newton, u.s.w. entgegen zu setzen, und damit zu beweisen, wie weit die Glückseligkeit unserer Zeiten das graue Alterthum auch in der Weltweisheit übertreffe.⁵³

Yes, I trust myself to say something more: our modern times would not have surpassed the felicity of Ancient Greece in the discovery of salutary and useful truths and in the application of the light of nature by reason, if they had not brought forth such great minds whose insight left the fame of the Ancients far behind, and whose excellence outshines them.

52 *Bilder-Sal*, vol. 1, Vorrede [n.p.]: ‘Bilder grosser und verdienter Männer sammeln, und sie zur Ergötzung und Erweckung des Gemüthes bewahren und aufstellen, ist eine Sache, welche schon das graue Alterthum für billig und löblich erkant, und durch sein Beyspiel bewähret hat.’

53 *Bilder-Sal*, vol. 1, fasc. 1 [n.p.].

If necessary or opportune, it would not be hard to call the history of philosophy to witness, and to set Bacon against Anaximander, Pufendorf against Socrates, Thomasius against Plato, Descartes against Aristotle, Leibniz against Democritus, Newton against Pythagoras, etc., so as to prove how far our present felicity surpasses dark Antiquity in philosophy as well.

The comparison between Socrates and Pufendorf, or between Plato and Thomasius may come off as far-fetched and chauvinistic, but Brucker had an informed opinion about the history of philosophy, ancient as well as modern. Unlike Perrault, he read Greek and wrote fluent Latin. In his *Historia critica Philosophiae*, he described modern systems of philosophy as 'eclectic' combinations and expansions of ancient – Platonic, Aristotelian, Sceptic, Stoic/atomistic – schools of thought, succeeding upon, and superior to earlier Renaissance neo-Platonism, neo-Aristotelianism, neo-Stoicism et al.⁵⁴ The true eclectic philosopher, for Brucker, was one who weighed 'all authority, veneration, antiquity, and sects' according to the laws of reason and drew clear and evident principles from that.⁵⁵ Innovation as such, however, he treated with some suspicion, a quality or ambition of 'paradox' philosophers such as Hobbes and Spinoza.⁵⁶

What defines Brucker's 'modern' attitude most of all is the reconciliation of reason and Christian faith, and the wider rationalization of law, morals, and taste. The defining controversies of his generation were the official condemnation of Wolff, whose *Oratio de Sinarum Philosophia practica* (*Oration on the practical philosophy of the Chinese*, 1721) purportedly allowed for the possibility of virtuous, rational atheism, and the *Dichterkrieg* about the rational basis of poetics. In true scholastic fashion Brucker sums up the tenets of each major modern thinker in a long list of theses at the end of their respective chapter in *Historia critica Philosophiae*; but a rejection of the neo-Aristotelian 'philosophy of the schools' is a defining feature of all these modern systems. What Pufendorf and Thomasius, Leibniz and Wolff stood for was toleration,

54 Schneider U.J., "Das Eklektizismus-Problem in der Philosophiegeschichte", in Schmidt-Biggemann – Stammen (eds.), *Jacob Brucker (1696–1770)* 135–158.

55 Brucker, *Historia critica Philosophiae*, vol. IV.2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf 1744) 4; cf. Longo M., "Geistige Anregungen und Quellen der Bruckerschen Historiographie", in Schmidt-Biggemann – Stammen (eds.), *Jacob Brucker (1696–1770)* 159–186.

56 This is more outspoken in William Enfield's abbreviated translation, *History of Philosophy from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Present Century, drawn up from Brucker's Historia critica Philosophiae* (London, Johnson: 1791), where Bruno, Hobbes, Spinoza, and also Thomasius are branded as 'innovators' in the index.

natural law founded in natural reason, and metaphysics *more geometrico*. Appropriately enough, Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), who occupies the last chapter devoted to an individual thinker in Brucker's history (since Wolff was still alive), was both an early champion of learned journalism in Germany and a founder of the university of Halle, who encouraged the cultivation of *esprit*, polite learning, and the German language in his discourse on the imitation of French taste.⁵⁷

In Perrault's conception of what it meant to be modern, philosophy occupies a less prominent position. In the *Parallèle*, philosophy takes up a substantial segment of the final dialogue (vol. IV, 123–230), divided into logic, ethics, physics, and metaphysics; but most of that is devoted to Cartesian physics, discussed for fifty more pages after its superiority to the atomism of Democritus has been established. In all branches of philosophy, the unsystematic and incomplete nature of ancient thought is conceded with surprising ease: according to Perrault, the Port-Royal Logic is clearer and more comprehensive than Aristotle's, whose *Metaphysics* is a ragtag collection, and the moral precepts of Socrates are vain and pagan. What Perrault and Brucker shared was an admiration for Du Hamel's *Philosophia vetus et nova* (*Old and new philosophy*, 1678), mentioned by Perrault's Abbé as 'the most accomplished course in philosophy that we have';⁵⁸ much of the dialogue about Descartes is based on Du Hamel's earlier tract *De Consensu veteris et novae philosophiae* (*On the consensus between the old and new philosophy*, 1663), while his comparison of ancient and modern systems was a precedent for Brucker's *Historia*.

Comparisons between ancients and moderns are rare in *Les Hommes illustres*. In part, this is because Perrault's texts are shorter than Brucker's and leave less space for ornamental rhetoric; but it also seems a conscious choice. We read that Descartes was dissatisfied with Aristotelianism, that Scaliger excelled in the study of ancient languages, and that painter Pierre Mignard 'sought the best models among the Ancients, and in the paintings of Raphael and Titian,'⁵⁹ all rather unspectacular bits of information. The three most outspoken

57 Thomasius Christian, *Christian Thomas eröffnet Der Studirenden Jugend zu Leipzig in einem Discours Welcher Gestalt man denen Frantzosen in gemeinem Leben und Wandel nachahmen solle? Ein Collegium über des Gratians Grund-Reguln, Vernünfftig, klug und artig zu leben* (Leipzig, Weidmann: 1690?) [delivered 1687]. Wolff received a chapter in the appendix volume to the 2nd ed. of Brucker's *Historia* (Leipzig, Weidmann – Reich: 1767) 878–902.

58 'un cours de philosophie le plus accompli que nous ayons', Perrault, *Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes*, vol. IV (Paris, Coignard: 1697) 132.

59 'chercha de meilleurs modèles dans les Antiques, & dans les Tableaux de Raphaël & du Titien', *Les Hommes illustres*, vol. II, 91.

passages are in the biographies of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), Pierre Corneille (1606–1684), and François de La Mothe Le Vayer (1588–1672), and even there they do not make much of a polemical point. Gassendi is portrayed as ‘a sage rather than a philosopher’ on account of his pious as well as ancient virtues, manifested in his balanced, reasoned attitude: ‘His philosophical maxims were composed of what is best and most reasonable in Epicurus and Democritus, and he distanced himself from all bizarre paradoxes, whether they were to be found among the Ancients or defended by the most excellent Moderns.’⁶⁰ Corneille and La Mothe Le Vayer are the only figures explicitly compared with ancient authors, the former even with Homer; the soaring parallel is justified ‘since several very wise persons have not hesitated to do so before me.’⁶¹ Perrault does not draw similar classical parallels with the more sternly classical Racine, whose genius was ‘a gift of nature’. The nearest thing to a polemical statement is the opening of the chapter on La Mothe Le Vayer, ‘the Plutarch of our century’:

La Science des plus sçavans hommes se renferme ordinairement dans la connoissance de ce qu’ont fait ou ce qu’ont dit les Grecs & les Romains; Ils regardent le reste du monde comme peu digne d’estre considerée, persuadez que la valeur, la sagesse, & toutes les vertus imaginables ne se rencontrent en quelque sorte de perfection que parmi ces deux peuples.⁶²

The knowledge of the most highly learned men is ordinarily restricted to what the Greeks and Romans have said and done; they regard the rest of the world as hardly worth consideration, persuaded that valour, wisdom, and all imaginable virtues are to be encountered in some grade of perfection only among these two peoples.

The contrast here serves to justify his inclusion, in spite of his reputation as a libertine and sceptic: he was led to Pyrrhonism precisely because his learning was not pedantically limited in this way, and because he strove instead to know ‘the genius, *moeurs*, and customs’ of all nations, including the ‘strangest ideas

60 ‘Ses maximes de Philosophie estoient composées de ce qu’Epicure & Democrite ont eu de meilleur & de plus raisonnable, & et il s’esloigna de tous les Paradoxes outrez, soit qu’ils se trouvassent dans les Anciens, soit qu’ils fussent soustenus par les Modernes les plus excellens’, *Les Hommes illustres*, vol. I, 63–64.

61 ‘puisque plusieurs personnes très-sages n’ont pas hésité de le faire avant moy’, *ibidem* 77.

62 Vol. II, 59.

and sentiments.⁶³ But then, La Mothe Le Vayer had been a member of the Académie Française and preceptor to Louis XIV.

There is less to say about Bullart's attitude towards Antiquity and the example of the ancients, for lack of theoretical reflections. With its lives of painters, poets, printers, and explorers the *Académie* is not especially Latinate, although the role of Latin as the language of learning was as yet barely disputed. One of the most distinctively early modern classicist aspects of the *Académie* is that almost every chapter ends with a Latin epitaph, sometimes supplemented with other epigrams or emblems. Seen in conjunction with these circulating texts and images, Bullart's collected portraits acquire the character of moralizing images or even objects of veneration, much more so than Brucker's or Perrault's, in spite of the lower artistic quality. A further element of *memento mori* is added by accounts of virtuous deaths upon the scaffold (Thomas More, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, Jane Grey), of peaceful Christian deaths wreathed by resignation, repentance, and charitable deeds but also of sumptuous funerary pomp; and though Bullart insisted that More's last words were not those of a Stoic philosopher braving death but of a Christian philosopher who preferred death above impiety,⁶⁴ his emphasis on the art of dying well loudly echoes Lipsius' neo-Stoicism.

4 Conclusions

What these three collections show most of all is the importance of memory practices within the Republic of Letters. Much energy was devoted to writing eulogies and notices about the dead, compiling material about the dead, and preparing a place for the living among the dead.⁶⁵ Brucker, Perrault, and Bullart can be considered as heralds of this memory culture, keeping track of honours and lineages. As such, they devoted more effort to it than others did. Yet, the cabinets of Bullart and Bégon represent a wider culture of collecting,⁶⁶ exemplified by the imaginary cabinet on the frontispiece of Apin's manual for portrait collectors [Fig. 5.9].

63 Ibidem.

64 *Académie*, vol. 1, 53.

65 Bonnet J.-C., "Les Morts illustres: oraison funèbre, éloge académique, nécrologie", in Nora P. (ed.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire. Part II: La Nation*, vol. III (Paris: 1986) 217–241.

66 Waquet F., "Scholars and their portraits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries", *Intellectual News* 3.1 (1998) 24–29; Berghaus (ed.), *Graphische Porträts in Büchern des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*.

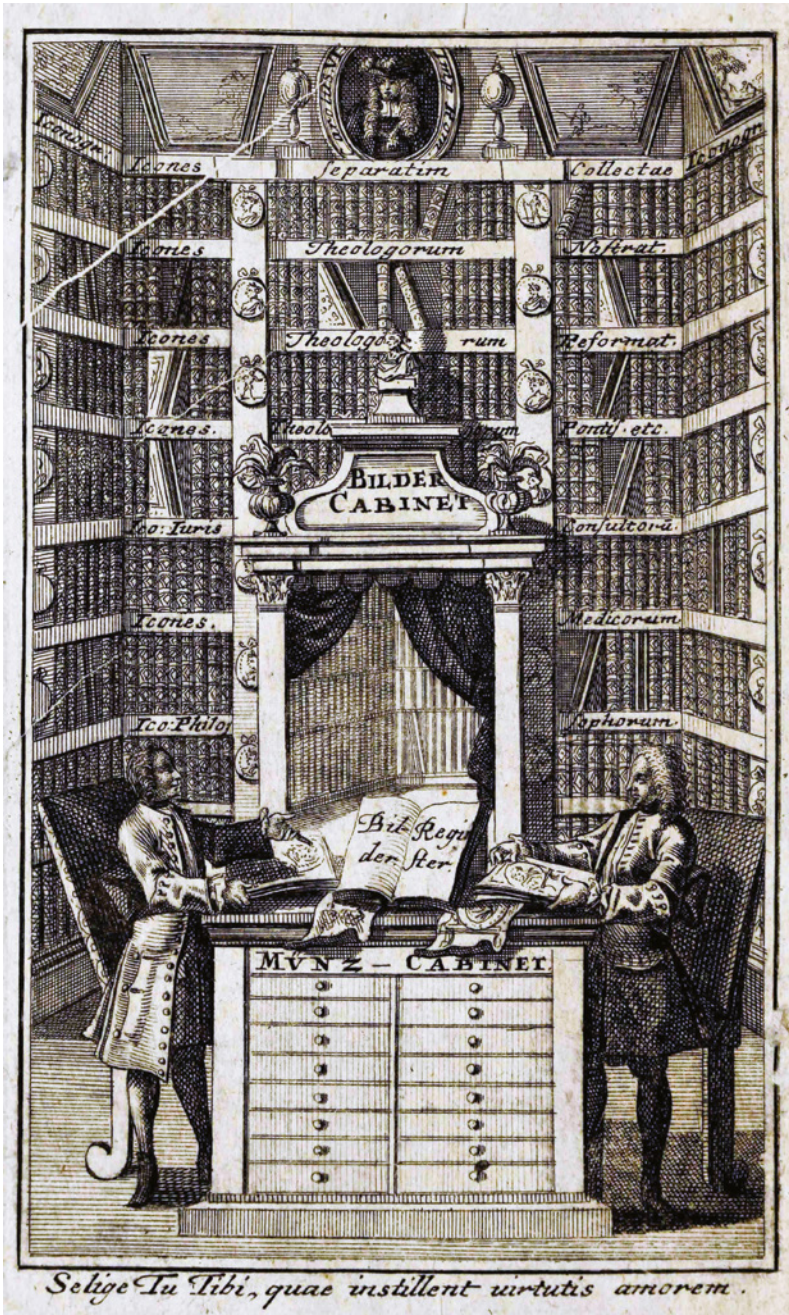


FIGURE 5.9 [anon.], frontispiece to Siegmund Apin, *Anleitung wie man die Bildnisse berühmter und gelehrter Männer mit Nutzen sammeln und denen dagegen gemachten Einwendungen gründlich begegnen soll* (Clark Art Library, Julius Held Collection)

Within this culture of collecting, local memory cultures and the construction of an imaginary learned community intersected. This is true for Perrault in Paris as much as for Bullart in Arras and for Brucker in Kaufbeuren; in spite of their aspirations to universality, the Parisian academies were also a cluster of local institutions. The eulogies that academicians wrote for their predecessors, disseminated to the learned world in the *Journal des Sçavans*, are as much outcomes of a local memory culture as Apin's publications on the chancellors and professors of Altdorf.⁶⁷ These collections of memorial texts are connected not only by appeals to an overarching learned world but also by paper trails of textual borrowing and direct influence. Bullart's information about Northern painters fed into Félibien's *Entretiens* while his son pillaged Vasari; the example of Perrault's *Hommes illustres*, itself a sort of sequel to Sainte-Marthe, was emulated by Haid in Augsburg. Infusing the history of learning with a touch of the sacral, these collections were self-consciously positioned as part of a larger history.

The *diachronic* aspect of these real and imagined connections is crucial. As members of the learned community, scholars imagined themselves to be connected not just over distances but also over time. Through eulogies and epigrams, albums and icons, this sense of community was ritualized and internalized. In this regard, the commonwealth of learning was more like a faith than like a state; and what it worshipped was, eventually, itself.⁶⁸

Certainly, that broad church was not all-encompassing. Perrault probably cared as little for German erudition as Brucker cared for what went on in Parisian salons. That the *Querelle* had a British and a German counterpart shows, however, that there was at least something of a shared belief system with similar tensions. Moreover, Brucker's history of philosophy clearly positions German thinkers as part of an international debate, in which Leibniz responds to Descartes and Pufendorf to Hobbes. In some cases, silence was also a measure of transnational impact: Bullart's silence about Galileo's trial, the forced hiding of Jansenism in Bullart and Perrault, and the conspicuous

67 France P., "From Eulogy to Biography: The French Academic *Éloge*", in France P. – St Clair W. (eds.), *Mapping Lives. The Uses of Biography* (Oxford: 2002) 83–101; Paul C.B., *Science and Immortality. The Éloges of the Paris Academy of Sciences (1699–1791)* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1980); Zäh, "Die Bedeutung Jacob Bruckers für die Erforschung der Augsburger Gelehrten-geschichte"; Marti, "Disputationsschriften".

68 The notion that 'religion is society worshipping itself' is from Durkheim É., *Les Formes élémentaires de la Vie religieuse. Le système totémique en Australie* (Paris: 1912). In relation to this, it is interesting to reconsider Jürgen Habermas' classical analysis of the Republic of Letters in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962) in the light of his recent, 'postsecular' perspective on the role of ritual in communities of communication (*Auch eine Geschichte der Philosophie* (Berlin: 2019), vol. 1, 182–273).

absence of Voltaire and other *philosophes* in the *Bilder-Sal* are evidence of how conflicts travelled and were remembered even when they were not spoken about.

Finally, and importantly, these collections embody a personalized conception of knowledge, i.e. of knowledge as a personal attribute. What the portraits of these learned men (and women) represented was not merely a set of exemplary epistemic virtues but more directly knowledge itself, linked to its carriers. Although it belonged to a learned community, knowledge was not a common good: books – especially compendia – were expensive, and libraries were not public institutions. Learned reputations were built to no small extent upon sharing information and circulating excerpts. (Although the distribution of knowledge improved between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, it was still very unevenly distributed, as the story of Brucker and Heumann's pack of notes illustrates.⁶⁹) Memory culture was an integral part of information management: portraits, epigrams, and eulogies served both as monuments to learning and as bookmarks. There was a continuity between the circulation of such visual, poetic, and rhetorical images of learning and an early modern culture of commonplace books and intensive reading, as well as with the catalogues of learning in *historia literaria* and other works of reference. Martin Gierl and Helmut Zedelmaier have used this practice of compilation to characterize early modern scholarship at large.⁷⁰

More than anything, it was this practice of compilation that connected the learned worlds of Bullart, Perrault, and Brucker. What this chapter has shown is how memory culture was part of that practice of compilation. While there are later continuations and re-iterations of this memory culture – for instance the collection of 115 *Retratos de los Españoles ilustres* (1791–[1818]) clearly fashioned after Perrault, the 86 statues of *hommes illustres* installed on the Louvre's facades (1853–1857), or Louis Figuier's 5-volume illustrated *Vies des Savants illustres* (1866–1870) – such representations of the learned world as Brucker's *Bilder-Sal* firmly belong to the 'normal science' of early modern scholarship, the set of standards and examples which guided learned practice in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Thus, the cult of learning was part of learning.

69 Mulsow, "Das verlorene Paket".

70 Gierl M., "Kompilation und die Produktion von Wissen im 18. Jahrhundert", in Zedelmaier H. – Mulsow M. (eds.), *Die Praktiken der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit, Frühe Neuzeit* 61 (Tübingen: 2001) 63–94; Zedelmaier H., *Werkstätten des Wissens zwischen Renaissance und Aufklärung* (Tübingen: 2015).

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PART 2

Institutional Memory as a Shared Past



Mirror, Model, Muse: Institutional Memory and Identity in the Dublin, Oxford and Royal Societies

Constance Hardesty

1 Introduction: The Royal Society's Reputation in Jeopardy

In the first half of 1686, Sir John Hoskins traveled from London to Oxford to meet with John Wallis.¹ Both had been Fellows of the Royal Society for more than two decades, and both held positions of influence.² Hoskins was the Royal Society's secretary and a past president. Wallis was among the world's foremost mathematicians, Savilian professor of geometry at the University of Oxford and keeper of the university archives. More to the point, Wallis was the founding president of the Oxford Philosophical Society, an organization that, during Hoskins's earlier tenure as president of the Royal Society, briefly reshaped the contours of organized natural philosophy in England and Ireland. The Oxford society began to form in the autumn of 1683, when a club that had been meeting at Oxford adopted a more formal structure and began to correspond regularly with the Royal Society. Inspired, a nascent group in Dublin spontaneously followed suit. Suddenly the British Isles had not one but three independent institutions devoted to natural philosophy united in a correspondence network. The network was notable in that it was the institutions themselves, through their secretaries, that corresponded. The groups' frequent, regular exchanges of minutes, letters and papers enlarged the Royal Society's correspondence, helped to sustain the newly revived *Philosophical Transactions*, promoted experimental activity and, above all, provided a shared arena in which the three societies collaborated in self-conscious pursuit of a common cause. After a few years, however, internal dissent undermined the effort. Hoskins's meeting with Wallis was a final attempt to salvage the once-thriving network. The effort failed. Despite the power and prestige of the principals and the vitalizing effect of the network, the correspondence lapsed and the local societies dissolved.

1 I wish to thank Koen Scholten, Dirk van Miert, and anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and questions.

2 Sir John Hoskins [Hoskyns] (1634–1705); John Wallis (1616–1703).

The Dublin society has been well-documented and the papers of both local societies have been published, but the network itself has been largely overlooked.³ One modern assessment recognized the London-Oxford-Dublin triangle as ‘without parallel at the time’ and ‘the most significant manifestation’ of the seventeenth-century movement to establish scientific societies, but nevertheless dismissed the efforts as a ‘tenuous, [...] unrewarded precedent’.⁴ Contemporaries did not see it that way. They considered their groups’ correspondence and associated activity among their most valuable and significant endeavors. Indeed, the institutional correspondence network was conceived to regularize a sporadic exchange between individuals in an Oxford club and their contacts in London.⁵ The correspondence from Oxford was highly valued. One Royal Society secretary told another, ‘several persons have told me they valued [Oxford’s] correspondence before all wee ever had from beyond sea, or ever shall have, and truly my opinion is the same’.⁶

The correspondence network materialized at an opportune time. By the 1680s, the status of the Royal Society was by no means assured as its twin hallmarks, experiment and communications, flagged. From the later 1660s, in a cycle of crisis and reform, the society had struggled to enact its vision.⁷ By 1670 a lack of experimental activity meant that ‘the meetings as a whole lacked

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- 3 Hoppen K.T., *The Common Scientist in the Seventeenth Century. A Study of the Dublin Philosophical Society, 1683–1708* (London: 1970); idem (ed.), *Papers of the Dublin Philosophical Society*, 2 vols. (Dublin: 2007); Gunther R.T., *The Philosophical Society* vol. 4 in *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford: 1925; reprint London: 1968); idem, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence of the Philosophical Society of Oxford* vol. 12 in *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford: 1939; reprint London: 1968); Hunter M., *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: 1981); Roos A.M., *The Oxford Philosophical Society and the Royal Society. A Meeting of Minds?* podcast (Oxford: 2013); Hardesty C., *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks. The Philosophical Societies in Dublin and Oxford and the Royal Society* (MSc thesis, University of Oxford: 2018).
- 4 McClellan III J.E., *Science Reorganized. Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: 1985) 56–58.
- 5 Edward Tyson to Robert Plot 25 April [1681] and Tyson to Plot 9 November 1681, in Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 5, 7; Moxham N., “Edward Tyson’s Phocaena: A Case Study in the Institutional Context of Scientific Publishing”, *Notes & Records of the Royal Society of London* 66 (2012) 235–252 at 239, 243, 249 n.17.
- 6 Francis Aston to Robert Plot, 8 February 1682/3, in Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 20.
- 7 For repeated crises, attempts at reform, and their effects, Hunter M. – Wood P.B., “Towards Solomon’s House: Rival Strategies for Reforming the Royal Society”, *History of Science* 24 (1986) 49–107; Hunter M., “The Social Basis and Changing Fortunes of an Early Scientific Institution: An Analysis of the Membership of the Royal Society, 1660–1685”, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 31.1 (1976) 9–114, also published as *The Royal Society and Its Fellows* (London: 1982, 1985, second edition, 1994).

vigor and variety'.⁸ At the same time the society's secretary, Henry Oldenburg, was nurturing domestic and international correspondence and publishing the journal *Philosophical Transactions*. As the voluminous correspondence generated more material than could be presented in society meetings, letters and papers filled the journal.⁹ After Oldenburg's death in 1677, however, correspondence dwindled and the journal underwent a substantive change, including an increase in archived content, decrease in international content and less-frequent publication.¹⁰ In 1679 the Royal Society Council sought ways to restore international correspondence even as the *Philosophical Transactions* ceased.¹¹ The latter was a telling blow. The journal's broad circulation had given the Royal Society a persistent voice and a prominent, even dominant, presence in discussions of the new philosophy. Not only was it badly missed in its own right, but as a vehicle of both intelligence and propaganda the journal was indispensable to the Royal Society's aims and identity.¹² Its demise rendered the Royal Society less visible and relevant, putting the society's prestige and authority at risk. Moreover, the society had lost control of its image. Its critics, ranging from caustic to sarcastic, attacked the group on its merits or for popular entertainment.¹³ Internally, support for various approaches to natural

8 Hall M.B., *Promoting Experimental Learning. Experiment and the Royal Society, 1660–1727* (Cambridge: 1991) 15, 49.

9 Hall M.B., "The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information in the Seventeenth Century", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 29.2 (1975) 173–192 at 179–186; Moxham N., "Fit for Print: Developing an Institutional Model of Scientific Periodical Publishing in England, 1665–CA. 1714", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 69.3 (2015) 241–260 at 244; Moxham N., "Authors, Editors and Newsmongers: Form and Genre in the Philosophical Transactions under Henry Oldenburg", in Raymond J. – Moxham N. (eds.), *News Networks in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden – Boston: 2016) 465–492 at 481.

10 Moxham, "Fit for Print" 244–245, 249. For contrasting views of *Philosophical Transactions* from 1677 to 1679, see Hunter – Wood, "Towards Solomon's House" 59, and Moxham, "Authors, Editors and Newsmongers" 488.

11 Birch T., *The History of the Royal Society of London, for Improving of Natural Knowledge, From Its First Rise [...]*, vol. 3 (London, A Millar: 1757) 512.

12 Hunter, *Science and Society* 51; Iliffe R., "Foreign Bodies: Travel, Empire, and the Early Royal Society of London Part II. The Land of Experimental Knowledge", *Canadian Journal of History/Annales Canadiennes d'Histoire* 34.1 (1999) 23–50 at 28, 31; Johns A., "Miscellaneous Methods: Authors, Societies, and Journals in Early Modern England", *British Journal for the History of Science* 33.2 (2000) 159–186 at 165.

13 The literature on the Royal Society's critics is voluminous. For two contrasting views, see Wilkins E., "Margaret Cavendish and the Royal Society", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 68.3 (2014) 245–260 and Steneck N.H., "The Ballad of Robert Crosse and Joseph Glanvill' and the Background to *Plus Ultra*", *British Journal for the History of Science* 14.1 (1981) 59–74; see also Syfret R.H., "Some Early Critics of the Royal Society", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 8.1 (1950) 20–64.

philosophy, though central to the society's character, bred 'severe internal tensions' and prevented agreement on the society's future direction.¹⁴ Waning attendance, unpaid dues, and, after 1669, lackluster recruiting all testified to members' disaffection.¹⁵ Even Fellows who remained active and committed felt disappointed in or estranged from the institution to which they belonged. Shortly after joining the Royal Society, the naturalist Martin Lister looked to Oxford for inspiration, writing to Plot, 'I observed your Methode to be more free and more intent than ours; and I hope you will put us upon new wayes, as well as new matter of Experiments'.¹⁶ All of this had a quelling effect. Francis North, Baron Guildford (1637–1685), although a friend of Hoskins, refused an invitation to join the society because the 'ridiculers of the town' had rendered the society's reputation unbecoming for a man of his stature. Besides that, he said, Fellowship offered no 'advantage of knowledge' not already supplied by the many natural philosophers among his acquaintance.¹⁷ This loss of distinction, acknowledging that the Royal Society no longer offered an intrinsic value 'different from; better than' alternatives undermined the Royal Society.¹⁸ Buttressed by royal charter, the society may not have been in imminent danger of dissolving but of sliding into insignificance. At this critical juncture the Oxford-London-Dublin network intervened. Modeled on the past, the local societies refashioned the present, reinvigorating the Royal Society and opening new paths to participation in organized science.

The correspondence network which united the three societies occupies a distinct niche in the Republic of Letters. Unlike many networks that linked individuals, the Dublin-London-Oxford network united three independent, formally established institutions, each representing a well-defined circle of members and correspondents, the whole linked by only three co-edges. The correspondents were the secretaries of each organization; individual members were represented through the medium of their society's minutes or papers. Although a few individuals belonged to both a local society and the Royal Society, the groups remained autonomous. There was no formal exchange of membership rolls nor any requirement or expectation that members of the various societies would ever meet or interact directly. But although the societies were independent, they were not unrelated. Providing subtext to the

14 Hunter, *Science and Society* 44; Hunter – Wood, "Towards Solomon's House" 52–53.

15 Hunter, "Social Basis" 17–21, 23–27.

16 Martin Lister to Robert Plot, ? October 1683, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 39.

17 North R., *The Lives of the Right Hon. Francis North...*, vol. 2 (London: 1826) 176–184.

18 Whetten D.A., "Albert and Whetten Revisited: Strengthening the Concept of Organizational Identity", *Journal of Management Inquiry* 15.3 (2006) 219–234 at 229, n. 1; Hunter, *Science and Society* 45–47.

correspondence was a fund of shared experiences, relationships and commitments extending almost four decades. Following this book's focus on memory and identity as constitutive of scholarly communities, the chapter begins by tracing the influence of a shared past in the founding of the Dublin and Oxford societies, its expression in the societies' institutional identities and its role in enabling the Royal Society to participate in the institutional correspondence network. What was conceived as a transactional mechanism soon produced a novel community. The societies witnessed and retried one another's experiments, discussed and critiqued one another's work, circulated papers and letters, and collaborated on sustained programs of experiment and information gathering.¹⁹ The second section of this chapter examines the formation and functions of the community and its role in helping the Royal Society reassert its institutional identity even as it engaged non-Fellows in a privileged relationship. Though the network activity was robust, its infrastructure was weak. With only three strong ties to sustain the network, overreliance on them was a fatal flaw.²⁰ When the strong ties frayed, even the extraordinary efforts of Hoskins and Wallis could not mend them. By that time, however, the network had made its mark. As the societies collaborated, new shared experiences mingled with tradition, forging new, persistent patterns of activity. But that could happen only because the Royal Society, against its own custom and statutes, extended exclusive membership privileges to the Dublin and Oxford societies. Understanding why the Royal Society would do such a thing and what came of it reveals the extent to which memory and identity shaped and sustained the Royal Society in last quarter of the seventeenth century.

2 Memory and Identity in Context

Drawing on studies of organizational and institutional identity,²¹ this analysis necessarily risks anachronism and simplification. Even in their most

19 This activity closely mirrors the Royal Society's own activities, Hall, *Promoting Experimental Learning* 100–101.

20 Lux D.S. – Cook H.J., "Closed Circles or Open Networks? Communicating at a Distance During the Scientific Revolution", *History of Science* 36.2 (1998) 179–211; Granovetter M.S., "The Strength of Weak Ties", *American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (1973) 1360–1380; idem, "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited", in *Sociological Theory*, vol. 1 (New York: 1983) 201–233.

21 Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited"; Oelsner A., "The Institutional Identity of Regional Organizations, or Mercosur's Identity Crisis", *International Studies Quarterly* 57.1 (2013) 115–127; Kansteiner W., "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies" *History and Theory* 41.2 (2002) 179–197.

self-conscious moments, in framing the documents by which they were established, the societies never alluded to their institutional identity as such. Rather, they articulated their aims and purposes and propagated their shared history in documents, rituals and practices. Famously, they experimented (demonstrated, entertained, displayed, witnessed) and communicated (talked, wrote, critiqued, published, corresponded).²² In discussing such exchanges over distance, Paula Findlen justifies use of the word *network* as efficient and descriptive, musing that the intelligencer Henry Oldenburg would have accepted the term.²³ Similarly, in using the terms *organizational* or *institutional identity*²⁴ and *institutional memory* I aim to reduce a plethora of meanings to unadorned categories of action that the actors would recognize. Thus, in reading the Dublin, Oxford and Royal societies' statements of purpose, I apply David Whetten's classic definition of organizational identity as comprising an organization's central, enduring and distinguishing attributes.²⁵ These attributes reflect the group's highest-priority values and purpose as evidenced by long-standing practices that, crucially, make one organization recognizably 'different from; better than' another.²⁶ Whetten's definition aligns with Goldgar and Frost's understanding of institutional identity as comprising 'customary practices and norms of institutions and the values and purposes that lie behind those norms'.²⁷ Understood this way, institutional identity is established not by arbitrary declaration but by the accumulated weight of distinctive behaviors

22 Throughout, I use *experiment* and *communication* in a minimal sense to denote the Dublin, Oxford, and Royal societies' core commitments. By flattening the terms, I aim to draw a schematic that links experience and its representations, allowing for but not delineating the terms' rich histories and the proliferation of meaning parsed by authors elsewhere.

23 Findlen P. (ed.), *Empires of Knowledge. Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World* (London – New York: 2019) 15. For another view, see Kronick D.A., "The Commerce of Letters: Networks and 'Invisible Colleges' in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Europe" *Library Quarterly. Information, Community, Policy* 71.1 (2001) 28–43 at 32.

24 *Organization* and *institution* are used interchangeably to denote a formally established group. When referring to an informal collectivity like the correspondence network, however, *institution* is used exclusively. In all cases, the entity is recognized as an actor in its own right. Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 223; Oelsner, "The Institutional Identity of Regional Organizations" 117.

25 Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 221; other terms Whetten substitutes for *central* are *core* (229), *essential* (229), *irreversible* (225), *deepest commitments* (222).

26 *Ibidem* 220, 221–224, 229. *Organizational identity* narrowly refers to the attributes that render the organization 'readily recognized' (224).

27 Goldgar A. – Frost R.I. (eds.), *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* (London – Boston: 2004) xiii.

and stances consistently enacted over time.²⁸ Thus, it is possible to identify an organization's identity by linking statements in the societies' governing documents to behaviors and commitments in evidence well before the documents were written. Through memoir and apology this link is easily made. Of course, memoir and apology are partial and prejudiced. They do not preserve the totality of experience but construct a version of events. Thus, they become a vehicle to shape, preserve and transmit a group's collective memories. Memoir, apology and even governing documents can be read in this light. To the extent that they articulate the group's central, distinctive and enduring characteristics, governing documents serve as both purveyors of institutional memory and statements of institutional identity.

3 The Royal Society's Identity Crisis

It is not fanciful to say that by the end of the 1670s the Royal Society was experiencing an institutional identity crisis, a fatal disconnect between its predominant activities of reading and discussing papers and its self-image as a society of experimenters as already memorialized in Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667).²⁹ More precisely, its central, distinctive character was no longer coherently expressed in its actions.³⁰ Whetten phrases the problem in terms reminiscent of memory in action, pointing out, 'organizations intentionally perpetuate their central and distinguishing features, preserving for tomorrow what has made them what and/or who they are today'.³¹ For the Royal Society, this meant striving to maintain collective experiment, 'in the vigorous prosecution whereof consists the life and honor of this Royal Institution'.³² The seriousness of the condition cannot be overstated, for 'although chronic mistaken identity is troublesome for individuals, it is a fatal flaw for organizations'.³³ An organization that fails to perpetuate its central and distinguishing features becomes, in effect, a different organization.³⁴ It may become indistinguishable

28 Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 224.

29 Sprat T., *The History of the Royal-Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (London, J. Martyn: 1667), 52–62. See for example the adulatory poem '... great Champions ... Methinks, like Gideon's little Band, | God with Design has pickt out you, | To do these noble Wonders by a Few ... None e're but Hercules and you could be | At five years Age worthy a History' on Br–B3v.

30 Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 223.

31 Ibidem 224.

32 Hunter, "Social Basis", 18, referencing Royal Society Domestic Manuscripts DM/5/1.

33 Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 223.

34 Ibidem 222.

or unrecognizable, unpredictable or untrustworthy, and unattractive to current or prospective members.³⁵ The litany of the Royal Society's woes, already recited, has been attributed to reasons including the proliferation of rival venues for sociable conversation; the aging, death or departure from London of early Fellows committed to the society's core values; the inclusion of Fellows who failed to attend meetings or pay the dues necessary to fund experiments; and waning interest as the novelty of the 'somewhat mindless craze' wore off.³⁶ But these were only symptoms. The cause lay within. The "Royal Society way", or the group's distinctive commitment to collective experiment, required constant propping up and, after 1677, so did the group's communications programme. From 1666 through the end of the century, but particularly 1666–1680, the society's leaders considered round after round of proposed reforms, many of which focused on improving experimental activity during meetings.³⁷ In addition, after 1677 the society entertained modifications and alternatives to the *Philosophical Transactions* with varying degrees of success.³⁸ Consistent agreement on recurring themes indicate what the Council deemed essential: 'perform experiments, collect observations, maintain a correspondence network, and collate the writings of naturalists both ancient and modern'.³⁹ Despite reforms under the leadership of president Christopher Wren, by 1682 the society was still suffering from a surfeit of "lesse-usefull Members".⁴⁰ One Fellow warned, 'the Royal Society does apparantly goe backwards till you have got an Industrious & ingenious Person to go on constantly with Phil: Trans:'.⁴¹

The institutional correspondence network was at once an ingenious response to these contemporary challenges and a deeply conservative move rooted in shared experiences, relationships, practices and commitments that had begun to take shape forty years earlier. To understand the continuity, it is necessary to briefly review the founding of the Royal Society and its immediate precedents. The institution's founding myth, enshrined in text by Sprat in 1667, is

35 Ibidem 224; Oelsner, "The Institutional Identity of Regional Organizations" 115.

36 Hunter, "Social Basis" 14, 21, 24–25, 27, 29–30; Hunter – Wood, "Towards Solomon's House" 53.

37 Hunter – Wood, "Towards Solomon's House" 52–54, 57–59.

38 Ibidem 59–61, 74; Johns A., *The Nature of the Book. Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago – London: 1998) 500, 531–533; Kronick D.A., "Notes on the Printing History of the Early 'Philosophical Transactions'", *Libraries & Culture* 25.2 (1990) 243–268 at 247; Moxham, "Fit for Print", 245, 248–249, 251–252.

39 Hunter – Wood, "Towards Solomon's House" 65.

40 Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723); John Evelyn to Daniel Colwall, 11 Feb 1682, quoted in Hunter, *Science and Society* 41.

41 John Beale to John Evelyn, 6 April 1682, quoted in Hunter, *Science and Society though not identical* 52.

similar though not identical to the account given by Wallis in a brief autobiography produced in 1697.⁴² Acknowledging that the latter account was written decades after the fact and may reflect some mix of myth, self-fashioning and a tendency of memories to converge, Wallis's representation of events is useful precisely because it represents what he, in retrospect, chose to preserve about the events in which he took part. Wallis's account began in 1645 London, where he joined a weekly meeting of natural philosophers.⁴³ The activity was discussion (Wallis makes no mention of experiment at this point) and topics ranged broadly across astronomy, geometry, mechanics, anatomy and chemistry. In 1649 Wallis accepted the Savilian professorship of geometry at the University of Oxford and joined a group of natural philosophers there. The group met in the lodgings of a renowned young physician, William Petty. Located in the home of an apothecary, the meeting place offered 'the convenience of inspecting Drugs, and the like'.⁴⁴ Over time the group moved its meetings to John Wilkins' rooms in the university and then to the lodgings of Robert Boyle.⁴⁵ Concurrently Wallis and other members of this Oxford circle continued to meet with the London group. After the Restoration the meetings 'increased with the accession of divers worthy and Honorable Persons; and were afterwards incorporated by the name of *the Royal Society*, etc. and so continue to this day'.⁴⁶ Thus, for at least fifteen years before the Royal Society was founded, several future Fellows were already regularly associating with one another in several fluid, intersecting, informal associations. They shared the experiences of performing, observing and evaluating experiments; examining specimens; and reading, writing and critiquing reports. Indeed, these early experiences form the basis of the relationships and the commitments to collective experiment and observation and to communication that came to define the institutional identity of the Royal Society in 1660 and the Oxford and Dublin societies two decades later. The formation of institutional identity, in London and Oxford, in Dublin and finally in the correspondence network itself, can be characterized as the coalescing of practices and commitments resulting from the self-conscious effort to function in the light of the remembered past.

42 Sprat, *History of the Royal Society* 52–61; Scriba C.J., "The Autobiography of John Wallis, FRS", *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 25.1 (1970) 17–46.

43 According to Johns, Wallis created this 'prehistory' about the 1645 meetings to uphold priority claims in a dispute; Johns, *Nature of the Book* 504.

44 Sir William Petty (1623–1687). Scriba, "Autobiography of John Wallis" 40.

45 John Wilkins (1614–1672), Robert Boyle (1627–1691).

46 Scriba, "Autobiography" 39–40.

4 Disseminating Institutional Identity: Two Starkly Different Paths

The Oxford Philosophical Society, as mentioned, began to take shape in the autumn of 1683, when a group that had been meeting for some time and whose members had been sporadically corresponding with the Royal Society since at least spring of 1681 began to take on a more formal structure.⁴⁷ Shortly after the University of Oxford's Ashmolean Museum opened, the group convened there, appointed a secretary and began to exchange regular weekly minutes with the Royal Society.⁴⁸ One version of the founding story marks its emergence from a course in chemistry that Robert Plot taught in the museum's laboratory, while another version considers the group to have been in existence before 1651.⁴⁹ Whatever the backstory, the group's 1683 incarnation was organized by Plot, who juggled a number of roles as keeper of the museum, the University of Oxford's first chemistry professor, a renowned author with an extensive domestic correspondence and one of two secretaries of the Royal Society (Plot was referred to as the second secretary). Since his election the previous autumn, Plot had worked with the first secretary, Francis Aston, to revive the *Philosophical Transactions* with the intent of 'constant publishing [...] as formerly in Mr. Oldenburgs time'. Their first issue appeared in early 1683.⁵⁰ With Plot as director of experiment and Wallis as president of the Oxford society,⁵¹ experiment featured largely, with demonstrations led by Plot and the society's younger members, queries and new trials flowing freely from discussion of others' work, and, occasionally, experiments performed at the Royal Society's request, as when Aston wrote, 'I send you the preceding proposition as desiring you to make some tryal of it, for tho wee designed likewise to doe it, yet I doubt our meetings will not be very full till the Coronation and

47 For references to the informal group, Edward Tyson to Robert Plot, 25 April 1681 and 9 November 1681 in Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 4–5, 7–8.

48 Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 17.

49 Robert Plot (bap. 1640, d. 1696). Wood A., *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–1695, Described by Himself; Collected from His Diaries and Other Papers*, vol. 3, 1682–1695, Clark A. (ed.), (Oxford: 1894) 75–77; Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 1.

50 Francis Aston (1644–1715) to Robert Plot, 20 January 1682/3, 27 January 1682/3, 31 January, 1682/3, and 3 February 1682/3, in Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 13–18; Robert Plot to Martin Lister, 10 February 1682/3, *ibidem* 366; Kronick, "Notes on the Printing History" 259, and his notes on dates of issue, 250–251.

51 They acted in those roles from 26 October 1683 until the first election of officers on 23 April 1684; Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 17, 64.

Parliament be over'.⁵² The society soon became a focal point of correspondence. Members contributed papers and reports of their own experiments as well as missives from their correspondents, and Plot shared specimens sent as gifts to the museum. Committed to collective experiment and communication, for the next five years the Oxford Philosophical Society would function as a second site of the Royal Society.

At about the same time a very different club formed near Trinity College Dublin. Devoted to polished discourse,⁵³ the group was isolated from both London and Oxford. One letter from Plot put the club on a new footing. Writing to Robert Huntington, who had recently left Oxford to become provost of Trinity College Dublin, Plot shared news of the Oxford club. Huntington responded with news of the Dublin meeting and introduced the club's organizer, William Molyneux.⁵⁴ Plot's invitation to the Dublin group to correspond with the Oxford and Royal societies inspired wholesale reform as Molyneux enlisted Petty and others to remake the Dublin club in the image of the Royal Society.⁵⁵ Petty had gained notice for his early work in medicine, for completing the Down Survey and for his work in political economy. At the Royal Society he advocated reforms that recalled the group's early days. He called on all Fellows to 'do something' to further the group's aims, preferably with experiments linked to useful applications, and he reminded them that 'no word might be used but what marks either number, weight, or measure.'⁵⁶ In Dublin, the reforms met with vociferous resistance. An irate member called the reformers high-handed, demanded a new rules-making process that included all members' interests and insisted that dues to fund experiments be optional. To Dudley Loftus, the proponents of collective experiment were utterly wrong-headed: 'by an unmanlike kind of learning they would maintain [experiments] to be true by votes, which are more their friends than reason.'⁵⁷ The club, he said, was no better suited to emulate the Royal Society than 'a pygmy is to bear the armour of a giant.'⁵⁸ Petty and Molyneux persevered nonetheless. From its initial meetings in a coffee house, the group moved to Huntington's

52 Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 16 April 1685, in Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 89. For experiments, Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 22–25, 105–107, 166, 168–169; Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4 (London, A. Millar: 1757) 348–350.

53 Robert Huntington to Robert Plot, 18 December 1683, Hoppen, *Papers* 479–481, at 480.

54 Robert Huntington (bap. 1607, d. 1701), William Molyneux (1656–1698). Robert Huntington to Robert Plot, 18 December 1683, Hoppen, *Papers* 479–481 at 480.

55 William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux (1661–1733), 8 January 1683/4, Hoppen, *Papers* 482.

56 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4, 7, 193.

57 Dudley Loftus (1618–1695), "The Society of the Mechanics" in Hoppen, *Papers* 913–917 at 915.

58 Hoppen, *Papers* 916.

university lodgings and then to a rented a room in a building owned by an apothecary with a garden and laboratory.⁵⁹ Yet the sown seeds did not readily sprout. Nearly a year after the society's founding, reading and discussion continued to dominate meetings. Then, on November 1, 1684, Petty was elected president. Two days later, he presented the society with 'proposals for modelling our future progress'.⁶⁰ Among other things, Petty required that experiments be performed during meetings, and when members hesitated, he produced a list of simple experiments and began to assign members to perform specific trials at scheduled meetings.⁶¹

Despite their disparate origins, by spring of 1684, the Oxford and Dublin groups had refashioned themselves as formal societies governed by rules and practices that identified them with the Royal Society. The parallels are marked: Both versions of Oxford's founding story – emerging from an informal experimental club or from a taught course – echoed the Royal Society's founding story, and the Ashmolean Museum was the realization of the Royal Society's dream to build its own "Solomon's House".⁶² In Dublin, the meeting sites in university lodgings and in a building shared with an apothecary, as well as members' obligation to perform experiments, all had parallels in the groups that preceded the Royal Society. In addition, as will be shown, both groups borrowed their governing structure and rules from the Royal Society. The groups' extensive and self-conscious emulation suggests a reverence for tradition and determination to restore aspects of a treasured past: The Oxford society to avidly engage in collective experiment and to revive the Royal Society's communications programme and the Dublin society to locally enact reforms that Petty had tried to impose in London. In addition, there was a pragmatic advantage. The Royal Society provided a familiar working template for a novel type of organization.⁶³ The template, however, was not set in stone. The cycle of crisis and reform indicates that the Royal Society recognized the template was flawed and was open to innovative improvements.

59 Ibidem 23, note 1.

60 Ibidem 40, 896–897.

61 Ibidem 43–45.

62 Webster C., *The Great Instauration. Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660* (London: 1975) 96–98, 171–172; MacGregor A., "A Magazin of All Manner of Inventions': Museums in the Quest for 'Salomon's House' in Seventeenth-Century England", *Journal of the History of Collections* 1.2 (1989) 207–212.

63 Hunter, M. *Establishing the New Science. The Experience of the Early Royal Society* (Woodbridge: 1989) 1.

Much previous work has considered how local context shaped the establishment of the three societies.⁶⁴ Viewing their formation through the lens of memory and identity, however, points to unique influences. To the founders of the Oxford and Dublin societies, the Royal Society represented an attractive identity, meaningful history and inspirational mission. The Society defined the horizons of possibility, and local context influenced particularities within that frame. The interplay of cultural referents and local context helps to explain the local societies' very different reception. Put another way, Oxford and Dublin represent two starkly different models of how institutional identity may be disseminated. In Oxford, the society emerged organically, even effortlessly, from a rich local tradition and longstanding personal experiences and relationships. In Dublin, by contrast, a new institutional identity was forcibly planted. The resistance that the Dublin organizers encountered as they attempted to shift the group's core commitment to collective experiment underscores the fact that propagating the Royal Society programme was not easy or inevitable, that 'one man's dissemination was another's displacement'.⁶⁵ Taking a broader view, just as memory provided an organizing framework for the local societies, so it did for the correspondence network. The sameness of the three societies' carefully constructed institutional identities engendered a quality of trust and a sense of unity that allayed concerns about credibility which may have prevented the societies from exchanging their minutes and papers. Once the exchange began, however, the network itself became a formative influence. Even as commitment to "the Royal Society way" exerted normative pressures, frequent interaction via the network facilitated new experiences involving new people. These shared experiences gave rise to new collective memories among individuals who, despite distance and difference, chose to cultivate their learned community through frequent correspondence and coordinated activity.

5 A Network of Old and Trusted Friends

The network drew strength from longstanding relationships among the three societies' leaders: Wren, president of the Royal Society when the Oxford group was still an informal group and on the Council during its decline (1680–1682

64 Relevant literature on the Royal Society is vast; a detailed introduction to the establishment of the society in its intellectual, social and political context is Hunter, *Establishing the New Science* 1–41; for Dublin, the larger context is Hoppen, *The Common Scientist* 10–24; for the local context of Oxford and Dublin, Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 9–14.

65 Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 8.

and 1682–?, respectively); Hoskins, Royal Society president as the Oxford and Dublin societies were beginning to adopt a more formal structure and secretary during their decline (1682–1683 and 1685–1687, respectively);⁶⁶ Wallis, Plot and Petty; and Molyneux. Interestingly, Sir Cyril Wyche and Samuel Pepys, presidents during the societies' most active years (1683–1684 and 1684–1686, respectively), had few recorded ties to Wallis, Petty and Plot.⁶⁷ Wyche, like Wallis and Petty, was among the earliest members of the Royal Society, and the three served together on a Royal Society committee to consider mechanical inventions in 1664. In 1684 Wyche would become a member of the Dublin Philosophical Society, and he was instrumental in its revival a decade later. Pepys socialized with members of the Royal Society before being elected in 1665, but his involvement with the founders of the Dublin and Oxford societies was slight. In contrast, the links among Wren, Wallis and Petty dated from the 1650s, when all were active in London and/or Oxford. In the early 1660s all three became Fellows, and all sat on the Royal Society's first Council (1662).⁶⁸ That same year Petty served on a committee to propose 'the design of the society,'⁶⁹ and in 1673–1675 he spearheaded a campaign of reforms emphasizing members' obligations to perform experiments, among other things.⁷⁰ Wallis and Wren worked on a number of projects, including reviewing and recommending astronomical papers for publication and constructing an apparatus for astronomical observations.⁷¹ Wallis and Plot participated in experiment in mid-century Oxford, but it may have been Wallis's experience with publishing that cemented the tie. After advising the society on publishing the work of Ulugh Beg, and as Plot was beginning his survey for the *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, Wallis recommended the Council consider Plot's proposal.⁷² Even Molyneux, the youngest of all the founders, could claim several connections. He corresponded with the astronomer royal, John Flamsteed, FRS; worked with Marsh and Petty to produce an account of Ireland for *The English Atlas*,⁷³ and was the nephew of an assistant whom Petty had employed on his survey

66 Royal Society Past Fellows database, <https://catalogues.royalsociety.org/CalmView/personsearch.aspx?src=CalmView.Persons>.

67 Sir Cyril Wyche (c1632–1707), Samuel Pepys (1633–1703).

68 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 1 88.

69 Ibidem, vol. 1 85.

70 Hunter – Wood, "Towards Solomon's House" 53–54; Hall, *Promoting Experimental Learning* 15–16.

71 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 1 412–413, 422, 456–457, 466.

72 Ibidem, vol. 1 404, 417, 419; ibidem, vol. 3 143.

73 Intended to be England's first large general atlas, the project was undertaken by the bookseller and printer Moses Pitt (bap. 1639, d.1696) and was supported by the Royal Society but was only partially published.

of Ireland.⁷⁴ Hoskins and Petty were involved in the earliest rounds of rule-making for the Royal Society. First, in 1662, Petty served on a committee that developed a design for the organization ahead of its first charter. Then, in spring 1664, Hoskins reported out of a committee that had been charged with reviewing the society's statutes which had been developed in 1663 and published in November of that year. The committee recommended against formulating a 'complete body of laws' and recommended that any existing laws be kept secret.⁷⁵ In addition, Hoskins served on various committees with Wallis and Petty in 1664, and ten years later he served on the Council with Petty during another round of reform.⁷⁶ Finally, a number of personal links among members augmented the network's formal structure: Ralph Bathurst participated with Wallis and others in experimental activity in mid-century Oxford, was a Fellow of the Royal Society and was a founding member of the later Oxford society.⁷⁷ Edward Bernard, another Fellow and founding member of the later Oxford society, succeeded Wren as the Savilian professor of astronomy at the University of Oxford.⁷⁸ Bernard was a contemporary of Marsh and Huntington, and all three studied languages under Edward Pococke.⁷⁹ Marsh and Huntington were successive provosts of Trinity College Dublin, and both supported Molyneux's earliest efforts to found the Dublin society. In 1674, Plot had published a paper by Marsh in *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (1677). Before leaving Oxford for Dublin, Huntington had presented several antiquities to the Ashmolean Museum in care of Plot, its keeper.⁸⁰

This rich foundation of relationships made the network possible. It lent the local societies the credibility to engage as partners with the Royal Society. But if the institutional correspondence network relied on historical ties for credit, it had no similar resource to facilitate implementation. Before 1682 Aston had only one strong tie to anyone directly involved in the network. He and Plot had served on the Council for one year beginning in November 1680, and two years later he and Plot began to serve as the society's first and second secretaries. Remarkably, the epistolary exchange launched with no link among the three

74 Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 5, 14; Hoppen, *The Common Scientist* 21–22; Webster, *The Great Instauration* 441.

75 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 1 85, 388–389.

76 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 1 442; *ibidem*, vol. 3 112–113, 144.

77 Ralph Bathurst (1620–1704).

78 Edward Bernard (1638–1697).

79 The scholar Edward Pococke (1604–1691) was a renowned Arabist and orientalist.

80 This paragraph draws largely on the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (oxforddnb.com) and Royal Society of London Directory of Past Fellows (<https://catalogues.royalsociety.org/CalmView/personsearch.aspx?src=CalmView.Persons>).

secretaries who were charged with maintaining the correspondence: Aston, William Musgrave in Oxford and Molyneux in Dublin.⁸¹ What provided the network with a starting point and sustenance was not its immediate resources but the collective memories and longstanding relationships among the three societies' elders and leaders. Those relationships and shared experiences conferred status and assured that the local societies would conform to the Royal Society's institutional norms. In effect, the correspondence exchange made visible a network that already existed. When the Royal Society joined with Oxford and Dublin to form the correspondence network, it was, despite the difference and distance among them, a reunion of old and trusted friends.

6 Institutional Identity through Governing Documents

But if shared experiences, commitments and relationships established common ground, formal structure gave the societies a life and identity independent of their members. Governing documents, including statutes (and for the Royal Society, the royal charter) defined each group's institutional identity and how it would be enforced.⁸² This is the point at which shared memory and institutional identity intersect, as the groups' governing documents delineated their core tenets. By the time the Royal Society's statutes and second charter were adopted in 1663, its distinctive commitments to collective experiment and communication had long histories. If the institutional correspondence network rendered relationships visible, the Royal Society's governing documents asserted what was already in place. Table 6.1 compares some of the societies' statutes. As expected, the Oxford and Dublin societies modeled themselves on the Royal Society, just as the Royal Society shared core tenets with a predecessor. The Royal Society's statutes, which set a precedent for a novel type of society, justifiably ran to some length. The statutes of 1663 number about six thousand words organized in nineteen chapters. By comparison, Dublin's twenty-one rules amount to about fifteen hundred words and Oxford's fifteen rules to about four hundred words. More specifically, the Royal Society's norms related to experiment required about one thousand words, but only about two hundred words were needed in Dublin and fewer than forty in

81 William Musgrave (1655–1721).

82 Royal Society of London, *The Record of the Royal Society of London*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: 1912) 59–69, 82–94, 117–130; Hoppen, *Papers* 894–895, 896–897; Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 2–3, 45–48.

Oxford.⁸³ With a shared cultural framework, much could be tacitly assumed, and, for the derivative societies, a brief statement of purpose represented the rich whole of the Royal Society's core commitment. Thus, the Royal Society defined its mission in some detail:

The business of the Society in their ordinary Meetings shall be, to order, take account, consider, and discourse of philosophical experiments and observations; to read, hear and discourse upon letters, reports, and other papers, containing philosophical matters; as also to view, and discourse upon, rarities of nature and art: and thereupon to consider, what may be deduced from them, or any of them: and how far they, or any of them, may be improved for use or discovery.⁸⁴

Dublin's organizers, in a pattern that was typical of their rules, clearly referred to the Royal Society while specifying local interests:

The society is to be called The Dublin Society for and improving of natural knowledge, mathematics, and mechanics, and members thereof are to be named fellows. [...] The rules for electing officers and members are to be the same as of the Royal Society of London.⁸⁵

The Oxford rule-making committee, made up mostly of Fellows, felt little need to explain themselves:

It may not be improper, that this number of men (the business of whose Meeting will consist, chiefly, of matters Philosophicall) be termed a Philosophicall Society.⁸⁶

The local societies' rules silently assumed a strong commitment to experiment. But here Petty discovered the danger of taking too much for granted. The Dublin society's original rules, adopted in January 1684, assumed that members would perform experiments and so made no provision for a curator of experiments. After ten months of little activity, as mentioned, Petty was elected president and introduced an additional thirteen rules, eleven of which addressed how and when members would be required to perform experiments,

83 Ibidem.

84 Royal Society, *Record of the Royal Society* 119.

85 Hoppen, *Papers* 894.

86 Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 45.

TABLE 6.1 Continuity of statutes or rules

	Oxford 1651	Royal Society 1663	Oxford 1683	Dublin 1683
Mission statement		✓	✓	✓
Admission by election, secret ballot	✓	✓	✓	✓
Dues and fees to fund experiments	✓	✓	✓	✓
Curator/Operator performs experiments in meetings		✓	✓	
Loyalty oath		✓		✓
Costs incurred for experiments must be approved		✓		✓
Collective experiment to be performed by members	✓			✓
Collective experiments scheduled or assigned to members	✓			✓
Members must hold at least M art or LLB degree			✓	
Secrecy		✓		

the president's responsibility to assign members to perform trials and even the methods to be used: 'they provide themselves with rules of numbers, weight, and measure' and 'they analyze and divide complicate matters into their integral parts, and compute the proportions which one part bears unto another'.⁸⁷

Similar to experiment, the Royal Society statutes governing communication provided requirements that the local societies assumed. But it must be noted that the Royal Society's understanding of communication developed over time. The 1663 statutes reflected core commitments that had been in place before the society was established, such as specifying that in reports of experiment 'the matter of fact shall be barely stated, without any prefaces, apologies, or rhetorical flourishes'.⁸⁸ The statutes also institutionalized the long-standing

87 Hoppen, *Papers* 897. As mentioned, these echoed strong opinions Petty had expressed to the Royal Society. Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4 7, 193.

88 Royal Society, *Record of the Royal Society* 119. See also Shapin S., "Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle's Literary Technology", *Social Studies of Science* 14.4 (1984) 481-520 at

personal practices of note-taking and correspondence.⁸⁹ Crucially, however, the statutes did not reflect later developments, as Henry Oldenburg's prodigious efforts as an intelligencer and publisher on behalf of the society transformed the secretary's custodial task into a defining (that is, central, enduring and distinctive) component of the society's identity.⁹⁰ After 1667, both Oldenburg's correspondence and the *Philosophical Transactions* had become identified with the Royal Society. A new understanding of communications – as a means to advance natural knowledge through lively correspondence and broad publication – had joined collective experiment as the society's stellar achievement and hallmark. This is a prime example of what has been noted in studies of organizations and institutions: Members' actions can modify an institution's identity and organizations are capable of making highly valued innovations endure.⁹¹ But in this case, the institution relied too heavily on member activity. After Oldenburg's death in 1677, the society's communications program lost one of the three characteristics of a core principle: though prized as being central and distinctive, it no longer endured. The point here is that by 1683, there was an intent to revive an Oldenburg-like level of secretarial activity, but no provision for it was made in the statutes of the three societies. All of the societies had secretaries who kept minutes, archived papers and conducted official correspondence.⁹² All of the societies allowed for hiring a clerk as needed to help with the task of copying, but all of the corresponding secretaries – Aston, Musgrave and Molyneux – complained of the workload. From the network's beginning, the onerous and time-consuming task of copying interfered with prompt delivery of minutes and papers, and eventually it would contribute to the network's dissolution.

In addition to the primary statutes which promoted the organization's core commitments, several secondary statutes governed operations. These "housekeeping rules" combined Royal Society norms with local context. In all three societies, for example, candidates were nominated and elected by secret ballot. Criteria for election, however, varied. In addition to capable natural

493–497; Dear P., "Totius in Verba: Rhetoric and Authority in the Early Royal Society", *Isis* 76.2 (1985) 144–161 at 152–154; Preston C., *The Poetics of Scientific Investigation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: 2015).

89 Royal Society, *Record of the Royal Society* 124–127; Hall M.B., "The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information" 175–177.

90 Hall M.B., "The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information" 179–181.

91 Goldgar – Frost, *Institutional Culture in Early Modern Society* xiv; Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 225.

92 Royal Society, *Record of the Royal Society* 124–125, 127; Hoppen, *Papers* 894–895; Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 45–46.

philosophers, the Royal Society initially recruited gentlemen, aristocrats and courtiers who, it was hoped, would lend status, credibility and financial support to the organization.⁹³ In 1682, however, in an attempt to limit the number of marginal members, the Royal Society adopted a new rule requiring the Council to evaluate proposed candidates' qualifications.⁹⁴ In Oxford, reflecting its university setting, the society required candidates to hold at minimum a master of arts or bachelor of laws. Dublin had no such requirements, deferring all to the Royal Society. All three societies collected dues to defray the cost of experiments and equipment,⁹⁵ but Petty devised a novel solution to the problem of scant funding. Rather than recruit 'useless or troublesome members for the sake of six pence a week', the Dublin society would pursue affordable investigations.⁹⁶ To that end Petty provided a list of 'mean, vulgar, cheap and simple' experiments that combined number, weight and measure with mercantile interests, such as determining the weight of a given volume of various commodities.⁹⁷ Petty's effort had little effect in Dublin, but, conveyed through the network, his desideratum prompted renewed activity in Oxford.⁹⁸

The one statute most relevant to the institutional network, and one unique to the Royal Society, bound the organization and its members to secrecy. Royal Society meetings were closed, and nonmembers were barred from meetings and denied access to society records.⁹⁹ Exceptions were made for invited guests and generous benefactors, and some of Oldenburg's favored correspondents were made privy to some society secrets. It would appear that the commitment to secrecy in meetings was somewhat offset by the broad circulation of the *Philosophical Transactions*. But that was not considered inconsistent with the society's aims. As already mentioned, only about half of the journal's content drew on material presented at meetings. Equally important, even when papers read at meetings were included, the journal excluded the Fellows' ensuing discussion.¹⁰⁰ Thus, by statute and custom, the society exercised discretion, extending limited privileges to Fellows and to known individuals. How, then, did the Royal Society justify sharing its minutes and papers indiscriminately

93 Hunter, "Social Basis" 13–14, 36; Hunter, *Science and Society* 71–74.

94 Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4 158.

95 Royal Society, *Record of the Royal Society* 118; Hoppen, *Papers* 895–896; Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 46.

96 Hoppen, *Papers* 897.

97 Petty, Sir W. "A Miscellaneous Catalogue of Mean, Vulgar, Cheap and Simple Experiments", *Philosophical Transactions* 15, 167 (1685) 849–853.

98 Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 111, 114–115.

99 Royal Society, *Record of the Royal Society* 119, 127.

100 Hall, M.B., "The Royal Society's Role in the Diffusion of Information" 186; Moxham, "Authors, Editors and Newsmongers" 481.

with the Oxford and Dublin societies? The answer lay in the hierarchy of priorities.¹⁰¹ If secrecy had been an essential, defining characteristic of the Royal Society, then the prohibition against sharing information would have taken precedence over joining the institutional correspondence network. But that was not the case. Like the society's recruiting strategy, the commitment to secrecy was a means to an end. It was meant to promote the society's distinctive purpose by encouraging natural philosophers and inventors to share their preliminary thoughts, failed experiments and prototype inventions without fear of criticism or piracy. The Dublin and Oxford societies, with their overlapping members and shared cultural framework, could be trusted to adhere to societal norms. As will be seen, however, extending this privilege of Fellowship to the local societies blurred the boundaries among Fellows, known individuals and unknown others, and this had unforeseen effects.

The consistency of statutes from 1651 to 1683 is striking. In Oxford, pains were taken to make the connection explicit. At the beginning of the Oxford Philosophical Society Minutes Book A, a list of rules from the 1651 society is inserted.¹⁰² There is no reference to these rules in the group's papers, however, and no record of the document's provenance. It is not known whether the document is an autograph or copy, inserted by a contemporary or archivist. The presence of this document is an inscrutable yet unmistakable *lieu de mémoire*.¹⁰³

7 The Institutional Correspondence Network

More than a transactional web but less than an established institution, the institutional correspondence network can best be understood as a community of interest. Initially, each society agreed to send its minutes to London, where they would be read, copied and archived before being forwarded to the other local society. Meanwhile, the Royal Society would simultaneously send a summary of its minutes to Dublin and Oxford. Although the practice rarely conformed to plan, reading the circulating minutes and papers immediately became a mainstay of each group's meetings. Novice experimenters in the local societies did not hesitate to engage Fellows on their own terms, that is, to critique or retry experiments mentioned in the London minutes, to pose challenging

101 Whetten, "Albert and Whetten Revisited" 224.

102 MS Ashmole 1810.

103 Nora, P., *Realms of Memory*, trans. A. Goldhammer, vol. 1 (New York: 1996) xvii.

questions, or to propose alternate explanations.¹⁰⁴ Again, local differences could be seen. In Dublin, a paper on agricultural improvement garnered ‘the applause of the whole society’, but Oxford offered no such reaction.¹⁰⁵ Dublin’s initial involvement lacked confidence, but as the network matured so did the society’s participation. In February 1684 Dublin asked the Oxford society ‘to what end did they distil [brine] from salt of tartar, ashes, lime, chalk, etc., when ‘tis well known (as Dr Mullen asserted) that plain distillation of saltwater will sweeten it.’¹⁰⁶ The question displays diffidence and a lack of investigative spirit that characterized both the Oxford and Royal societies. As minutes circulated, however, Dublin observed Oxford and London interacting and gradually expressed greater interest in open-ended investigation.¹⁰⁷ On 15 June 1685, Dublin’s response to the Royal Society minutes included five points of action, ranging from gathering information to contribute to the *History of Fishes* to requesting copies of several papers read in London and re-trying an experiment mentioned in the Royal Society’s minutes.¹⁰⁸ Participating in the network taught the Dublin society how to conform to the institutional identity that had been planted there. Oxford similarly benefitted. Concluding a prolonged collaboration with the Royal Society, Musgrave asked Aston how the Oxford group should respond to questions about the outcome. Aston reminded the Oxford secretary of the Royal Society’s stance on the provisional nature of experimental results and cautioned him to preserve the Royal Society’s secrets.¹⁰⁹ The contributions were not all one-sided however, as the Royal Society benefitted from activities in Oxford in particular. Indeed, Hall points out, that ‘from 1683 to 1686, as the minutes show, the Oxford Philosophical Society provided much of the experimental entertainment at [Royal Society] meetings, by means of detailed accounts of their activities sent by Musgrave and by Plot [...] In filling their meetings with the repetition of experiment, the Oxford Society was obviously returning to the principles which had animated the Royal Society in its early days.’¹¹⁰ The same was true of correspondence. Of about one hundred and thirty letters dated 1685 or 1686 that were copied into the Royal Society letter books, about seventy were from the Oxford or Dublin societies or their

104 Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 19–21; for an example, Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 157.

105 Hoppen, *Papers* 92; Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 186.

106 Hoppen, *Papers* 15.

107 Hoppen, *Papers* 61.

108 *Ibidem* 60–61.

109 Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 23–26; Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 28 May 1685, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 93–94.

110 Hall, *Promoting Experimental Learning* 100.

members and correspondents.¹¹¹ As papers were presented at each society's meeting, they were noted in the group's minutes. As the minutes circulated, members of other societies could request copies of interesting papers to be read at a future meeting. And, as the papers passed through the hands of the Royal Society's secretaries, several were selected for publication in the *Philosophical Transactions*. A review of the journal's contents indicates that the local societies contributed a steady stream of published papers.¹¹²

The benefits to the Royal Society are clear. Less immediately apparent are the concessions required in order to realize them. The network's success depended on the Royal Society's willingness to lower barriers controlling who could enter its circle and how they gained access. As already mentioned, the Royal Society statutes expressly forbade indiscriminate sharing, although exceptions were made for known individuals. In joining the network, however, the Royal Society opened its minutes (albeit abridged) and unpublished papers to the Dublin and Oxford societies and, through them, to each group's members. This is not comparable to inviting a few guests to a few meetings or to sharing selected notes with chosen individuals. The institutional correspondence network established a comprehensive, systematic, regularly scheduled, rules-bound exchange. It was meant to be impersonal and permanent, to function regardless of the individuals involved. From the outset, many members of the local societies were beyond the Royal Society's knowledge and control. Nevertheless, the Royal Society participated fully in the correspondence network and went to some lengths to sustain it, as evidenced by a series of letters culminating in the meeting of Hoskins and Wallis.¹¹³ Was the Royal Society acting out of character in ceding some control of its boundaries? For twenty years, the society had been a closed world cohered around a nucleus of historical personal relationships. Its aforementioned commitment to exclusivity

111 Letters were counted in Royal Society Letter Book Original LBO/10 and LBO/11A.

112 In 1684 and 1685, when the Dublin and Oxford societies were most active, the two groups contributed about fifty papers to the *Philosophical Transactions* (Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London <https://royalsocietypublishing.org/loi/rstl/group/c1600.d1680.y1684>). Hoppen counts more than fifty papers published during the period that the Dublin Philosophical Society was active, Hoppen K.T., "The Royal Society and Ireland II," *Philosophical Transactions* 20.1 (1965) 78-99 at 94-96.

113 John Wallis to Edmond Halley, 2 July 1686, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 109; John Wallis to Edmond Halley, 8 November 1686, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 112-114; additional letters from Wallis, now lost, are referenced in Edmond Halley to John Wallis, 11 December 1686, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 120-21, and Edmond Halley to John Wallis, 1 January 1686/7, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 121. For a narrative account, see Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 31-33.

and even secrecy contrasts sharply with its openness to unknown members of the local societies and, extending even further into the unknown, those members' correspondents. On the other hand, engagement posed little risk. With Fellows ensconced in leadership positions in the local societies, it would have been reasonable to envision the correspondence network as an invigorating remedy for the lagging activity and membership that were symptoms of the Royal Society's institutional identity crisis. As the boundaries among the three societies blurred, the network opened new paths to participation in organized natural philosophy. For Dublin and Oxford, of course, this meant participating as second sites of the Royal Society. Thanks to the network, it also meant belonging to a community that might be characterized as the Royal Society writ large. Moreover, for aspiring Fellows, the network provided novel opportunities. Traditionally, personal connections, including patrons or the Royal Society secretary, had served as gatekeepers, introducing the prospective member by reading his papers or presenting his gifts to the society. Now the local societies also played that role. Several members of the Dublin and Oxford societies followed this route to Fellowship. But the gates did not open automatically. William Cole of Bristol presented the remarkable gift of a shellfish (*Nucella lapillus*) that produced a dye in a color believed to be the lost Tyrian purple. His samples of dyed cloth circulated in London and were passed to King Charles II. Cole joined the Oxford society and after its decline he continued to correspond with the Royal Society but did not become a Fellow.¹¹⁴ A more certain path to Fellowship was local office. After just one year as secretary of the Oxford society, Musgrave was not only elected a Fellow but replaced Plot as second secretary of the Royal Society. Two years later, Dublin secretaries Molyneux and Ashe also became Fellows. More than circulating missives and coordinating efforts among three distinct, closed circles, the institutional correspondence network created a shared arena in which, despite marked differences, the societies forged a new communal identity: "we three as one". This networked community is unlike any relationship the Royal Society had forged with other institutions. The Royal Society acknowledged the unique relationship in spring 1685 when it reduced by half the weekly dues owed by Fellows

114 William Cole to William Musgrave, 27 September 1684, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 228; William Cole to Robert Plot, 17 October 1684, *ibidem* 230–232; William Cole to Robert Plot, 17 October 1684, *ibidem* 233–235; Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 6 November 1684, *ibidem* 74; Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 13 November 1684, *ibidem* 74–75; Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 20 November 1684, *ibidem* 75–76; William Cole to Robert Plot, 8 December 1684, *ibidem* 242–245.

who were also members of the Dublin and Oxford societies in recognition of the expense of experiments incurred in 'carrying on the common work'.¹¹⁵

8 Demise of the Local Societies

The fellow-feeling did not last. Within three years the local societies had all but collapsed. Civil unrest played a role as several members of the Dublin society, beginning with Petty in April 1685, fled Ireland after James II ascended the throne. By April 1687 Dublin's meetings had ceased.¹¹⁶ Oxford, on the other hand, experienced a long and troubled decline. Experimental activity dropped abruptly in the autumn of 1685. At the same time, correspondence from London fell precipitously, from thirty-six letters per year in 1684 and 1685 to only three letters in 1686 and none after early February 1688.¹¹⁷ Moreover, the network suffered irreparable harm when all of its secretaries resigned in quick succession. At the elections of November 1685, Musgrave was replaced as second secretary of the Royal Society. Ten days later Aston and Musgrave's replacement, Tancred Robinson, abruptly resigned.¹¹⁸ Relations between Oxford and London suffered more damage as Plot became embroiled in a dispute with the Council about his handling of the publication of the massive *History of Fishes*.¹¹⁹ Edmond Halley, in a letter to Molyneux, speculated that Aston resigned because he wanted 'better terms of reward'.¹²⁰ Molyneux, in reply, credited the turmoil to a conflict between natural history and natural philosophy, laying the blame on a group of Fellows who favored 'ranking and filing of shells, insects, fishes, birds, etc. [...] reckoning chemistry, astronomy, mathematics, and mechanics, as rubs in their course [...] I must confess I could not but laugh at it.'¹²¹ In spring of 1686 both Musgrave and Ashe resigned as secretaries of the Oxford and Dublin societies. This left the network again with no experienced secretaries.¹²² Despite pledges from new secretaries in

115 Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 28 May 1685, in *ibidem* 93–94 at 93; Birch, *History of the Royal Society*, vol. 4 402.

116 Hardesty, *Scientific Institutions and Their Correspondence Networks* 28–30.

117 *Ibidem*, based on count of meetings and letters in Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* and Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence*.

118 Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 10 December 1685, Gunther, *Dr. Plot and the Correspondence* 105–106, at 105; Francis Aston to William Musgrave, 17 December 1685, *ibidem* 106–107 at 106.

119 Roos, "A Meeting of Minds?" at 33:00–41:07.

120 Edmond Halley to William Molyneux, 27 March 1686, Hoppen, *Papers* 610–613 at 611.

121 William Molyneux to Edmond Halley 8 April 1686, *ibidem* 614–618 at 614.

122 John Bainbridge to St George Ashe [2 June 1686], *ibidem* 624, unnumbered note.

all three societies, the correspondence withered and the institutional network disintegrated. An attempt to revive the Oxford group in 1690 failed after only three meetings.¹²³ The Dublin Philosophical Society regrouped in 1693 and renewed its correspondence with the Royal Society but lapsed again in 1697 or 1698.¹²⁴

The Oxford and Dublin societies and the institutional correspondence network were not only short-lived, they were relatively small. Their cumulative impact on the Royal Society was proportional to their size. They contributed only a few new Fellows each year. Among the original members of the local societies, only six became Fellows between 1683 and 1686, with one additional in 1713. Correspondence was more sustained. After the local societies' demise, Ashe sent missives from Vienna, Molyneux from Dublin, Cole from Bristol and George Garden from Aberdeen.¹²⁵ Still, the effect on the London society was just the opposite of what might be expected. Rather than further concentrating organized natural philosophy in London, new centers of activity formed. In Dublin, most notably, an enduring second site of the Royal Society rose far from the metropolis. Oxford had long been associated with the Royal Society, but with a formal society of its own, the Ashmolean Museum, an officer of the Royal Society in residence, and, under Plot, control over publishing of the *Philosophical Transactions*, it exerted substantial influence. Perhaps most significant, a new nexus of activity formed in the community of the institutional network itself. As the Council's dues concession indicated, if the Royal Society could not always live up to its own ideals, it could be gratified by inspiring and consolidating efforts that had taken root elsewhere.

9 Conclusion: Memory, Identity and Sustainability

The experience of the Dublin and Oxford societies illuminates the ways in which the formation of institutional identity influence the strength and even

¹²³ Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 217–220.

¹²⁴ Hoppen, *Common Scientist* 176–177. In an ironic act of appropriation, the society was “continued” in 1843 as a paper-reading and debating society. Dudley Loftus, the society's early critic, would be pleased. “History of the Phil”, University Philosophical Society <http://new.trinitysocieties.ie/history/>; *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin 1591–1891* (Belfast: 1892) 128.

¹²⁵ From Royal Society Letter Book – Original and Early Letters: St. George Ashe to Edmond Halley, 9 July 1691, LBO/11A/64; William Molyneux to Hans Sloane, 4 November 1697, EL/M1/99 and William Molyneux to Hans Sloane 22 January 1698, EL/M1/100; William Cole [to Royal Society] 13 December 1693, LBO/11A/100 and William Cole to Sir Robert Southwell, 16 September 1693, LBO/28/145; William Musgrave (forwarding letter from George Garden) to Edmond Halley 12 June 1688, LBO/11A/43.

the survival of a formally established organization. This chapter has traced the recursive processes of memory and institutional identity formation in natural philosophical societies meant to function as three autonomous nodes of a network. Here I wish to reflect more broadly on the influence of memory and institutional identity on the robustness, resilience and longevity of the Dublin, Oxford and Royal societies and their correspondence network.

In Dublin's case, issues of identity had direct bearing on the institution's resilience. A network of personal relationships and close identification with the Royal Society enabled the group's formation and early growth. Yet the society was born in controversy. Heated debates forced its leaders and members to articulate and defend the group's core commitments. Dissidents fell away and members who remained subscribed to the precepts that they had a role in making. Moreover, the Dublin group repeatedly referred to its central, enduring and distinctive commitments. When members failed to perform experiments, for example, Petty forced the issue with rules that required members to do so. The group disbanded in 1687 for external reasons, i.e., civil unrest. During the years 1683–1687, however, the group had developed a fund of shared experiences and memories, and these provided a ready-made foundation on which to rebuild. When the society resumed in 1693, returning members committed again to the institutional identity they had jointly created a decade earlier and immediately resumed their correspondence with the Royal Society. Growth was robust and membership swelled to more than fifty. But within four or five years the society again collapsed. The precise date of the group's demise is unknown (c. 1697 or 1698), but it certainly did not survive William Molyneux, who died in 1698.¹²⁶ But that was not the end of the story. The Dublin Philosophical Society reconvened in 1707, this time under the leadership of Molyneux's son, Samuel. One year later it dissolved for the last time.¹²⁷ The memory of the group persisted, however, and in 1731 it informed the establishment of the Dublin Society for 'improving Husbandry, Manufactures, and other useful arts' (now the Royal Dublin Society). The founder, Thomas Prior, was a friend of Samuel Molyneux, and founding members included Sir Thomas Molyneux, William's brother, and John Madden, brother-in-law of William and Sir Thomas Molyneux and uncle to Samuel Molyneux.¹²⁸ In the late 1730s, as the organization was flagging, Madden's son, Samuel Molyneux Madden, was 'crucial

126 Hoppen, *Common Scientist* 176–177, 204–205.

127 Ibidem 197; Barry P., "The Journeys of Samuel Molyneux in Ireland, 1708–1709", *Analecta Hibernica* 46 (2015) 1–83 at 4.

128 Berry H.F., *A History of the Royal Dublin Society* (London, Longmans: 1915) 6.

to the rejuvenation of the Dublin Society.¹²⁹ The group held its first meeting ‘in the rooms of the Philosophical Society in Trinity College’ but soon began to meet at Parliament House.¹³⁰ This suggests the decision to hold its founding meeting in the rooms of its intellectual predecessor was intended as a commemoration. Moreover, several of the society’s rules echo those of 1683 and early statutes of the Royal Society.¹³¹ It is no surprise that the Dublin Society’s first historian described the group as ‘moulded and fostered by men influenced by those of a prior generation, who had formed clubs for philosophic pursuits’.¹³² The institutional identity which Petty and Molyneux forcefully planted in 1683 had taken root. It spawned a plethora of relationships, experiences and memories which persisted through three ‘generations’ of institution formation as successors drew on the past in response to contemporary demands.

The Oxford society is a quite different case. As has been shown, core commitments to collective experiment and communication had developed in tandem in London and Oxford for decades, and participation in both groups overlapped. When the Royal Society adopted a formal structure, Oxford felt no need to follow suit but continued its informal meetings and individual communications with London. Indeed, the persistence of local experience is so strong that the Oxford Philosophical Society of 1683 has been described as a continuation or even re-formation of its 1650s predecessor.¹³³ Paradoxically, robust local history may explain the Oxford Philosophical Society’s demise. The Oxford Philosophical Society of 1683 existed to formalize and increase communication between Oxford philosophers and the Royal Society. This was not done to answer a distressing local need but to build on local strengths to handle a novel situation. In other words, it created an infrastructure to serve the Royal Society secretaries working at a distance in London and Oxford. When there was no longer a Royal Society secretary in Oxford, the function for which the infrastructure was created disappeared and the local society with it. The group reconvened in 1690 with stalwarts Wallis, Bathurst, Bernard and Plot, but the minutes stopped abruptly even as the group was recruiting new members. No more is known of the group. The Oxford Philosophical Society did not establish a new local institution with a strong institutional identity to hand over to succeeding generations. Perhaps that is because, following the loss of

129 Barnard T.C., “‘Grand Metropolis’ or ‘The Anus of the World’? The Cultural Life of Eighteenth-Century Dublin”, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 107 (2001) 185–210 at 203.

130 Berry, *History of the Royal Dublin Society* 6.

131 *Ibidem* 14–18.

132 *Ibidem* 2.

133 Gunther, *The Philosophical Society* 1.

the Dublin Philosophical Society and the correspondence network, Oxford's earlier antecedent as an informal group was better suited to its reduced circumstances. The Oxford Philosophical Society came to an end, but it is entirely possible that, in abandoning the formal structure, the group simply reverted to its earlier identity as an informal gathering.

Institutions are stable but not immutable. As members act and interact, new shared experiences generate fresh memories that amend, obscure, or invite reinterpretation of agreed-upon versions of historical events and articulated central, enduring and distinctive commitments. In other words, institutional memory and identity are continuously reshaped in real time by transient actors responding to contemporary circumstances and priorities.

Although all actors may have some power to influence an institution's central, enduring and distinctive commitments, one place to look for concentrated influence is among those who do the work required to sustain the institution's everyday existence. Such efforts may entail creative acts of appropriation and transformation that reshape the institution. In appropriating the Royal Society's commitment to communications, Oldenburg transformed the institution's identity. What started as a group of natural philosophers sharing their work became a communications hub for European natural philosophy. At the same time, Oldenburg appropriated and transformed the role of secretary from record-keeper to intelligencer and publisher. Ultimately, however, his actions were subversive: as a transient actor, Oldenburg left the society with "communications hub" engraved on its identity, but without the infrastructure to do the work. When Aston and Plot created the institutional correspondence network, they appropriated and transformed one of Oldenburg's roles. In effect, they divided his duties as intelligencer among the secretaries of the Dublin, Oxford and Royal societies. Ironically, their solution did not reduce each secretary's workload. Instead, it created three overworked secretaries, each responsible for copying their group's minutes and correspondence for local records and to share with the other societies. All of the secretaries had sporadic help from copyists, and Dublin paid a minimal salary to its secretary. But the real compensation was in personal relationships. Plot and Aston enjoyed a cordial relationship and so did Musgrave and Aston. This in itself proved subversive. Exchanging letters at least once a week, Aston and Musgrave amassed a store of shared personal memories that centered on their duties as secretaries, ranging from complaints about workload and compensation, their shared stake in the success of the *Philosophical Transactions*, the everyday headaches of producing the journal and Aston's role as mentor to Musgrave. When forced to choose between loyalty to the Royal Society and loyalty to Aston, Musgrave

chose the personal over the institutional. Dublin, in contrast, had a number of secretaries who maintained a fitful correspondence with the Royal Society, so that their relationship with Aston was occasional and transactional. Thus, when Aston suddenly resigned, Dublin continued to send its minutes to the Royal Society. Notably, when the Dublin society regrouped, it had a strong bond with the Royal Society based on Molyneux's years-long epistolary relationship with the Royal Society's secretary, Edmond Halley. Like the Royal Society with Oldenburg, however, the Oxford and Dublin societies relied on a few prime movers. With the loss of their organizers and secretaries, the local societies and the correspondence network collapsed.

For the Royal Society, the tension between its institutional identity, or its central, enduring and distinctive commitments and the reality of member activity provided fodder for critics, both internal and external. But while some were repelled, others were inspired by the Royal Society's core commitments and were attracted to sites, physical or virtual, where they could practice them. The society's meetings and the *Philosophical Transactions* had provided such sites and, beginning in 1683, so did the Dublin and Oxford societies. Memories of meaningful shared experiences and commitments were codified in rules or expressed in actions, which then served as an organizing framework within which each society responded to local conditions. The contrasting models of Oxford and Dublin demonstrate two ways in which memory and identity can be preserved and transmitted. In Oxford, institutional identity emerged from a collective memory that was embodied in shared experiences, enduring relationships and local tradition. In Dublin, however, the founders' avowed intent was to supplant local tradition with the Royal Society's programme. With Oxford representing continuity and Dublin representing change, the institutional correspondence network succeeded in preserving and transmitting institutional identities across geographic and generational boundaries. Memory and identity functioned as mirror, model and muse, exerting formative and normative influences while inspiring novel configurations.

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Abbreviations

CMO	Royal Society Council Minutes Original
DM	Royal Society Domestic Manuscripts
EL	Royal Society Early Letters

LBO Royal Society Letter Book Original

Early Modern Letters Online <http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

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Miscellanies of Memory: From Scholarly Biography to Institutional History in the Early Modern German University

Richard Kirwan

Strictly speaking, a university does not have the capacity to remember. Rather, in its conception and operation, it provokes responses in the sentient, who form and collect impressions of and attachments to the institution. These can be positive or negative, significant or insignificant, fleeting or long-lasting, impartial or unfair, interested or uninterested, intellectual and emotional. These impressions can shape memories, both individual and collective, that have the potential for inter-generational transmission. These memories can also be diverse, amorphous, and unstable. For those heavily invested in an institution, such as professors, who derive authority, status and income from it, or for alumni, who are attached to it emotionally, the impulse to marshal, curate, and even suppress these diverse collective memories in the service of the university's reputation is often strong.

This chapter addresses the memory culture of early modern universities with a focus on print, more specifically university history writing in the context of German universities. It considers the motivations that led to the production of such works, the circumstances of their composition, and their formats and functions.

In the early modern period, the curation of institutional memory was a component of a broader process that attempted to direct and regulate how a university was and would be perceived by others in the present and the future.¹ Those wishing to cultivate a university's reputation did so by deliberately propagating favourable narratives of institutional magnificence in a wide variety of representational mechanisms that combined the spontaneous, occasional, and fleeting with the more permanent and reflexive. These occasional representational mechanisms comprised identity formulations in ceremonial, festival

1 See, for example, Kirwan R., *Empowerment and Representation at the University in Early Modern Germany. Helmstedt and Würzburg, 1576–1634* (Wiesbaden: 2009) and Kirwan R., "Scholarly Reputations and Institutional Prestige: The Fashioning of the Public Image of the University of Helmstedt, 1576–1680", *History of Universities* 25.2 (2011) 51–79.

and spectacle from the protean to the once-off, from the official to the unofficial, and from the institutional to the sub-institutional. More permanent representational forms such as monuments, portrait galleries, and architectural ornamentation attended by design to the preservation of memory. Interest in more enduring and transmissible forms of representation expanded clearly and considerably with the take up of print and the concomitant growth in occasional encomiastic literature in the latter half of the sixteenth century.² Although many of these representational projects were focused on the here and now – for example, in the case of new universities, where it was necessary to build the institution's reputation from scratch – it was inevitable that a university's publicists also maintained an eye on posterity, given their attention to more permanent forms of representation.

Academic representational culture developed both in response to traditions and new fashions. It often combined the appearance of what was always done with that which conveyed contemporary sophistication. Ceremonial and festive academic culture seemed at first glance to belong more naturally to the former category whereas text and print seemed more innovative and indeed, as we shall see in the case of celebrations of institutions, were characterised by that innovation. Of course, tradition in this sense was often a fabrication, especially for new universities. In the vein of the ceremonial and festival culture of the court, it was carried out with a high degree of calculation, sometimes with princely intervention.

The promotion of a university's good image was a curatorial endeavour that involved the propagation of certain impressions and memories and the suppression of others. In this way, the irregularity and unreliability of individual perception could be mitigated through the exclusion of negative or unfavourable elements and the mapping of impressions onto prescribed templates. This was not so much a conspiracy but rather a reflection of the fact that outlets for the expression of singular, off-message impressions in lasting or official forms were limited or non-existent. In other words, these could only exist internally, in underground mutterings and ephemeral settings that lived and died with the individual utterances. The keepers of institutional memory could, on the other hand, elevate favoured memories, including those held and recalled by individuals. Given their command of the representational media, the keepers of memory could promote a message of institutional greatness, without contradiction or disruption, by actively fostering certain memories over others.

2 Maclean I., *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion. The Learned Book in the Age of Confessions, 1560–1630* (Cambridge, MA: 2012), esp. 211–234.

This curation of institutional memory was both a communal and individual activity. The degree of participation in impression management and memory keeping could vary considerably. Large-scale festivities, for example, were generally orchestrated by committee under the direction of a senate, rector or princely chancellor (this was often the command hierarchy).³ The involvement of the latter could colour the character of the festival and the memorial output in a significant way. For example, the involvement of Prince-Bishop Julius Echter in university festivals at Würzburg had a dramatic effect on their character. The festive unveiling and dedication of the university church in 1591, for example, was almost entirely exploited as an opportunity for political propaganda, with the festivities and the printed celebrations of the same very clearly controlled by and acting in the service of the princely interest.⁴ Consequently, the professors had a marginal role in designing the festivities and even in participating in the main acts and ceremonies. Elsewhere, the involvement of a prince did not necessarily come at the expense of the professors. In fact, it could add weight, sophistication, and financial heft to their representational efforts. For smaller scale ceremonies, and in material and textual forms of representation, a narrowing of participation was evident. Festival books and memorial publications were generally edited or authored by an individual scholar or compiled by a printer. For example, the printer Katharina Gerlach seems to have edited a lengthy publication occasioned by the 1576 ceremonies of inauguration at Altdorf and is the author of a reader's preface.⁵ Sometimes

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- 3 For example, judging from the extensive correspondence between the founding Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel and the University of Helmstedt, a publication to record its inauguration festival (1576) was carefully planned. See Kirwan, *Empowerment and Representation* 70. The outcome of these discussions was the *Historica narratio de introductione Universitatis Iuliae, et promulgatione privilegiorum, [...] continens cum solennitates, quae in introductionis actu usurpatae sunt, orationesque in eodem actu diuersis a personis habitas [...] per professores Universitatis Iuliae conscripta et in lucem edita* (Helmstedt, Jacob Lucius: 1579), VD H 3914.
- 4 Kirwan, *Empowerment* 196–203, 215–220. The prince-bishop's representational interests are also propagated in Daniel Amling's festival book, Amling Daniel, *Pompae, Serenissimorum Reverendissimorum atque Illustrissimorum Principum etc. in novi SS. Apostolorum Templi dedicatione, 6. Idus Septembris Anno 1591 Herbipoli solenniter celebrate etc., brevis et historica saltem adumbratio* (Würzburg, Georg Fleischmann: 1592), VD16 A 2264.
- 5 *Introductio novae scholae Aldorfianae Noribergensium: exposita aliquot doctorum virorum orationibus; quibus accesserunt quaedam prolegomena praeceptorum classicorum et typus classium, item oratio funebris de obitu D. Rectoris; adjectis insuper legibus scholasticis* (Nürnberg, Katharina Gerlach: 1576), VD I 258. Curiously, she is not acknowledged as a contributor in the VD 16 catalogue record. See Kirwan R., "Ephemeral No More: University Festival, Print and the Pull of Posterity", in Kintzinger M. – Wagner W.E. – Füssel M. (eds.), *Zwischen Inaugurationsfeier und Fachschafts-Party. Akademische Festkulturen vom Mittelalter bis zur*

individual scholars acted on commission, whereas on other occasions they worked more independently, offering themselves as keepers of institutional memory. Such efforts could advance the careers of the authors, especially those in precarious positions. Of the authors reviewed below, Johannes Engerd did not enjoy security of employment and ultimately lost his post.⁶ Erhard Cellius was also in need of an opportunity to advance his institutional standing since his was a controversial appointment that did not garner the full support of his colleagues.⁷ To produce institutional memory in the form of a monument as described above was a method of demonstrating one's value to the university.

The range of parties involved in the production of these publications as well as the degree of their respective contributions is suggestive of both the nature of the envisaged functions and the intended audiences of these works. One might assume that if sponsored by an institution, for example, at the very least, the intended audience included scholars within and outwith a given university. That many of such publications emulated existing works and were emulated in turn indicates a degree of inter-institutional circulation. The involvement of a princely sponsor in the production would have expanded the intended readership in accordance with the interests of the patron, leading to a wider dissemination in political circles, internal and external to the territory ruled by the prince.

As shall be observed below, the authors and editors of representational matter, and particularly of memorial publications, were heavily reliant on a corpus of existing publications: the small-scale celebrations of individual scholars produced over the lifetime of the institution. In this way, we can observe the hand of an historic community in shaping institutional memory, albeit with editorial interventions and elisions, in what was effectively a form of historic collaboration.

This also suggests something of the reach of these small-scale celebrations. While the intended audience may not have extended far beyond a scholar's

Gegenwart (Basel: 2019) 179–194. On Katherina Gerlach see Reske C., *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing* (Wiesbaden: 2015), vol. 5, 761–762.

6 *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: 1877), vol. 6, 144–145; Flood J.L., *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire. A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, 4 vols. (Berlin – New York: 2006), vol. 2, 485–488.

7 *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: 1876), vol. 4, 82; Setzler W., “Die Universität Tübingen am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts zur Zeit des Erhard Cellius”, in Cellius Erhard, *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium 1596*, ed. H. Decker-Hauff – W. Setzler, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen: 1981), vol. 2, 9–19, 18–19.

networks or family, the long-term reception of these works over time indicates a gradual diversification and extension of readers and uses.

Institutional memory was created and curated at different frequencies, tempos and degrees of intensity that were, in most instances, occasion bound. Large-scale memorial projects were undertaken intermittently and were generally a response to rare occasions in the memorial cycle such as jubilee festivals. More frequent events such as the inauguration of a new rector or, to a lesser extent, annual celebrations in the academic calendar could provide the impetus for some level of memorial enterprise, typically on a small scale. A more constant and recurring form of memory formation occurred with the celebration and commemoration of individual scholars' lives and achievements in occasional print, portraits, and funerary monuments. Here scholars were commemorated by academic colleagues, friends and family, and, as such, these activities were not explicitly undertaken in the service of the university and its institutional memory. As we shall see, however, these enterprises created a prosopographical corpus that lent itself to and was drawn upon in the production of institutional history and, by extension, collective memory.

1 The Celebration of the Individual

The commemoration and celebration of individual scholars by family members, colleagues, and friends in print became increasingly common over the course of the sixteenth century with the production of such matter accelerating after 1560.⁸ Scholars had been appreciated in earlier decades and centuries as well, but the take-up of print to capture and disseminate such laudations altered and extended their memorial potency. Indeed, such was the reach and persistence of these micro-memorial objects that they came to constitute an irresistible content source for the editors and authors of institutional histories and memory books. Although friends and family often sought to emphasise the celebrated scholar's contributions to universities in their eulogising, and may have foreseen the possibility that their representations would shape institutional history writing at a future point, their motivations were, in the first instance, immediate and far more diverse.

8 See Kirwan R., "From Individual to Archetype: Occasional Texts and the Performance of Scholarly Identity in Early Modern Germany", in idem (ed.), *Scholarly Self-fashioning and Community in the Early Modern University* (Farnham: 2013) 79–102; Kirwan R., "Function in Form: Single-Sheet Items and the Utility of Cheap Print in the Early Modern German University", in Pettegree A. (ed.), *Broadsheets. Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print* (Leiden – Boston: 2017) 337–354.

Opportunities to celebrate a scholar in print were generally bound to important occasions in their lives and careers such as the attainment of a degree, an academic appointment, the bestowing of honours, a wedding celebration, and ultimately funerary commemoration. These occasions permitted the publication of pamphlets containing verse and prose in celebration of a scholar. The formal possibilities for funerary commemoration were slightly restricted by convention – such as funeral orations and sermons, sometimes accompanied by poetry or portraits – but there was generally a degree of flexibility in how these publications were put together. This allowed for group involvement in laudatory pamphlets which were written by friends (*scripta ab amicis*). It is also important to note that more scholarly publications such as dissertations also presented opportunities for peers to offer praise in front or end matter, usually in verse form. Again, numerous contributions could be appended, thus conveying a sense of communal celebration and peer endorsement.

In their celebrations of one another, scholars were attending to a set of immediate concerns. Not only did such publications construct and promote the fame of their subjects, they helped to foster, constitute, and signal the character of scholarly networks, and served as a means of seeking patronage and community membership. In making such offerings, scholars were also performing the duties of friendship by tending to the reputation and memory of others in the expectation that they would, in turn, benefit from such endorsement.⁹ In this we observe the longer-term functions of these publications; a communal, incremental, and mutually beneficial form of memory keeping that fashioned, solidified, and perpetuated biographical representations of those within the commemorative network. These representations ultimately became the stuff of institutional memory.

I have reflected elsewhere on the importance of networks in the career of Duncan Liddel (1561–1613), Helmstedt mathematician and astronomer.¹⁰ Liddel was firmly attached to the network of Johannes Caselius (1573–1613), which was defined by its Melanchthonian advocacy of philosophy in the face of severe hostility from a rival network of orthodox Lutheran theologians, both groupings bitterly embroiled in a long-running controversy over the status of philosophy in the university. In this context, the ability of scholars to band together to defend one another's mutual interests was of great importance.

9 For a useful exploration of early modern understandings of friendship see Lochman D.T. – López M. – Hutson L. (eds.), *Discourses and Representations of Friendship in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1700* (Farnham – Burlington, VT: 2011).

10 Kirwan R., "It's Who You Know: Scholarly Networks in Liddel's Helmstedt", in Omodeo P.D. (ed.), *Duncan Liddel (1561–1613). Networks of Polymathy and the Northern European Renaissance* (Leiden – Boston: 2016) 149–168.

Liddel was to benefit from this alliance in various ways, not least among them the attestation to his scholarly merit and the perpetuation of his fame via occasional print. Liddel's 1596 promotion to doctor of medicine was not only a key moment of scholarly and social advancement but also an ideal opportunity for reputation building. For this, Liddel could rely on his Helmstedt network. Two encomiastic pamphlets were duly published: one containing contributions from seven authors, all Helmstedt scholars and followers of Caselius, and another single-authored laudation by Cornelius Martini.¹¹ Liddel's reputation was also advanced in the ephemeral matter published with his *Ars Medica* (1608).¹² This ephemera includes a selection of panegyric verses and a letter from Johannes Caselius defending Liddel against an accusation that he lacked integrity in his dealings with Tycho Brahe.¹³ Given their accessibility, these publications have shaped historical knowledge of Liddel over time, illustrating the efficacy of such matter, acknowledged by contemporaries, in cementing reputations for posterity.

2 Jubilees and the Reflective Mood

University jubilees created a widespread interest in an institution's history. The desire to celebrate and reflect on that history led to large-scale festivities and commemorations to mark the occasion. In the economies of prestige that existed between universities, a competitive advantage could be gained through venerability and tradition. Jubilees and particularly centenaries presented ideal opportunities to advertise those qualities in an indulgent and vocal manner. Large-scale festivals were the preferred outlet for celebration. These presented a canvas for political and institutional propaganda and were, therefore, often utilised by princely patrons. This had the effect of increasing the magnitude and reach of jubilee festivals. These events spawned many

11 Martini Cornelius, *Clarissimo viro Duncano Liddelio Scoto [...] de summo in medicina gradu gratulabar* (Helmstedt, Jacob Lucius: 1596), VD16 M 1195, and *Viro clarissimo et excellentissimo dn. Duncano Liddelio Scoto [...] gratulantur collegae et familiares* (Helmstedt, Jacob Lucius: 1596), VD16 V 1585.

12 These laudations and Caselius's 1607 letter appear in the end matter of Liddel Duncan, *Ars Medica, succincte et perspicue explicata, auctore Duncano Lidellio Scoto* (Hamburg, Froben: 1608), VD17 12:161575U.

13 Molland G., "Scottish-Continental Intellectual Relations as Mirrored in the Career of Duncan Liddel (1561–1613)", in Dukes P. (ed.), *The Universities of Aberdeen and Europe. The First Three Centuries* (Aberdeen: 1995) 79–101, 84–92.

immediate opportunities for occasional print from festival books to short pamphlets in verse.

Once the initial festive rush died down, and the major acts of celebration were dispensed with, it was common for a more reflective phase of commemoration and memorialisation to commence. This persistence of the jubilee mood incentivised the production of works of institutional history. As we shall observe, these works tended to have a single author or editor, and they could vary considerably in form and sophistication. These variations are quite suggestive of the environment and imperatives of production. They also suggest a drop-off in general interest in commemoration once the main business of celebration was concluded, where the mammoth task of creating a paper monument to the institution's history was left to one or two individuals.¹⁴ This also explains the time lag between jubilee events and the completion of such works which were often published some years later. In the following sections, I examine several examples of memorial publications, each bearing the hallmarks of the circumstances of production, to illustrate varieties of form, construction, and quality.

3 Biographical Dictionaries

One distinct approach to the celebration of institutional history was to produce works of biography dedicated to historical cohorts of professors. These biographical dictionaries had a very direct relationship to an existing corpus of matter commemorating individuals built up over decades and centuries. As we shall see, this corpus could provide the content and sometimes the copy for the biographical compilations: printed portraits were reused, lines of poetry quoted, and biographical detail transposed and reprinted. These works varied in format, arrangement, and level of sophistication. They often emerged during or in the wake of jubilees.

One of the most sophisticated examples of this type of monument is Erhard Cellius's *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium* (1596) which was published almost two decades after the university's first centenary in 1577.¹⁵ It is interesting to note that the work was constructed with reference to a jubilee

14 Kirwan R., "The Paper Monument: University Histories and Institutional Prestige in Early Modern Germany", in McElligott A. – Breathnach C. – Chambers L. – Lawless C. (eds.), *Power in History. From the Medieval to the Post-Modern World* (Dublin: 2011) 83–108.

15 Erhard Cellius, *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium 1596*, ed. H. Decker-Hauff – W. Setzler, 2 vols. (Sigmaringen: 1981).

chronology in that its contents were deliberately restricted to the biographies of members of the senate who had served the university in its second century, between 1577 and 1596. The *Imagines* is sophisticated in design consisting of a series of portraits and biographical poems dedicated to professors, arranged by faculty. The work's other matter includes a dedicatory preface, an elegy to the reader, another to the rectors for 1596, Johann Friedrich, Duke of Württemberg and August the Younger, Duke of Braunschweig and Lüneburg, and finally a portrait and poem dedicated to each prince. This is followed by the sets of portraits and poems of living professors, arranged by faculty, each prefaced by a laudation to the respective discipline. A further section is devoted to deceased scholars. Some additional representational material is appended in the printing: two elegies on the refurbishment of university *aulae* and a verse in laudation of promotions in the year 1598 with a list of those awarded degrees.¹⁶ These additions seem a rather curious disruption of the programmatic integrity of the work which had been so carefully controlled to that point. The *Imagines* is notable for the originality of its composition in that Cellius did not practice the type of quotation assemblage from extant representational texts that is common in monumental publications of this type. Yet in the printing of the work a degree of opportunism entered the equation in a manner that was not uncommon, as shall be observed below.

In his attempts to memorialise the institution through biography, Cellius was stirred not by an imperative of impartiality, but by the desire to extol the virtues of the institution. This followed the template of commemorative literature where elisions or misrepresentation to favour the reputation of the deceased were the norm. The example of Cellius's treatment of Philipp Apian is illustrative in this regard.¹⁷ Apian served as professor in Tübingen from 1569 to 1583.¹⁸ He had previously been employed at the University of Ingolstadt but was forced out on the grounds of religious non-conformity in 1568.¹⁹ In 1583, he lost his professorial post in Tübingen due to his unwillingness to adhere to the Formula of Concord. He remained in Tübingen until his death in 1589. In Cellius's *vita*, Apian's expulsion from Ingolstadt is noted but his subsequent

16 The appending of the 1598 promotion ephemera undermines the title page implication that the *Imagines* was printed in 1596 (this of course might have been incorporated in a later printing or in binding although no unexpanded impressions survive).

17 Cellius, *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium*, vol. 1, 116–117.

18 Ibidem, vol. 2, 129.

19 Schöner C., "Apian, Philipp", in Boehm L. – Müller W. – Smolka W.J. – Zedelmeier H. (eds.), *Biographisches Lexikon der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. Teil I: Ingolstadt-Landshut 1472–1826* (Berlin: 1998) 16–18.

confessional troubles and loss of his position in Tübingen are not.²⁰ Cellius merely observes that Apian was taken in with compassion by the University of Tübingen, that he continued to produce works of note, and that he remained a steadfastly pious man.

While Cellius eschewed deliberate inter-textuality in his *vitae*, this approach was embraced whole-heartedly elsewhere. One exemplary work of a short century later is Gebhard Theodor Meier's *Monumenta Iulia Memoriae Professorum Helmstadiensium exhibentia* (*The Julian monument presenting the memories of the Professors of Helmstedt*, 1680).²¹ This was published four years after the first centenary of Helmstedt, a product of the reflective spirit that it engendered.²² Meier's work is a biographical dictionary of deceased professors of Law and Theology only, composed primarily in prose. Meier drew on a rich corpus of existing commemorative material in the construction of his biographies. Furthermore, he occasionally integrated quotations from this corpus, published and unpublished, into the text. With regard to unpublished sources, this fulfilled both a scholarly and memorialising function by introducing the obscure and inaccessible to the mainstream of print. To this end, Meier transcribed and reproduced funeral monument inscriptions.²³ In a similar vein, a previously inaccessible manuscript text relating to Johannes Borcholt (d. 1593) was extracted from an unpublished 1614 commencement oration and included in the entry on his life.²⁴ Within the entry, the main source for Meier's biography of Borcholt is also identified: a funeral laudation by Johannes Caselius.²⁵

20 It is noteworthy that Cellius also composed a funeral oration to Apian: Cellius Erhard, *Oratio de vita et morte nobilis et clarissimi viri Philippi Apiani Ingolstadiensis, Medicinae Doctoris et Mathematicum in Academia Tubingensi Professoris quondam celeberrimi* [...] (Tübingen, Georg Gruppenbach: 1591), VD16 C 1880.

21 Meier Gebhard Theodor, *Monumenta Iulia Memoriae Professorum Helmstadiensium, qui diem suum obierunt, exhibentia: Ad [...] Brunsvicensium et Lynaeburgensium Ducum Illustres Legatos Et Inclytorum Guelfpherbytanae Provinciae Ordinum Delectos Proceres Visendae Ordinandaeque Academiae Iuliae missos* (Helmstedt, Heinrich David Müller: 1680), VD17 1:050184M. See Kirwan, *Empowerment and Representation* 135–140.

22 A festival book was also published two years after the centenary celebrations: Schrader Christoph, *Historia Festi Secularis Serenissimorum et Potentissimorum Principum Ducum Brunsvicensium et Luneburgensium Clementissima voluntate et auspicio solenniter celebrati Idibus Octobris Anno MDCLXXVI* [...] (Helmstedt, Heinrich David Müller: 1678), VD17 23:232038L.

23 Transcriptions of funeral monument and gravestone inscriptions are provided for the following professors: Tilemann Heshus, 7; Basilius Satler, 10; Theodor Berckelmann, 31; Joaching Mynsinger von Frundeck, 78; Albertus Clampusius, 103; Valentin Forster, 108–109.

24 Meier, *Monumenta Iulia*, 81.

25 Ibidem. Caselius Johannes, *Epitaphios Ioanni Borcholdo IC IC. CLmo.* (Helmstedt, Jacob Lucius: 1594), VD C 1296.

Similarly, aside from a short introductory passage, the entry on Johannes Luder takes the form of a lengthy extract of six pages from Paul Müller's funeral *programma* commemorating the deceased scholar in 1633.²⁶

These examples illustrate two important characteristics of Meier's *Monumenta*: its reliance on the existing corpus of individual celebratory and commemorative texts; and its desire to give new life to more inaccessible sources in the presentation of the *vitae* of Helmstedt's professors. Meier's use of these sources demonstrates not only the utility of existing celebrations of scholars but also their durability. They furnished a ready body of material of acute pertinence to the production of institutional history and memory. Furthermore, as a composition technique, the engagement with extant material was a useful means to identify the heritage of the biographies, created as they were from the body of existing commemorative forms, and revealing, by extension, an historic consensus of opinion on the merits of the celebrated individual, demonstrating that his fame was a characteristic recognised by many.

4 The Grand History

Biographical dictionaries were an effective and efficient means of monumentalising a university's history. The near-exclusive focus on individual *vitae* was pragmatic in that it allowed authors to access a ready body of source material in an act of editorial co-ordination that captured and regulated an untidy mass of representations with the aim of fixing the future reception of the celebrated individuals by making them available in a uniform format. Marshalled in the service of the institutional reputation, the dictionary of lives served as an accessible, useful and effective monument to a university's history. As institutional history, however, such works were limited by their format and principal interest in scholarly *vitae*. Similarly, arranged as dictionaries, with indexes, they encouraged usage as reference works, where individual readers might dip in and out of the contents as the need required. This inevitably disrupted the reception of macro representations and narratives of institutional glory.

That objective could be more immediately achieved in works broadly conceived as histories. The expansive nature of these publications permitted greater formal licence than a biographical dictionary and additional opportunities for historical narrative. That said, institutional histories of this sort

²⁶ Meier, *Monumenta Iulia* 139–145. Müller Paul, *Programma Vice-Rectoris Et Senatus Academiae Iuliae P.P. In Funere Viri [...] Dn. Johannis Luderii [...] Qui XXVI. Decembris Anno MDCXXXIII. placide in Christo obdormivit* (Helmstedt, Lucius: 1634), VD17 3:696839G.

retained a distinct focus on scholarly biography and exhibited a reliance on an existing corpus of individual commemorative material.

In the 1580s, the history of the University of Ingolstadt was represented in two related works of large scale; Valentin Rotmar's *Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiae* (*Annals of the University of Ingolstadt*, 1580) and the *Almae Ingolstadiensis Academiae Tomus Primus* (*The First Tome of the Nourishing University of Ingolstadt*, 1581).²⁷ The latter, left unfinished by Rotmar on his death, was completed by Johannes Engerd. Both are complex works in terms of design and content. The *Annales* is presented in two distinct parts. The first contains a set of acclamations to princes and other patrons, professors, and encomia in praise of the respective faculties. This is followed by a prose history of universities in general which progresses to one of them, the University of Ingolstadt, more specifically. Rotmar's history of universities is highly confessional.²⁸ By tracing the development of academic institutions over time with a focus on their distinguishing characteristics, he asserts that institutions that did not hold papal privileges could not be categorised as universities. In other words, the new Protestant institutions established in the wake of the Reformation claimed university status without legitimacy. In this formulation, Ingolstadt, as a Catholic institution possessing papal privileges, resides within and retains the tradition and authority of the medieval university, in contrast to the empty pretensions of the heretical institutions. In Protestant works, a contrasting argument was presented where the history of universities was depicted as one of decline under papal influence. In such renditions, the purging of papal error under Protestant stewardship was restorative and returned universities to a state of purity.²⁹

The second part of the *Annales* provides a record of rectoral appointments and acts since the university's foundation in 1477 until 1579.³⁰ Arranged chronologically, with entries for each academic semester, this recalls aspects of the

27 Rotmar Valentin, *Annales Ingolstadiensis Academiae, in amplissima Boiorum Ducum Provincia iam inde a centum annis in hunc usque diem praeclare florentis* [...] (Ingolstadt, Weissenhorn: 1580), VD16 R 3332, and Engerd Johannes, *Almae Ingolstadiensis Academiae tomus primus, in septem divisus partes* [...] (Ingolstadt, David Sartorius: 1581), VD16 R 3331.

28 Ibidem, fols. 33r–37v.

29 Timotheus Kirchner, for example, presents a confessionalised narrative of decline and restoration in his oration on the foundation of the Lutheran University of Helmstedt. See Kirwan, *Empowerment and Representation* 56.

30 Georg Eder's *Catalogus Rectorum et Illustrum Virorum Archigymnasii Viennensis in quo praeter elegantissimam temporum seriem, summa quaedam continentur quasi capita earum rerum, quae celeberrimae huic Academiae sub cuiusque magistratu, memoria contigerunt dignae* [...] (Vienna, Raphael Hofhalter: 1559), VD16 E 528, was acknowledged as the model for this segment of the *Annales*.

institution's history ranging from the listing of the appointments of officers to more detailed descriptions of institutional improvements such as library acquisitions or statute revisions, and narratives of events and controversies (with regard to the relations between town and gown, for example).³¹ The *Tomus Primus* of 1581 supplements its 1580 counterpart by incorporating laudations of the great men associated with the university since its foundation, including chancellors, pro-chancellors, noble patrons, and churchmen. Biographies of the university's professors of theology are also incorporated. It is interesting to observe that even in these sophisticated works of memory the narrative framework of prosopography remains central to the elaboration of institutional history. It is also noteworthy that text from extant commemorative matter (from publications and monuments) is regularly incorporated in those biographies. It is clear that even in the grandest of historical monuments, the principle of inter-textual assemblage remained to the fore.

A sophisticated intertwining of prosopography and institutional history is also evident in Magnus Daniel Omeis's *Gloria Academiae Altdorfinae* (*Glory of the University of Altdorf*, 1683).³² Like many of the works discussed above, the *Gloria* is characterised by competing and sometimes contradictory purposes. Omeis's stated aim is to attend to the fame of the university and its professors. This goal may account for the inclusion of two pieces of ephemera: a funeral oration commemorating Altdorf professor, Johann Paul Felwinger, who died in 1681; and a comprehensive list of Felwinger's scholarly works. Felwinger's contribution to the university is also discussed in the oration on the faculty of philosophy. In this context, the appending of these two pieces of ephemera is curious, lending an imbalanced character to a work where a single scholar's reputation is disproportionately fêted. This is also at odds with the publication's dominant tendency towards scholarly rigour. It offers a carefully structured and consistent presentation of the institution's history, enriched by the scholarly apparatus of an index, cross-referencing, and very detailed endnotes. The inclusion of the Felwinger ephemera does not take from the comprehensiveness of this history, but it does disrupt its scholarly coherence.

The *Gloria* differs from the biographical publications discussed above in its approach to professorial *vitae*. In this publication, biographies are not treated

31 The discussion of town and gown was not well received by Ingolstadt's Bürgermeister and Rat. See Seifert A. (ed.), *Die Universität Ingolstadt im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert. Texte und Regesten* (Munich: 1973) 357–360.

32 Omeis Magnus Daniel, *Gloria Academiae Altdorfinae sive Orationum Fasciculus Universitatis Noricae Ortum, Progressum et cuncta Memorabilia, omniumque Professorum, [...] vitas, mortes ac scripta, fideliter exhibens [...]* (Altdorf, Heinrich Meyer: 1683), VD17 12:112249B.

under separate headings or entries but are merged in the form of orations that set out the history of each faculty. Discussion of individual appointments, acts, and achievements flow relatively seamlessly within these orations and the use of cross-references and endnotes protects narrative flow by shifting additional and more detailed discussion of scholarly lives elsewhere. In the text, Omeis states that prosopographical history is important not only in the promotion of the fame of the individual (and by extension the institution) but also in providing exemplary models of scholarly behaviour, illustrating standards of achievement to aspire to.³³ As such, the institutional history and memory is conflated to the lives of virtuous professors.

Historical narrative in the *Gloria* is not limited to that arrived at through a prosopographical method. The institution's history is also unveiled in a lengthy introduction, a reader's preface, and the first oration of the work titled "Oratio I de Memorabilibus Academiae Altdorfinae" (First oration concerning memorable aspects of the University of Altdorf). A second, third, fourth, and fifth oration on the faculties of theology, law, medicine, and philosophy follow respectively. The history of the faculties presented in the orations are driven by the overarching prosopographical framework. The faculty orations are followed by Felwinger's funeral oration, the list of his works, and a list of serving professors. The final sections of the *Gloria* comprise the detailed endnotes, index, and corrigenda.

Omeis's concern for comprehensiveness and scholarly erudition did not, of course, result in a greater impartiality or the downgrading of the imperative to transmit the glories of the institution. The treatment of the jurist, Hubert Giffen, illustrates this ordering of priorities. Giffen was professor in law at Altdorf from 1583 until his departure for Ingolstadt in 1590. That move was precipitated by a conflict with fellow Altdorf jurist Hugo Donellus.³⁴ Aggrieved by Donellus's preferential treatment by the Nuremberg administrators, Giffen began competing aggressively with his colleague for students. When the Nuremberg administrators decided to act in Donellus's favour by banning Giffen's private lectures, the latter decided to accept a call to Ingolstadt. It has been suggested that Giffen brought a body of students with him to Ingolstadt from Altdorf.³⁵ Giffen converted to Catholicism upon his move to Ingolstadt, possibly to better his chances of employment in Ducal service.

33 Ibidem 62–64.

34 Mährle W., *Academia Norica. Wissenschaft und Bildung an der Nürnberger Hohen Schule in Altdorf (1575–1623)* (Stuttgart: 2000) 167.

35 Edel A., "Giffen (Giphanius, Gifanius), Hubert (Obertus, Hubrecht) van", in Boehm et al. (eds.), *Biographisches Lexikon* 147–149, 147.

Suspensions remained about the sincerity of his conversion and Giffen became embroiled in disputes with the Jesuits, who were the dominant faction within the university. Giffen eventually left Ingolstadt to assume a post at the court of Rudolf II. These elements of controversy do not appear in Giffen's biography in the *Gloria*, however. There are no untruths, but a selective approach ensures that the imperative of preserving institutional dignity is maintained. Some controversies were too well known to avoid, however. The discovery and purging of Socinianism at Altdorf in 1616 was one such controversy.³⁶ Although discussion of this blemish is not omitted from the text, it is addressed only briefly to identify the perils of these beliefs and to assert the essential point that they had been excised from the university.³⁷

The *Gloria Academiae Altdorfinae* is a sophisticated monument to the university's history. Omeis engaged an extant body of sources (often quoted or transcribed in the detailed endnotes) to produce an historical narrative propelled by prosopography, although not exclusively restricted to it. Yet these efforts at literary and historical sophistication would seem to have been undermined by the inclusion of the Felwinger memorial texts that introduced a structural and representational imbalance. This tendency towards miscellany was not unusual in such publications, as Cellius's equally sophisticated *Imagines Professorum Tubingensium* demonstrates. What it does point to is an ordering of priorities where the primary objective was to promote the institution wherever opportunity presented. Such pragmatism encouraged the practices of assemblage and permitted the conventionalisation of miscellany in works of this type.

5 Conclusion

University histories were often produced under constraints. When published in the wake of jubilee festivals, for example, they could suffer from an inevitable waning of general commitment consequent to the expending of festive energies and budgets on the occasion itself or in its recording in festival books and other monuments. Additionally, unlike the planning and realisation of festivals by committee, university histories were often the work of an individual, which could limit the scope of the publication and the pace of production.

36 Brennecke H.C., "Orthodoxie und sozinianische Häresie in Altdorf", in Brennecke H.C. – Niefanger D. – Schnabel W.W. (eds.), *Akademie und Universität Altdorf. Studien zur Hochschulgeschichte Nürnbergs* (Cologne: 2011) 151–166.

37 Omeis, *Gloria* 16.

Such circumstances could give rise to a degree of pragmatism with respect to the composition and design of these memory projects. As the examples discussed above illustrate, this could manifest itself in several ways. The decisions to produce a biographical dictionary of professors over a more comprehensive history and to restrict the coverage to a smaller cohort of scholars reflected a degree of pragmatism. Some restrictions, such as Cellius's focus on professors active since the centenary, could be justified by a jubilee chronology, whereas others, such as Meier's exclusive interest in professors of medicine and law, could not. A second indicator of this expediency was the frequent use of, including quotation from, an extant corpus of commemorative works devoted to individual scholars as a main source for institutional history. A further sign of pragmatism was the inclusion of incidental, occasional material of limited relevance to the main business of the publication, and seemingly to the detriment of the structural coherence of a work.

Yet to interpret these characteristics solely as the hallmarks of pragmatism would be to lose sight of other equally important motivations. The inclusion of incidental matter reflected the primacy of the imperative to maximise on all opportunities for projecting the image of the institution in a favourable light. Large-scale commemorative publications were particularly suited to such miscellaneous inclusion since they promised a larger circulation and potential readership than stand-alone pamphlets. This characteristic was even more pronounced in publications occasioned by university festivals where the opportunities for appending incidental matter were greater. The tendency towards miscellany then should be viewed as a norm rather than an aberration or corruption of a potentially coherent whole.

Furthermore, these works were, in the main, acts of assembly in which the authors drew promiscuously from an extant stock of occasional literature. A prosopographical core was common to the works reviewed above. The principal corpus of source material was the celebrations of individual scholars published over decades and centuries. Of course, these were naturally the most accessible sources for the time-pressed historian. Equally, the compilation of accounts of the lives and deeds of the illustrious men associated with a university was an effective way of identifying institutional glory. Re-presented *en masse* in the form of a biographical dictionary or a centennial history, the prestige of these men transferred to the university. This is testament to the potency of the original celebrations of individuals. Although not originally envisaged as contributions to institutional history, their authors were conscious in their efforts to secure the reputation of the celebrated scholar for posterity. By heavily utilising such materials, the compilers of university history gave new life to these older works, repurposing them to memorialise the institution's history.

In this way, memory was shaped by an historical community of authors, whose contributions were pulled together in the service of a university's reputation; a reflection perhaps of the miscellaneous character of memory itself, at once scrappy and inconsistent but also malleable and governable.

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PART 3

Memory Cultures and Modes of Remembrance



Tracing the Sites of Learned Men: Places and Objects of Knowledge on the Dutch and Polish Grand Tour

Paul Hulsenboom and Alan Moss

On his Grand Tour in the 1640s, the Dutch poet Caspar van Kinschot (Kinschotius, 1622–1649) visited the Augustinian church in Agen. Here, the famed Italian scholar Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) was buried, and his skull could be venerated as a scholarly relic. Van Kinschot also observed the nearby home of Julius and his son Josephus Justus (1540–1609), who had been professor at Van Kinschot's alma mater in Leiden. Van Kinschot commemorated his experiences in Agen with three Neo-Latin poems.¹ Reflecting on the elder Scaliger's skull in his poem "In cranium Julii Caesaris Scaligeri", he marvelled that this artefact had once contained the impressive knowledge of an academic giant.

For Van Kinschot, the places he visited in Agen were places of knowledge, hallowed sites of scholarly reflection. This term, coined by Christian Jacob, is a nod to Pierre Nora's more famous concept *lieu de mémoire*: a place that holds a key significance for a group's – often national – remembrance.² Places of knowledge, such as the homes, tombs, and monuments of famed scholars, or objects of knowledge, for example a scholar's personal belongings, strengthened a visitor's scholarly persona and connected him to a community of like-minded individuals. As Van Kinschot's observations show, this process could be presented as an immediate and personal experience.

In this chapter, we aim to expand on the importance of places and objects of knowledge to the seventeenth-century Grand Tour, particularly in shaping learned identities. Applying a transnational approach, we make use of a

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- 1 Kinschot Caspar van, *Poemata in Libros IV. digesta, quorum primus Sacra et Pia; secundus Elegias et Eclogas; tertius Res gestas; quartus Miscellanea continet* (The Hague, Arnoldus Leers: 1685) 24, 99–100.
 - 2 Jacob C., "Lieux de mémoire, lieux de savoir", in Idem, *Qu'est-ce qu'un lieu de savoir?* (Marseille: 2014); Miert D. van, "Trommius's Travelogue: Learned Memories of Erasmus and Scaliger and Scholarly Identity in the Republic of Letters", *Early Modern Low Countries* 1.1 (2017) 57. For *lieux de mémoire*, see Nora P., "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representations* 26 (1989) 7–24.

wide variety of handwritten travelogues and printed poems by both Dutch and Polish travellers, thus offering a fresh perspective on two widespread phenomena: the Grand Tour and the European learned world, the Republic of Letters.³ While most of the scholarship on the Grand Tour today focuses on British travellers, we present Dutch and Polish Grand Tour experiences. Furthermore, instead of analysing scholarly networks through individual correspondences, we propose to cast a wider net on the learned world, as constructed and cherished by aspiring poets and scholars, as well as by university alumni who after their voyages would decide to refrain from pursuing an academic career. Their reflections on places and objects of scholarly memory offer a broader perspective on the learned community, defined not only by networks of correspondents, but by the shared appreciation and remembrance of scholars and places of knowledge. Importantly, our approach brings into focus Polish members of the European learned world, whom Western-European scholarship has often neglected.

Before delving into observations of hallowed scholarly sites and artefacts, we first offer a brief history of both Polish and Dutch Grand Tours, followed by an introduction to different forms of memory culture on such travels. Secondly, we pay attention to places and objects of knowledge as evidenced by Dutch and Polish travelogues. We focus first on the observations of Dutch and Polish travellers who visited Oxford and Leiden. By reflecting on these cities, itinerants confirmed the universities' reputation as hubs of knowledge and as the common ground of a larger academic community, with which the voyagers wished to identify. Next, we discuss travellers' ruminations on sites and artefacts related to three renowned scholars: Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), and Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536). These places and objects range from Erasmus's statue in Rotterdam to Lipsius's silver pen in Halle, all of which inspired travellers to comment on these men of letters, and sometimes even to establish a personal connection to their fellow scholars from the past. In the chapter's final section, we investigate how these and other locations and artefacts feature in the Latin poetry of two travellers: the Silesian-Polish polymath Joachim Pastorius (1611–1681) and the aforementioned Caspar van Kinschot. These poems illustrate that learned travellers actively and creatively engaged with their academic forebears.

3 For a plea for a comparative or transnational approach to the Grand Tour, see, for example: Leibetseder M., "Across Europe: Educational Travelling of German Noblemen in a Comparative Perspective", *Journal of Early Modern History* 14.5 (2010) 417–449; Sweet R. – Verhoeven G. – Goldsmith S., "Introduction", in *idem* (eds.), *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour* (London: 2018) 1–24.

1 The Grand Tour

In the early modern period, wealthy and influential families often sent their sons on a Grand Tour. After completing their formal studies, young men of means explored the continent for one or several years, often in the company of their peers and tutors. France and Italy in particular were highlights. The overarching goal of these travels was a quest for personal, professional, and moral growth. Ever since the late sixteenth century, pedagogical treatises on the art of travel, the *ars apodemica*, emphasised that educational voyaging could benefit both the individual and his fatherland.⁴ Travel allowed a young man to learn more about foreign cultures, laws, and politics, and to compare those to his own nation. He was taught how to fend for himself, imitate foreign virtues, and overcome vices. The Grand Tour was meant to be a formative experience that altered a wide-eyed youth into a battle-hardened adult who had all the necessary experience and life skills to start off a sterling career.⁵

The Grand Tour was also a matter of prestige and status. A traveller aimed to emulate the ideal of the *honnête homme*. By learning elite skills such as fencing, formal dancing, and horse-riding, as well as becoming fluent in foreign languages, he could acquire *sprezzatura*, an aristocrat's preternatural grace and nonchalance.⁶ At the same time, the conspicuous consumption of gentlemanly life in Paris, Rome, or Geneva allowed a traveller to foster contacts that could prove invaluable during a later career as a governor or diplomat.⁷ The books and art he purchased abroad were proof of his cultured, cosmopolitan walk of life.⁸

4 Frank-van Westrienen A., *De groote tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: 1983) 38. For an introduction to the *ars apodemica*, see Stagl J., *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800* (Chur: 1995) 47–94; Enenkel K. – Jong J.L. de, “Introduction”, in Idem (eds.), *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550–1700*, Intersections 64 (Leiden – Boston: 2019) 1–16.

5 Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour* 43–45. Women also went on Grand Tours, albeit in smaller numbers. See, for example, Dolan B., *Ladies on the Grand Tour. British Women in Pursuit of Enlightenment and Adventure in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: 2001).

6 Stannek A., *Telemachs Brüder. Die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt: 2001) 55–63; Verhoeven G., *Europe within Reach. Netherlandish Travellers on the Grand Tour and Beyond (1585–1750)* (Leiden – Boston: 2015) 62–66. For language-learning, see Gallagher J., “A Conversable Knowledge’: Language-Learning and Educational Travel”, in Idem, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 2019) 157–207.

7 Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 35–40.

8 Pinell A., *Souvenir. L'industria dell'antico e il grand tour a Rome* (Rome: 2010); Brundin A. – Roberts D., “Book-Buying and the Grand Tour: The Italian Books at Belton House in Lincolnshire”, *Library* 16 (2015) 51–78.

A second mode of travel, the *peregrinatio academica*, is closely connected to the Grand Tour. Young men made an academic pilgrimage along Europe's foremost academies, where they matriculated, obtained a degree, and befriended scholars.⁹ This mode of educational voyaging became less popular in the seventeenth century and student numbers of once well-visited French universities dwindled. The worldly curriculum of the Grand Tour became an attractive alternative. Instead of visiting academies, the Grand Tourist learned from architecture, art, and music.¹⁰ While historians have tried to present a clear typology, however, the lines between the *peregrinatio* and the Grand Tour are blurred. Tourists often obtained a licentiate, for example, and visited the graves and sites of learned men, while itinerant students sampled other delights the southern climes had to offer.¹¹

Various sources expand on the aspirations and goals of the Grand Tour. Archival documents, such as passports, cash books, and matriculation rolls, reveal much about the day-to-day reality of travellers.¹² Letters delve into both the personal and practical, while poetry explores a plethora of tropes and cultural differences.¹³ Finally, travelogues recount daily experiences. Accounts vary from unfurnished logs of mileage, places, and persons, to lengthy and personal tales spanning multiple volumes. A travelogue functioned as a report card, paper evidence of a young man's good behaviour. In addition to letters and cash books, accounts convinced parents, the financial backers of the

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- 9 Ridder-Symoens H. de, "Peregrinatio academica doorheen Europa (13e–18e eeuw) in vogelvlucht", *Batavia Academica* 1 (1983) 3–11; Berns J.J., "Peregrinatio academica und Kavalierstour: Bildungsreisen junger Deutscher in der Frühen Neuzeit", in Wiedemann C. (ed.), *Rom – Paris – London. Erfahrung und Selbsterfahrung deutscher Schriftsteller und Künstler in den fremden Metropolen. Ein Symposium* (Stuttgart: 1988) 155–181; Leibetseder, "Across Europe" 419–420.
- 10 Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 61–70.
- 11 Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour* 8–9; Bots H. – Frijhoff W., "Academiëreis of educatiëreis? Noordbrabantse studenten in het buitenland, 1550–1750", *Batavia Academica* 1 (1983) 13–30; Tygielski W., "Peregrinatio academica czy Grand Tour? Podróże "do szkół" w systemie edukacji staropolskiej", in O'Connor M. – Wilczek P. (eds.), *Collegium/College/Kolegium. Kolegium i wspólnota akademicka w tradycji europejskiej i amerykańskiej* (Boston – Warsaw: 2011) 47–63.
- 12 Rees J. – Siebers W. – Tilgner H., "Reisen im Erfahrungsraum Europa: Forschungsperspektiven zur Reisetätigkeit politisch-sozialer Eliten des Alten Reichs (1750–1800)", *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert* 26 (2002) 35–62.
- 13 For travel letters, see, for example, Boulton J.T. – McLoughlin T.O., *News from Abroad. Letters Written by British Travellers on the Grand Tour, 1728–71* (Liverpool: 2012). For travel poetry, see, for example: Schenkeveld-van der Dussen M.A., "Poeti Olandesi in Italia nel seicento", *Incontri* 5 (1990) 23–29; Porteman K., "De zwarte moerbeien en de witte pruim: Het Italiëbeeld van enkele zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse dichters", *Incontri* 12 (1997) 123–134. Also see the publications mentioned in n. 99.

undertaking, that their scions had not succumbed to the many foreign dangers apodemics warned against, such as duelling, boozing, gambling, and visiting prostitutes.¹⁴ Travelogues also functioned as a personal keepsake to later reminisce about past adventures and as a lush, thrilling account to a wider audience of friends and family members, who were not in the position to embark on such a voyage themselves. Due to these multiple layers and audiences, a traveller used his account as a tool for self-fashioning, showcasing his educational advances, cosmopolitan ideals, religious steadfastness, bold attitude to physical and moral danger, or, in the case of this chapter, his academic interests.¹⁵

The Grand Tour was a European phenomenon. While the English version is best-known in both historiography and popular discourse, the nobility and patriciate of, for example, France, the Dutch Republic, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the German, Czech, and Hungarian lands, Scandinavia and Russia enjoyed similar voyages. While the goals of this mode of travel were largely similar, its heyday, duration, itinerary, and costs, as well as the socio-economic make-up of its travellers, differed per country.¹⁶ Polish educational travels, mostly to Italian and German universities, became increasingly

14 For these dangers and stereotypes, see: Warneke S., *Images of the Educational Traveller in Early Modern England* (Leiden – Boston: 1995); Cohen M., “The Grand Tour: Language, National Identity and Masculinity”, *Changing English* 8 (2001) 129–141.

15 For the self-fashioning of an Anti-Catholic identity, see: Haynes C., “A Trial for the Patience of Reason? Grand Tourists and Anti-Catholicism after 1745”, *Journal for Eighteenth Century Studies* 33 (2010) 193–208; Maurer M., “Reisende Protestanten auf der Grand Tour in Italien”, in Israel U. – Matheus M. (eds.), *Protestanten zwischen Venedig und Rom in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin: 2013) 251–268. For the self-fashioning of masculinity, see Goldsmith S., “Dogs, Servants, and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour”, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 40 (2017) 3–21.

16 For the French case, see Boutier J., “Le Grand Tour des gentilshommes et les académies d'éducation pour la noblesse: France et Italie, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle”, in Babel R. – Paravicini W. (eds.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern: 2005) 237–253; Gelléri G., *Lessons of Travel in Eighteenth-Century France. From Grand Tour to School Trips* (Suffolk: 2020). For the German lands, see Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder*; Leibetseder M., *Die Kavalierstour. Adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Cologne: 2004). For the Czech lands, see Chodějovská E. – Hojda Z., “Abroad, or Still ‘at Home’? Young Noblemen from the Czech Lands and the Empire in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”, in Sweet R. – Verhoeven G. – Goldsmith S. (eds.), *Beyond the Grand Tour. Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour* (London: 2017) 83–107. For the Russian case, see Berelowitch W., “La France dans le ‘Grand Tour’ des nobles russes au cours de la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle”, *Cahier du monde russe et soviétique* 34 (1993) 193–209. For Scandinavia, see Helk V., *Dansk-norske studierejser 1661–1813* (Odense: 1991).

popular during the sixteenth century,¹⁷ an age which has been coined ‘the century of travel’.¹⁸ The itinerants were mostly – though not exclusively – young Polish noblemen, sent out by their parents in order to complete their education.¹⁹ Moving into the next century, journeys such as these remained a typical element of a nobleman’s educational process, but the itineraries, goals, and practices of travel were subject to change. Both Catholic and Protestant Polish voyagers began to expand on their academic endeavours, for example by visiting European courts, engaging in physical exercise, and acquainting themselves with different peoples, cultures, and languages.²⁰ They were typically accompanied by personal tutors, and more often than not kept elaborate travel diaries or accounts, written in Polish or Latin.²¹ Alongside Italy and the German lands, popular travel destinations now included the Low Countries and France, and to a lesser degree Spain and England. Journeys such as these could last several years and were generally meant to prepare the itinerants for a political and military career.²² Owing to a number of factors, including the long string of wars which beset the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from the mid-1600s onwards, the popularity of long-distance educational travels slowly declined.²³

17 Bömelburg H.-J., “Adelige Mobilität und Grand Tour im polnischen und litauischen Adel (1500–1700)”, in Babel R. – Paravicini W. (eds.), *Grand Tour. Adeliges Reisen und Europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Ostfildern: 2005) 311–312. Also see the bibliography in footnotes 4 and 6 in *ibidem* 310.

18 Kaczmarek M., “Specyfika peregrynacji wśród staropolskich form pamiętnikarskich XVI w.”, in *Munera Litteraria. Księga ku czci Profesora Romana Pollaka* (Poznań: 1962) 97.

19 Bömelburg “Adelige Mobilität” 312.

20 A general overview of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Polish travel practices is provided by: Żołądź D., “Podróże edukacyjne Polaków w XVI i XVII wieku”, in Hellwig J. – Jamrózek W. – Żołądź D., *Z prac poznańskich historyków wychowania* (Poznań: 1994) 29–63. Also see the canonical works by Henryk Barycz and Antoni Mączak: Barycz H., *Z dziejów polskich wędrówek naukowych za granicę* (Wrocław – Warsaw – Cracow: 1969); Mączak, A., *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, trans. U. Phillips (Cambridge: 1995).

21 For the characteristics of these travel journals, see Dziechcińska H., *O staropolskich dziennikach podróży* (Warsaw: 1991).

22 For example, those of Jakub Sobieski (1607–1613) and Jan Stanisław and Aleksander Jan Jabłonowscy (1682–1688) lasted six years. See Sobieski Jakub, *Peregrynacja po Europie i Droga do Baden*, ed. J. Długosz (Wrocław: 1991); Kossowicz Jan Michał, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1682–1688)*, ed. A. Markiewicz (Warsaw: 2017).

23 For Polish educational travels in the late Baroque period, see Markiewicz A., *Podróże edukacyjne w czasach Jana III Sobieskiego. Peregrinationes Jablonovianae* (Warsaw: 2011); Kucharski A., *Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku* (Toruń: 2013).

Still, young Poles kept embarking on Grand Tours until well into the eighteenth, and even into the nineteenth centuries.²⁴

The prime of the Dutch Grand Tour can be pinpointed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.²⁵ Dutch Grand Tourists were seldom of noble birth, but the sons of affluent trade magnates, governors, and burgomasters.²⁶ Their travels prepared them for a future career in trade or politics. Most travellers hailed from the province of Holland and most of them were Protestants.²⁷ While Italy captured their imagination, France was twice as popular a destination, although its popularity declined in the last quarter of the seventeenth century due to continuing wars between France and the Dutch Republic.²⁸ A journey rarely spanned more than two years and travellers usually set out in the company of peers. Older siblings or family members often took up the mantle of tutor. Therefore, the overall costs of the undertaking were relatively low compared to those of other European nations.²⁹ The travelogues and letters that recounted these experiences were mostly written in Dutch, French, or Latin.

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- 24 See Ročko A., *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku* (Warsaw: 2014). Polish eighteenth-century travels are the subject of numerous publications by Marian Chachaj, Bogdan Rok, and Filip Wolański. See, for example, Wolański F., "Zagraniczne podróże edukacyjne przedstawicieli elit społecznych Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i ich specyfika w XVIII wieku", in Puchowski K. – Orzeł J. (eds.), *Spoleczne i kulturowe uwarunkowania edukacji Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku. Materiały z badań, część druga* (Warsaw: 2018) 207–216. An important contribution to the study of Polish female travellers during the Enlightenment is Kowalczyk M.E., *Zagraniczne podróże Polek w epoce oświecenia* (Łomianki: 2019). Travellers from Gdańsk/Danzig are a separate topic. For an introduction, see Chodyński A.R., "Citizens of Gdańsk in the Southern Netherlands in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Some Travel Impressions Concerning Art, Collecting, and Science", in Tylicki J. – Żukowski J. (eds.), *Art of the Southern Netherlands, Gdańsk, and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Gdańsk: 2017) 191–198.
- 25 Dekker R., "Van Grand Tour tot treur- en sukkelreis: Nederlandse reisverslagen van de 16e tot begin 19e eeuw", *Opossum* 4 (1994) 15–22. For the most important contributions on the Dutch Grand Tour, see Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour*; Leeuw R. de (ed.), *Herinneringen aan Italië. Kunst en toerisme in de 18^{de} eeuw* (Zwolle: 2007); Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach*.
- 26 Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour* 59; Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 47–51.
- 27 Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 31–35.
- 28 Ibidem 61–70; Idem, "Calvinist Pilgrimages and Popish Encounters: Religious Identity and Sacred Space on the Dutch Grand Tour (1598–1685)", *Journal of Social History* 30 (2010) 615–634.
- 29 Verhoeven G., "Een adellijke lezer op Grand Tour: microgeschiedenis aan de hand van het reisverslag van Corneille van den Branden, heer van Reet (ca. 1713–1715)", *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis* 13 (2006) 69–84; Idem, *Europe within Reach* 211–220.

2 Memory Culture on the Grand Tour

Young travellers were taught to have a keen eye for sites and objects that paid tribute to great men in history. In his influential letter-essay, *Epistola de fructu peregrinandi et praesertim in Italia* (*Letter on the reward of travelling, especially in Italy*, 1578), Justus Lipsius argued that observing and transcribing monuments from the venerable past could galvanise a traveller's longing for true fame and virtue.³⁰ To a certain degree, this was a cosmopolitan endeavour. Visitors from different nations and denominations paused at the graves of the same famed monarchs, generals, and cardinals to learn about their significance. During the seventeenth century, when travel literature slowly fixed and codified the Grand Tour's itinerary, Europe's higher social strata could rely on a shared, or at least highly similar, repertoire of foreign travel experiences.³¹ Examples of that communal memorial interest are visits to the burial places and homes of famous poets, such as Dante (1265–1321) in Ravenna or Virgil near Naples. Travellers were also enthralled by *lieux de mémoire* that celebrated the work and life of Petrarch (1304–1374), which ranged from his homes in Arezzo and Fontaine-de-Vaucluse to his grave in Arquà and the final resting place of his muse Laura in Avignon.³²

At the same time, travellers paid attention to memorial sites that strengthened a national or religious identity. Roughly one third of Dutch Grand Tour travelogues mention a visit to Dutch sites pertaining to national history, such as Nieuwpoort, the tomb of William of Orange (1533–1584) in Delft, or plaques remembering the 1574 Relief of Leiden.³³ Foreign sites, such as the exact spot of the 1667 naval victory at Chatham, similarly elicited comments.³⁴ This is, of course, a far cry from the nineteenth century, when nationalist discourse urged the placement of legion monuments, but it nonetheless expressed a

30 Lipsius Justus, "De Romereis", in Idem, *Brieven aan studenten*, ed. and trans. J. Papy (Louvain: 2006) 13. For the *Epistola*, see Papy J., "Justus Lipsius on Travelling to Italy: From a Humanist Letter-Essay to an Oration and a Political Guidebook", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Jong J.L. de (eds.), *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern Travel Culture, 1550–1700*, *Intersections* 64 (Leiden – Boston: 2019) 92–113.

31 Stagl, *A History of Curiosity* 84.

32 For the fascination for Petrarch, see Hendrix H., "De kat van Petrarca en de oorsprong van het literair tourisme", *Incontri* 20 (2005) 85–98; Hendrix H. (ed.), *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory* (New York – Abingdon: 2008); Dović M. – Helgason J.K., *National Poets, Cultural Saints. Canonization and Commemorative Cults of Writers in Europe*, *National Cultivation of Culture* 12 (Leiden: 2016) 46–48.

33 Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 176–187.

34 Raamsdonk E. van – Moss A., "Across the Narrow Sea: A Transnational Approach to Anglo-Dutch Travelogues", *The Seventeenth Century* 35.1 (2020) 7.

keen interest in the commemoration and celebration of national, regional, or local figures and feats.³⁵ Furthermore, walking along the ramparts of Huguenot settlements in the Loire valley, which had been a hotspot of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious conflict, Calvinist travellers reflected on their shared religious struggle against Catholic rulers. While the Huguenots had been unsuccessful, their Dutch counterparts had been able to escape Catholic rule.³⁶

Scholarly identities and sites are a relatively new addition to the study of memory cultures on the Grand Tour.³⁷ Several types of locations could buttress such an identity, ranging from universities, libraries, and cabinets of curiosities, to the homes and studies of individual scholars. On his journey to Italy and France in 1674–1677, Coenraad Ruysch (1650–1731), for example, perused folios in the libraries of Neurenberg and Basel, strolled through the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, examined the Wunderkammer and laboratory of Milanese art collector Manfredo Settala (1600–1680), and befriended the Florentine bibliophile and court librarian Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714).³⁸ Dirk van Miert has recently studied the printed travelogue of the Dutch Calvinist minister Abraham Trommius (1633–1719), who ventured into France, Switzerland, and England in the late 1650s. His visits to, among others, the paternal home of the Scaligers in Agen and the grave of polymath Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) in Aix-en-Provence are interpreted as *lieux de savoir*.³⁹ Van Miert argues that this commemoration had the potential to override national and religious differences, in favour of an ideal, supranational Republic of Letters.⁴⁰

3 Oxford and Leiden: Universities as Places of Knowledge

Foreign universities were focal points on the Grand Tour. Travellers met with prestigious scholars and filled in the blank pages of their *alba amicorum* with

35 Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 176–187.

36 Idem, “Calvinist Pilgrimages” 615–634.

37 For scholarly identity on the Dutch Grand Tour, see Scholten K. – Pelgrom A., “Scholarly Identity and Memory on a Grand Tour: The Travels of Joannes Kool and His Travel Journal (1698–1699) to Italy”, *Lias* 46.1 (2019) 93–136.

38 Ms. The Hague, Nationaal Archief (from now on: NA), FA Teding van Berkhout 1408, fols. 14 r, 16 v, 20 v–21 v, 30 r. For Settala, see Findlen P., *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: 1994) 33–34. For the importance and scholarly network of Magliabechi, see Scholten – Pelgrom, “Scholarly Identity and Memory” 102–105.

39 Van Miert, “Trommius’s Travelogue” 57.

40 Ibidem 67–68.

signatures, quotes, and well-wishes.⁴¹ Libraries, botanical gardens, and anatomical theatres – defined as ‘sites of knowledge’ by historian Paula Findlen – captured the imagination.⁴² Dutch travellers usually visited academies in the French Loire area. Northern travellers found a welcome environment there due to its large Huguenot communities, availability of horse-riding and fencing schools, and abundance of private tutors. International student organisations, the *nationes*, housed compatriotic communities and provided social privileges and outings.⁴³ The *Nationes Germanicae* of both Bourges and Orléans were frequented by Dutch and German travellers. They organised language classes, trips to nearby chateaux and visits to the local theatre.⁴⁴ While Dutch visitors were not primarily focused on scholarly life, some did obtain a licentiate or doctorate, albeit generally in addition to a diploma from their alma mater in Leiden, Utrecht, Groningen, or Franeker.⁴⁵

During the English leg of their Grand Tour, Dutch travellers often frequented the universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Save for a sporadic visit to Bath, Bristol, or Stonehenge, these university cities were the northernmost places Dutch travellers generally visited. In instructions to his son Lodewijk (1631–1699), the poet and statesman Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687) explicitly recommended a week-long outing to see all that Oxford had to offer.⁴⁶ In April 1652, Lodewijk spent three days in Oxford, wandering along the colleges and observing a Bachelor ceremony in the philosophy auditorium.⁴⁷ Oxford’s libraries, Physic Garden, printing press, and Ashmolean Museum garnered much attention. Its academic hierarchy, colleges, and dress code also amazed the Dutch, especially if these differed from standards back in the Republic.⁴⁸ Dutchmen perused the Bodleian’s numismatic collections and noted its wide range of curiosities. During their visit in the 1640s, the future Grand Pensionary

41 Heesakkers C.L. – Thomassen K., “Het album amicorum in de Nederlanden”, in Thomassen K. (ed.), *Alba amicorum: vijf eeuwen vriendschap op papier gezet. Het album amicorum en het poëziealbum in de Nederlanden* (The Hague: 1990) 9–36.

42 Findlen, *Possessing Nature* 97–154.

43 Premuda L., “Die Natio Germanica an der Universität Padua: Zur Forschungslage”, *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften* 47 (1963) 97–105; Frank-van Westrienen, *De groote tour* 143–145.

44 Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 67–68.

45 Bots – Frijhoff, “Academiereis of educatiereis?” 22–24; Verhoeven, *Europe within Reach* 69.

46 Huygens Constantijn, “Instruction d’un père a son fils”, in Idem, *Oeuvres complètes. Tome XXII: Supplément à la correspondance. Varia. Biographie. Catalogue de vente*, ed. J.A. Volgraff (The Hague: 1950) 446–448.

47 Huygens Lodewijk, *The English Journal, 1651–1652*, eds. A.G.H. Bachrach – R.G. Collmer (Leiden: 1982) 111–113.

48 Van Raamsdonk – Moss, “Across the Narrow Sea” 11–12.

Johan de Witt (1625–1672) and his brother Cornelis (1623–1672) saw several relics, including the bloody coat of Joseph and a fragment of the pillar of salt into which Lot's wife was transformed when she looked at Sodom.⁴⁹ In 1707, textile magnate Allard de la Court (1688–1755) was intrigued by a lantern supposedly used during the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.⁵⁰ Oxford's libraries in particular were held in high esteem. Travellers commented that the Bodleian collection could easily rival the Vatican's.⁵¹ Thanks to its large number of books and rare manuscripts, the library was 'een van de beste van Europa' ('one of the best in Europe'), according to an anonymous traveller.⁵² The individual college libraries were nothing to scoff at either, according to Lodewijk Huygens. He marvelled at St. John's library and recounted an anecdote about a manuscript in Queen's College supposedly written by the devil himself.⁵³

However, itinerants also compared the English university to their Dutch alma mater and sometimes found the former lacking. De la Court thought the anatomical theatre meagre, while the patrician Cornelis van der Dussen (1684–1754) and minister Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698) were left unimpressed by Oxford's Physic Garden.⁵⁴ When he visited the university city in 1683, Bekker, alumnus of Groningen and Franeker, mocked the poorly-maintained garden beds and called Oxford's hortus 'the field of a sluggard', alluding to the book of Proverbs.⁵⁵ In his travelogue Bekker wrote:

[...] en 't gene daar geplant was, de menigte der Erten, Boonen, Kool en diergelyke moeskruiden gaven bewys genoeg, dat de Professor reden had ons te seggen, dat the Physicall Yarden boven al besiens waerdig was, zynde de meeste dingen uit het Oosten daar gebraght: misschien om dat ons land oostwaarts van 't syne ligt, of dat de seldsaamste Indische en Sinische kruiden onder d'Engelsche koolbladen en boonstruiken bedekt stonden.⁵⁶

49 Ms. The Hague, NA, FA De Witt Beijerman 1, fol. 15.

50 Court Allard de la, "Reisbeschrijving Allard de la Court", in Court Pieter de la – Court Allard de la, *De reizen der De la Courts 1641, 1700, 1710*, ed. F. Driessen (Leiden: 1928) 96.

51 Van Raamsdonk – Moss "Across the Narrow Sea" 11.

52 Ms. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (from now on: KB), 70 J 3^{II}, fol. 59r.

53 Huygens, *The English Journal* 112.

54 De la Court "Reisbeschrijving" 96; Ms. The Hague, Hoge Raad van Adel, FA Van Slingelandt 784; Bekker Balthasar, *Beschrijving van de reis door de Verenigde Nederlanden, Engeland en Frankrijk in het jaar 1683*, ed. Jacob van Sluis (Leeuwarden: 1998) 51–52. Van der Dussen visited Oxford in 1706.

55 Bekker, *Beschrijving van de reis* 51–52. Cf. Proverbs 24:30, 'den akker des luijaards'.

56 Ibidem.

The things that are planted there, the multitude of peas, beans, cabbage, and similar herbs were reason enough for the professor [of astronomy Edward Bernard, an accomplished Arabist who had visited Leiden University] to claim that the Physicall Yarden was worth seeing, since most of these things were taken from the East. Perhaps because our country is east to his one or because the rarest Indian and Chinese herbs were covered by English cabbage leaves and bush beans.

Not all parts of Oxford could pass muster, therefore. Instead of some sense of national pride, however, these passages most likely indicate a form of inter-university competition and connection to a traveller's alma mater. After all, Leiden alumni criticised Dutch universities in a similar vein.

The University of Leiden itself, meanwhile, was of course internationally renowned. Founded by William of Orange in 1575, Leiden had by the seventeenth century already grown into a famed centre of knowledge. Adding substantially to the university's popularity throughout Europe were the many well-known professors it employed or had employed, such as Justus Lipsius, Josephus Justus Scaliger, Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655), and Claudius Salmasius (1588–1653). The university attracted large numbers of students from around the continent, including from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The highest estimated number of Polish students for the period between 1575 and 1700 is 568, but since the entries in Leiden's *album studiosorum* tell only half the story and scholars have used various definitions of the word 'Polish', this figure may still be on the low side.⁵⁷ It is certain, however, that most Polish students entered the university during the second quarter of the seventeenth century (estimated numbers reach up to 335).⁵⁸ They came from all corners of the country with many hailing from the west of Poland, for example from Leszno/

57 Colenbrander H.T., "De herkomst der Leidsche studenten", in Idem (ed.) *Pallas Leidensis MCMXXV* (Leiden: 1925) 294. A slightly smaller number (529) can be found in Kiedroń S., "Poolse studenten in Leiden in de 16^{de} en de 17^{de} eeuw", *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 1356: Studia Neerlandica et Germanica (1992) 189–204. A far lower number (just over 330) can for the same period be deduced from Zoeteman-van Pelt M., *De studentenpopulatie van de Leidse universiteit, 1575–1812. 'Een volk op zyn Siams gekleet eenige mylen van Den Haag woonende'* (Leiden: 2011) 266. It appears, however, that the author applied a remarkably limited definition of 'Polish' students. Borowski A., *Iter Polono-Belgico-Ollandicum. Cultural and literary relationships between the Commonwealth of Poland and the Netherlands in the 16th and 17th centuries* (Cracow: 2007) 160, mentions a total of 557 Polish students during the seventeenth century alone. Also see Grabowski T., "Polacy na uniwersytecie lejdejskim", *Sprawozdania z czynności i posiedzeń Akademii Umiejętności w Krakowie* 15,3 (1910) 2–4.

58 Kiedroń, "Poolse studenten" 191.

Lissa.⁵⁹ An unspecified majority was Protestant (Arian or Calvinist), and at least a third was of noble birth – but this percentage was probably higher.⁶⁰ Moreover, even when they did not come to Leiden to study, numerous Poles would visit the city on their tour of the Dutch Republic, longing to witness the many wondrous sights which *Lugdunum Batavorum* had to offer. Whether they had scholarly ambitions or not, they were drawn to Leiden, which through various travel guides and city descriptions became known as ‘het Batavische Athenen’, ‘the Batavian Athens’, and ‘Moeder der Wijsheyt en Geleertheyt’, ‘Mother of Wisdom and Scholarship’.⁶¹ Most Poles who discussed their stay in the city were not enrolled at its university, in fact, but simply visited it on their journey through the United Provinces.

One of the first Poles to describe Leiden was the Catholic magnate and nobleman Jakub Sobieski (1591–1646), who traversed the Dutch Republic in 1609 and wrote down his memories from that time in 1642, possibly in preparation for his sons’ journey across Europe. His account emphasises the importance of the university and draws special attention to its abundant library, as well as to two famous professors, Josephus Justus Scaliger and Daniel Heinsius:

Miasto dosyć piękne i uczesne i sławne Akademią, pełną ludzi godnych ze wszelakich profesyj. Biblioteka tamże jest napełniona księgami *variorum facultatum et linguarum*, księgami hebrajskimi, chaldejskimi, syriackimi, perskimi, arabskimi i naszymi słowiańskimi. Siła jej przyczynił Josephus Scaliger, człowiek w językach i we wszelakich naukach nader biegły, syn uczonego też ojca bardzo, *Julii Scaligeri*. Ten Josephus Scaliger umarł był niedawnymi czasy. Jeszczem był po nim zastał świeży żal w Akademiej, i po wszystkim mieście, bo tam był profesorem przez niemały czas. Zastałem jednak ludzi godnych w tej Akademiej, a mianowicie *Danielem Heinsium*, człowieka *in humanioribus versatissimum*, którego miałem u stołu swego, i było z kim się zabawić i dyszkuruować, ile z człowiekiem wielce mądrym i roztroptnym.⁶²

It is a fairly beautiful and pleasant city, and it is famous for its Academy, which is full of people who are skilled in all kinds of professions. The

59 Ibidem.

60 Zoeteman-van Pelt, *De studentenpopulatie* 269 and 150–151, respectively.

61 For the early modern reputation of Leiden, see Stapel L., “‘Tuyn van Holland, Moeder der Wijsheyt en bequam tot de drapery’: Reputatie en zelfbeeld van Leiden in beeld en tekst (circa 1590–1660)”, *De zeventiende eeuw* 22.1 (2006) 149–169.

62 Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie* 71.

library is filled with books *variorum facultatum et linguarum* [from various disciplines and in different languages], Hebrew books, Chaldaic, Syriac, Persian, Arab, and our Slavic ones. Josephus Scaliger, a man proficient in languages and an expert in a variety of scholarly disciplines, and son of his highly learned father, *Julius Scaliger*, greatly contributed to this [library]. This Josephus Scaliger had recently died. I still encountered an atmosphere of fresh grief, both in the Academy and in the entire town, for he had been a professor there for quite some time. However, in the Academy I met with dignified people, specifically *Daniel Heinsius*, a man *in humanioribus versatissimus* [most versed in the humanities], whom I had at my table, and I could entertain myself and converse with him, as much as one can with someone who is very wise and prudent.

Even without having studied there, Sobieski defined Leiden by its university, particularly as the quoted fragment is his full account of Leiden. Indeed, he clearly presented the city as a *lieu de savoir*: to Sobieski, the essence of Leiden was formed by knowledge, enshrined in both books and men. Moreover, he placed himself firmly within the same culture of knowledge, by pointing out that the university library held books written in ‘our Slavic’, as well as by associating himself with both Scaliger (whose recent passing made an impression on Sobieski) and Heinsius (with whom he had an amiable conversation).

Two other attractions which often received considerable attention were Leiden’s botanical garden and anatomical theatre.⁶³ These provided large and public museums or cabinets of curiosities, as it were, offering a combination of both natural (*naturalia*) and cultural (*artificialia*) rarities, ranging from exotic herbs and minerals, to human and animal skeletons and weapons. They were part of the early modern pan-European culture of curiosity, categorising, and display, which tapped into and stimulated the desire to better comprehend God’s Creation.⁶⁴ Numerous visitors made certain they described at least some of the wondrous sights which they beheld.⁶⁵

63 For the two institutions, see Jorink E., *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575–1715*, trans. Peter Mason, Brill’s Studies in Intellectual History 191 (Leiden – Boston: 2010) 278–289. For the botanical garden specifically, see Jong E. de, *Nature and Art. Dutch Garden and Landscape Architecture, 1650–1740*, trans. Ann Langenakens (Philadelphia: 2001) 129–142, 150–155.

64 See, for example, Whitaker K., “The culture of curiosity”, in Jardine N. – Secord J.A. – Spary E.C. (eds.), *Cultures of Natural History* (Cambridge: 1996) 75–90; Evans R.J.W. – Marr A. (eds.), *Curiosity and Wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot – Burlington: 2006). The Polish case is discussed in Kucharski, *Theatrum pergrinandi* 371–401.

65 See, for example, the account of the Catholic priest and preceptor Kazimierz Jan Wojsznarowicz, from June 1667: Ms. Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa (from now on: BN), Rps Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskich (from now on: BOZ) 847, fols. 34v–35r.

Elaborate registers of the items on view could be purchased locally, promoting Leiden's reputation. For example, the Arian Pole Hieronim Gratus Moskorzowski (ca. 1620–ca. 1660?), who studied at the university of Leiden in 1648 and 1649, refers to the *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum* (*Itinerary of Frisia and Holland*) by Gotfridus Hegenitius (ca. 1596–after 1646), printed in Leiden in 1630, while discussing the university facilities.⁶⁶ The book may include the earliest printed catalogue of the theatre's curiosities known today. Several decades later, in 1692, the nobleman Jerzy Stanisław Dzieduszycki (1670–1730) observed that the curious contents of the anatomical theatre were described in a book that he was given.⁶⁷ Similar catalogues hung in the entrances to the garden and theatre. The preceptor Jan Michał Kossowicz (d. after 1702) in 1684 twice mentioned such a list, and his enumeration of rarities contains a number of (nearly) verbatim quotes from printed catalogues.⁶⁸ Also, the Jesuit architect Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski (1617–1687), who visited the hortus in October 1653 and March 1654, added a recently printed inventory of the objects in the garden's gallery to his travel account [Fig. 8.1]. Dated 1653, it is an apparently unique document, and the earliest known published catalogue of the garden's rarities. Whether or not Wąsowski was proficient in Dutch is unclear, but that he chose to include this list in his journal is indicative of the impression the botanical garden had made on him. Indeed, the document may be interpreted as a souvenir of one of Leiden's most iconic sights.⁶⁹

Although Leiden offered an exciting world of exotic rarities to passers-by, studying there was not necessarily a success story. In 1624, the Arian nobleman and adventurer Krzysztof Arciszewski (1592–1656) commented on the frivolous lifestyle of the students, whose proficiency in Latin he found lacking.⁷⁰

66 Ms. Cracow, Biblioteka im. ks. Czartoryskich (from now on: Czart.), rkp 1372, 139–141. Hegenitius's description of Leiden's university and its facilities can be found in Hegenitius Gotfridus, *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum* [...] (Leiden, Elzevier: 1630) 97–113.

67 Ms. Warsaw, BN, Rps III 12649, fol. 65 v. That same year, a new Latin catalogue was published: *Catalogus antiquarum et novarum rerum* [...] *Lugduni in Batavis*. In *Anatomia Publica* (Leiden, Jacob Voorn: 1692). For more information about the theatre's printed catalogues, see Witkam H.J., *Catalogues of all the chiefest rarities in the publick anatomie hall of the university of Leyden* (Leiden: 1980).

68 Kossowicz, *Diariusz podróży po Europie* 228. The most recently printed Latin catalogue at the time was: *Catalogus antiquarum et novarum rerum* [...] *Lugduni in Batavis in Anatomia Publica* (Leiden, Daniël van der Boxe: 1681)

69 For a partial transcript of the passages in Wąsowski's journal about the Dutch Republic, see Zboińska-Daszyńska B., "Bartholomee Wasowski S.J. Foederatorum Ordinum Batavorum Descriptio", *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 74 (1960) 3–43.

70 Kraushar A., *Dzieje Krzysztofa z Arciszewa Arciszewskiego, admirała i wodza Holendrów w Brazylji, starszego nad armatą koronną za Władysława IV i Jana Kazimierza 1592–1656. Tom I* (Oświęcim: 2017) 97.

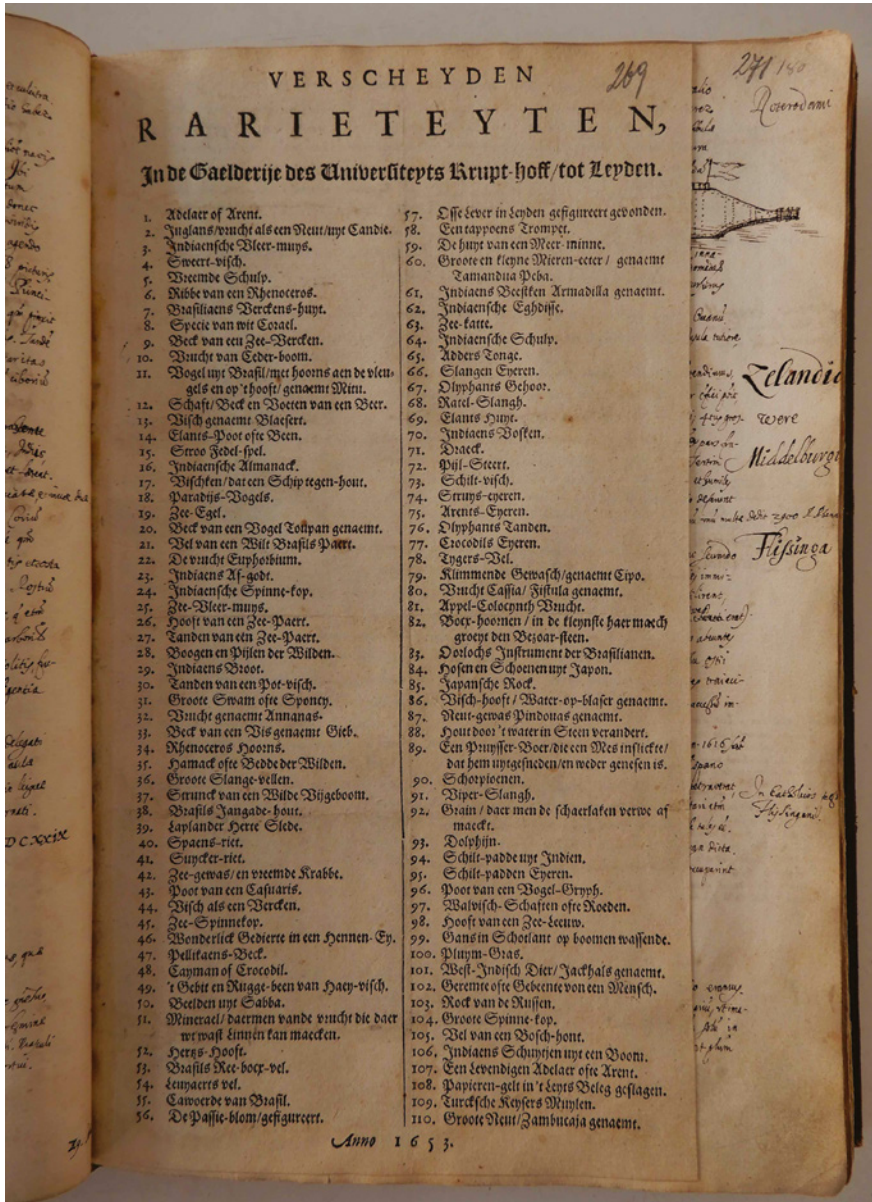


FIGURE 8.1 *Catalogue of curiosities in the Leiden hortus botanicus from 1653.* Ms. Cracow, Czart., rkp 3031 IV, 249 [travelogue of Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski]

Moskorzowski elaborately described a dispute he had with a Swedish student who had offended him,⁷¹ and the Lithuanian prince Janusz Radziwiłł (1612–1655) became embroiled in a scandal when the university board sentenced one of his servants to death by beheading, for killing a Leiden citizen.⁷² To most travellers from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Leiden was first and foremost a place of knowledge and treasure trove of curiosities, but to the many hundreds who actually studied at its university, the city provided a far more complex experience.

4 Lipsius, Grotius, and Erasmus: Places and Objects of Knowledge of Famous Scholars

Dutch and Polish Grand Tourists surrounded themselves with the prestige of university cities such as Oxford and Leiden, but they also made certain they could make a detour to observe significant sites or objects related to learned men. Transcribing epitaphs, either from Roman ruins or contemporary monuments, was a particularly common practice on the Grand Tour. In the Basel Minster alone, the Harderwijk burgomaster and collector Ernst Brinck (ca. 1582–1649), for example, copied the inscriptions of six tombs of scholars, including those of Erasmus, the Swiss reformer Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531), and the dialectician Heinrich Pantaleon (1522–1595).⁷³ On his journey in the late 1640s, Joan Huydecoper (1625–1704) even doodled likenesses of the pedestals he saw (Fig. 8.2).⁷⁴ The memorial sites of Justus Lipsius, Hugo Grotius, and Desiderius Erasmus offer interesting examples of the role and shape places and objects of knowledge could take on the Grand Tour.

A popular site was the grave of Justus Lipsius in Louvain. Lipsius's scholarly achievements and Neo-Stoic ideas prompted an international movement called 'Lipsianism', which was greatly influential throughout Europe, including

71 Ms. Cracow, Czart., rkp 1372, 216–225.

72 Otterspeer W., *Het bobwerk van de vrijheid. De Leidse universiteit 1575–1672* (Amsterdam: 2000) 291–293.

73 Ms. Harderwijk, Streeksarchivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe, coll. hss. Ernst Brinck, 2048, fols. 68 r–69 v. For Brinck as a collector, see Swan C., "Memory's Garden and Other Wondrous Excerpts: Ernst Brinck (1582–1649), Collector", *Kritische Berichte* 40 (2012) 5–19.

74 Ms. Utrecht, Utrechts Archief, FA Huydecoper 66, 22–26, 130.

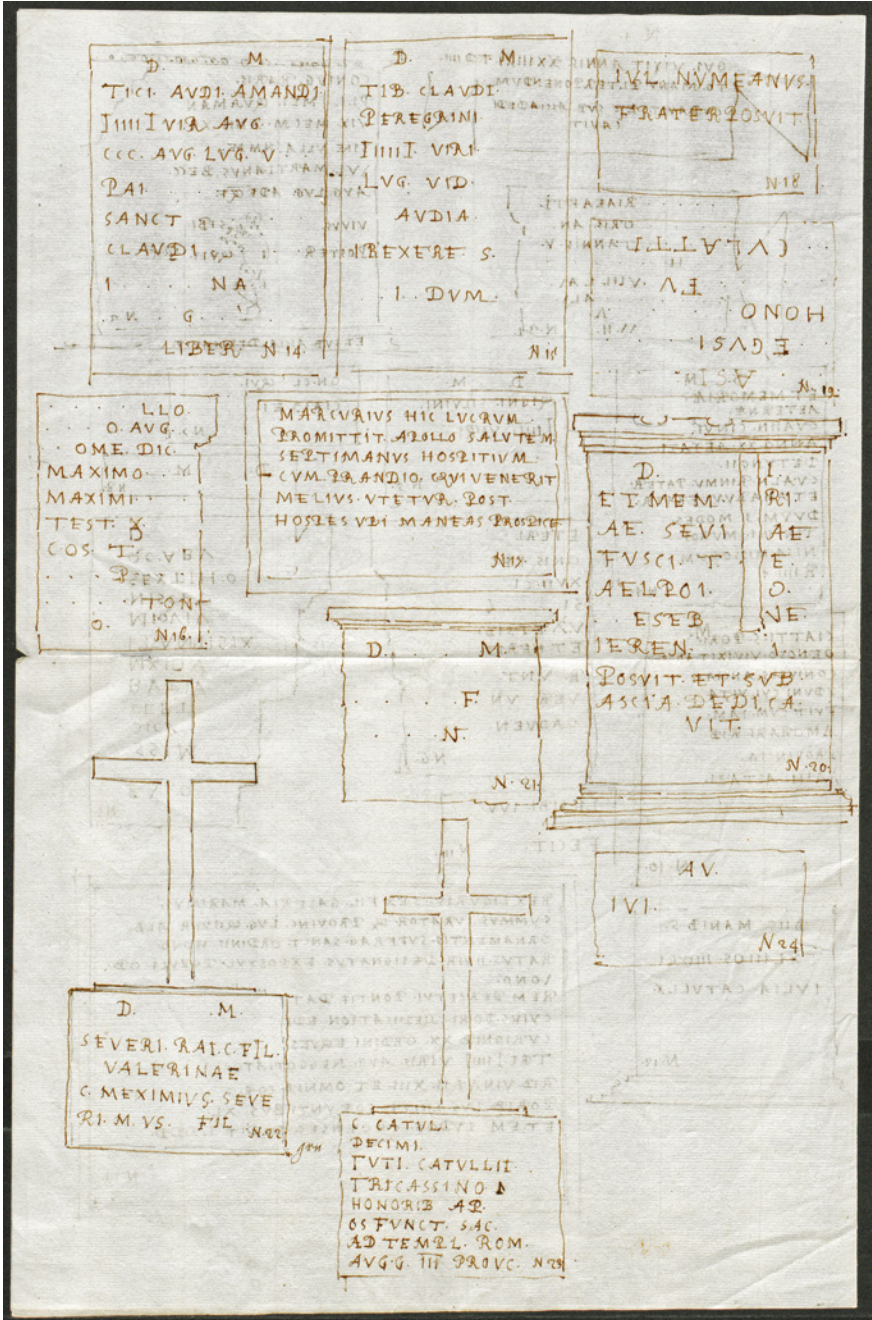


FIGURE 8.2 Joan Huydecoper, *Itineris mei descriptio*. Ms. Utrecht, Utrechts Archief, FA Huydecoper 66, 22

in Poland.⁷⁵ Unsurprisingly, therefore, numerous Poles who visited Louvain went to see Lipsius's grave. The aforementioned Catholic Jakub Sobieski made it seem like his 1609 visit to Lipsius's final resting place equalled a meeting with the man in person:

Jużem nie zastał żywego *Justum Lipsium*, człowieka *de re litteraria optime meritum* i po wszystkim chrześcijaństwie nauką sławnego i wziętego, alem przecię nawiedzał grób jego u ojców bernardynów.⁷⁶

I did not have the chance, as he was no longer living, to meet *Justus Lipsius*, a man *de re litteraria optime meritis* [who served the learned cause very well] and famed and popular all over the Christian world because of his learning, but I did, of course, visit his grave at the Bernardine Friars [i.e. Franciscans].

The transconfessional potential of learned memories is exemplified by the fact that the Arian Hieronim Gratus Moskorzowski also went to see Lipsius's grave and house, and even transcribed the epitaph into his travel account.⁷⁷

75 For early modern Polish translations of Lipsius's works, see Dąbkowska-Kujko J., *Justus Lipsjusz i dawne przekłady jego dzieł na język polski* (Lublin: 2010). The reception of Lipsius and the culture of 'Lipsianism' in early modern Poland are discussed more generally in Żurkowska R., "Znajomość dzieł Justusa Lipsiusa w Krakowie w XVII w.", *Studia o książce* 2 (1971) 147–161; Borowski A., "Justus Lipsius and the Classical Tradition in Poland", in Tournoy G. – Landtsheer J. de – Papy J. (eds.), *Iustus Lipsius Europae Lumen et Columnen. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 17–19 September 1997*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 15 (Louvain: 1999) 1–16; Idem, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum* 108–139; Dąbkowska-Kujko J., "Erasmianizm i lipsjanizm w Rzeczypospolitej", in Hanusiewicz-Lavallee M. (ed.), *Wśród krajów północy. Kultura Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej wobec narodów germańskich, słowiańskich i naddunajskich: mapa spotkań, przestrzenie dialogu*, Kultura Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej w dialogu z Europą: Hermeneutyka Wartości Tom I (Warsaw: 2015) 247–287. A concrete example of Lipsius's fame in Poland is a eulogy from 1674 by the Baroque poet Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700). On this poem, see Nieznanowski S., "Wespazjana Kochowskiego pochwała Lipsiusa", in Opacki I. – with Mazurkowska B. (eds.), *Dzieło literackie i książka w kulturze. Studia i szkice ofiarowane Profesor Renardzie Ociecek w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej i dydaktycznej*, Prace Naukowe Uniwersytetu Śląskiego w Katowicach 2050 (Katowice: 2002) 277–282; Okoń J., "Tablica z napisem rymu słowiańskiego Justowi Lipsjuszowi przez Wespazjana Kochowskiego zgotowana (Próba interpretacji)", in Chemperek D. (ed.), *Wespazjan Kochowski w kręgu kultury literackiej* (Lublin: 2003) 55–72.

76 Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie* 77.

77 Ms. Cracow, Czart., rkp 1372, 191–192. Lipsius was buried close to his home, in the church of the Minorites. On his grave rested a marble slab with an inscription he had composed himself. The church was demolished in 1803. In 1868, the slab was rediscovered, but

An object related to Lipsius could be found in the Basilika St. Martin in Halle, which had long since been a site of Marian pilgrimages.⁷⁸ In 1602, when Lipsius visited the city, his old Jesuit teacher Franciscus Costerus (1532–1619) showed him a copy of a long list of miracles ascribed to the Virgin Mary, urging Lipsius to study the matter. Two years later, in 1604, Lipsius completed his history of these Marian devotions, the *Diva virgo Hallensis* (The holy virgin of Halle). A poem at the end of the book features a silver pen that Lipsius had dedicated to the Virgin Mary during his pilgrimage.⁷⁹ In 1672, the Leiden scholar Jacob Gronovius (1645–1716) embarked on a journey to Spain and Italy in the entourage of diplomatic envoy Adriaen Paets (1631–1686). Gronovius visited the Halle basilica, where he saw not a silver, but a golden pen: ‘de goude penne van Lipsius, nevens een marmer, waar in hy self uytgehouden’ (‘the golden pen of Lipsius, next to a piece of marble into which his image has been chiseled’).⁸⁰ For Gronovius it seemed important that the pen had belonged to a fellow scholar. Interestingly enough, Gronovius would become Lipsius’s successor when he took up the mantle of professor of History in Leiden in 1679. Religious differences – Lipsius’s Catholic background, his pilgrimage or the *Diva virgo Hallensis*, which fit neatly into the Counter-Reformation – did not spark comment. Things could turn out quite differently, however, as can be glanced from the travelogue of Carolus Casparus Neander (b. ca. 1655), tutor to Gerard Horenken (1663–1712), who in 1680 mocked ‘het gepretendeerde miraculeuse’ (‘the fake, miraculous’) statue and the ‘imaginaire wonderen’

in 1905 the bones found on the occasion turned out to be somebody’s else’s. Lipsius’s actual remains were buried in a mass grave near the church of Saint Quentin. While the slab is nowadays on display in the dining hall of the Justus Lipsius College, a femur of 49 cm, purportedly Lipsius’s, is kept in the Kunstpatrimonium Services of Heverlee. See Tournoy G. – Papy J. – Landtsheer J. de, *Lipsius en Leuven. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 september–17 oktober 1997* (Louvain: 1997) 333.

78 For pilgrimage sites, see Bowen K.L., *Marian Pilgrimage Sites in Brabant. A Bibliography of Books Printed between 1600–1850* (Louvain: 2008).

79 Tournoy G. – Papy J. – Landtsheer J. de, *Lipsius en Leuven*, 253; Landtsheer J. de – Sacré D. – Coppens C., *Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 oktober–20 december 2007* (Louvain: 2006) 4.

80 Ms. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (from now on: UBL), Ltk 859, fol. 5 r. His brother Laurentius (1648–1724) made a similar visit a few years later, in 1679, but did not mention this academic relic. Ms. The Hague, KB, 76 H 27, fol. 31 v. For Laurentius’s travels, see Hoogewerff G.J., “Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius en zijn reizen naar Italië, 1680–82 en 1693–95”, *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch historisch Instituut te Rome* 1 (1942) 35–56; Wallinga T., “Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (1648–1724) as a Traveller”, *Lias* 24 (1997) 245–271.

(‘imaginary wonders’) of Halle.⁸¹ While these Catholic surroundings were important to Neander, Halle’s academic pedigree was key to Gronovius.

Indeed, the extent to which places and objects of knowledge were transconfessional varied from case to case and from visitor to visitor. For example, sites connected to the Remonstrant Hugo Grotius, who had close relations with Polish Arians,⁸² were admired by at least two Arian travellers, but seem not to have attracted any Catholic Poles. Even though Grotius’s grave in Delft did not carry an epitaph, the already mentioned Moskorszowski still thought it worthwhile to describe his final resting place, adding a literary touch of his own with a pun or two (‘groot’ means ‘big/large/great’):

Risvicum hinc Delphos pedes excurrimus, ibi magnum Maximi Grotij sepulchrum non tam naenia vel Epitaphio (quod nullum est) qua[m] exuviis tanti viri venerandum salutavimus.⁸³

From Rijswijk we made our way to Delft, where we visited the great grave of the greatest Grotius, which is not so much venerable for the lament or epitaph it carries – there is none – but for the remains of so great a man.

As we will see later on, an object related to Grotius also inspired literary reflection, as the book chest in which he escaped imprisonment prompted the travelling poet Joachim Pastorius to compose two epigrams.

The most renowned scholar of the Low Countries was without doubt Erasmus of Rotterdam, the ‘prince’ of the Republic of Letters.⁸⁴ His grave in the Basel Minster became a place of knowledge. Around 1600, the aforementioned traveller Ernst Brinck made a neat transcription of the epitaph of

81 Ms. Groningen, Groninger Archief, HA Menkema en Dijksterhuis 425, 14.

82 For the relations between Grotius and Poland, see Kot S., “Hugo Grotius a Polska (w 300-lecie dzieła o Prawie wojny i pokoju)”, *Reformacja w Polsce* 4.13–16 (1926) 100–120; Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum* 181–184. Some of Grotius’s Latin poems were translated into Polish. For example, the Arian poet Zbigniew Morsztyn (ca. 1628–1689) translated a fragment of Grotius’s *Silva*, in which Grotius praises his wife Maria van Reigersberch (ca. 1589–1653) for helping him escape into exile. See Morsztyn Zbigniew, *Muza domowa. Wydanie krytyczne spuścizny poetyckiej, Tom II*, ed. J. Dürr-Durski (Warsaw: 1954) 204–205. Zbigniew’s cousin Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (1621–1693) translated Grotius’s *Papillae* and *Acus*.

83 Ms Cracow, Czart., rkp 1372, 235.

84 The early modern international reception of Erasmus has received significant scholarly attention. Good starting points are Mansfield B., *Phoenix of His Age. Interpretation of Erasmus, c. 1550–1750*, *Erasmus Studies* 4 (Toronto – Buffalo: 1979); Enenkel K.A.E. (ed.), *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period*, *Intersections* 30 (Leiden – Boston: 2013).

Erasmus, ‘viro omnibus modis maximo’ (‘the greatest man in every way’).⁸⁵ Various Dutch visitors followed Brinck’s example, including Trommius and the Haarlem painter Vincent Laurensz. van der Vinne (1628–1702), who noted the hewn golden letters and Erasmus’s library.⁸⁶ Erasmus’s grave also featured in popular guidebooks, such as Maximilien Misson’s *Nouveau voyage d’Italie* (1691), which appeared in French, English, and German, and De Blainville’s *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and other parts of Europe* (1744).⁸⁷ For travellers, the personal connection to Erasmus seemed to be especially important. They marvelled at the fact that the books and testament here had once been held by Erasmus himself. In 1664, the Frisian traveller Jarich van Ockinga (1644–1714), for example, wrote:

[...] een boeck dat Erasmus *sels* geschreeven hadde als oock sijn testament *met sijn eijgen handt* geschreeven, *sijn* ringh die hij altijd gedraegen heeft, *sijn* segel etc.

[...] a book written by Erasmus *himself* as well as his testament written *by his own hand*, *his* ring that he had always worn, *his* seal etc.⁸⁸

Coenraad Ruysch also saw ‘het testament van Erasmus, in ’t Latyn met sijn eygen handt gescreeven, nevens ontallijcke rariteiten’ (‘the testament of Erasmus, written in Latin *by his own hand*, next to countless rarities’).⁸⁹ The personal link to Erasmus these objects still held, appeared vital to visitors.

Another site related to Erasmus could be found in Rotterdam, his city of birth, and was frequented by numerous Dutch and Polish itinerants. Much like Lipsius and Grotius, Erasmus had many contacts in Poland – indeed, in 1524, he stated proudly that ‘Polonia tota mea est’ (‘Poland is entirely mine/devoted to me’), and his library would eventually pass to the Polish theologian Johannes a Lasco (Jan Łaski, 1499–1560). His works exerted an immense

85 Brinck, *Itenerarium* fol. 68 r.

86 Vinne Vincent Laurensz. van der, *Dagelijckse aentekeninge van Vincent Laurensz van der Vinne*, ed. Bert Sliggers jr. (Haarlem: 1979) 90. “Sijn geschriften en boecken wierden hier in groote waerden gehouden.”

87 Misson Maximilien, *A New Voyage to Italy with Curious Observations on Several Other Countries; as, Germany; Switzerland; Savoy; Geneva; Flanders; and Holland* (London, R. Bonwicke: 1714) 497; Blainville de, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland; and Other Parts of Europe; but Especially Italy* (London, W. Strahan: 1743) 397.

88 Ms. Leeuwarden, Tresoar, FA Van Sminia 2144, [55]; our italicization.

89 Ms. The Hague, NA, FA Teding van Berkhout 1408, fol. 16 v.

influence on Polish humanist thought and were crucial to the development of the Polish Reformation.⁹⁰

In 1549, Erasmus was the first individual in the Low Countries to merit a public statue.⁹¹ Judging by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel journals – Polish and Dutch, as well as English and German – the likeness of Erasmus became one of Rotterdam’s chief sightseeing attractions, followed closely by his birth house, which was but a stone’s throw away from the statue.⁹² Polish travellers flocked to see Erasmus irrespective of their religious beliefs, and the statue features in the accounts of all itinerants who – even if only briefly – called on Rotterdam.⁹³ Moskorzowski, who in the summer of 1648 described Erasmus as ‘orbis sidus mundique fax ac lucerna’ (‘the star of the world and the earth’s flame and guiding light’),⁹⁴ referred once more to Hegenitius when discussing Erasmus’s statue and birth house, where one could find another image of the great scholar, as well as Latin, Dutch, and Italian verses signalling the importance of the tumbledown building.⁹⁵ Travel guides such as the one by Hegenitius no doubt played an important part in spreading the fame of Rotterdam as the birthplace of Erasmus.

90 See, for example, Borowski, *Iter Polono-Belgo-Ollandicum* 151–154; Dąbkowska-Kujko “Erazmianizm i lipsjanizm”; Ptaszyński M., *Reformacja w Polsce a dziedzictwo Erazma z Rotterdamu* (Warsaw: 2018). Erasmus’s correspondence with his Polish contacts was published, in Polish translation, in *Korespondencja Erazma z Rotterdamu z Polakami*, ed. and trans. M. Cytowska (Warsaw: 1965).

91 The statue was replaced several times and had various versions, in wood, stone/marble, and bronze. See Schlüter L., *Standbeelden van Erasmus in Rotterdam: 1549–2008* (Rotterdam: 2008); Van Miert “Trommius’s Travelogue” 57–58.

92 German reactions to the statue are discussed in Bientjes J., *Holland und der Holländer im Urteil deutscher Reisender 1400–1800* (Groningen: 1967) 114–117. A number of English examples feature in Strien K. van, *Touring the Low Countries. Accounts of British Travellers, 1660–1720* (Amsterdam: 1998) 319, 323–325.

93 For example, Ms. Cracow, Czart., rkp 3031 IV, 246 (Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski, 1653); Ms. Warsaw, BN, Rps BOZ 847, fol. 36 r (Kazimierz Jan Wojsznarowicz, 1667); Ms. Warsaw, BN, Rps III 12649, fol. 55 r (Jerzy Stanisław Dzieduszycki, 1692).

94 Ms. Cracow, Czart., rkp 1372, 164.

95 Hegenitius, *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum* 153. Almost a year later, in June 1649, Moskorzowski once more visited Erasmus’s birth house, and dutifully transcribed a distich which he saw there, which is absent from Hegenitius. See Ms. Cracow, Czart., rkp 1372, 244. This distich is ascribed to Ludovicus Masius (dates unknown). The Hungarian traveller József Keresztesi (dates unknown) in 1780 noted down two Latin distichs – both the one cited by Hegenitius and the one transcribed by Moskorzowski – which he says were written beneath a smaller statue of Erasmus placed near the house where he was born. See Graaf G.H. van de, “Hongaarse studenten op bezoek in Rotterdam”, *Rotterdams Jaarboekje* 10.4 (1996) 258.

While learned identities could transcend confessional boundaries and Erasmus's status as a scholar attracted Catholics and Protestants alike, the statue did at times inspire reflections by travellers on Erasmus's own beliefs. This gives us an insight into both the reception of Erasmus as a religious persona and the convictions of the travellers themselves. Erasmus was a controversial figure, and the precise nature of his impact on confessional (and intellectual) developments was not universally agreed upon.⁹⁶ His statue elicited a variety of ideas about who he was, what he had believed, and what he had achieved. This is apparent, for example, when we compare two reactions to his likeness: one by the Pole Sebastian Gawarecki (dates unknown), from November 1647, and one by the Polish-writing Lithuanian Teodor Billewicz (dates unknown), from September 1678. Both men were Catholics, but their appreciation of Erasmus differed significantly. Gawarecki argued that Erasmus had been 'a good Roman Catholic' like himself:

Przeciwko naszej gospody na moście szerokim, jest jedna statua z marmuru czarniawego, wielkiego i sławnego doktora i kanonika rotterdamskiego, którego imię było Roterdamus, z księgą, w habicie doktorskim, co też pisał powiadają księgi przeciwko naszym zakonnikom, ale był katolik dobry rzymski, a kalwinowie go stąd za swego mają.⁹⁷

Facing our inn, standing on a broad bridge, is a statue of blackish marble, of a great and famous scholar and canon from Rotterdam, whose name was the Rotterdammer, holding a book and wearing a doctor's habit, of whom they say that he wrote books against our monks, but he was a good Roman Catholic, although the Calvinists here think that he was one of them.

On the other hand, Billewicz stated the exact opposite, saying that Erasmus had been 'a great scholar of the Calvinist faith':

W rynku jest statua lana ze spiży, Erasmus nazwanego, wielkiego doktora *in fide calvinistien*, który różnych i niemal wszystkich kosztowawszy zakonów, potym reformował wiarę, uciekszy, i wiele ksiąg *contra fidem*

96 Enenkel K.A.E., "Introduction – Manifold Reader Responses: The Reception of Erasmus in Early Modern Europe", in Idem (ed.), *The Reception of Erasmus 2*.

97 Gawarecki Sebastian, *Diariusz drogi. Podróż Jana i Marka Sobieskich po Europie 1646–1648*, ed. M. Kunicki-Goldfinger (Warsaw: 2013) 239.

napisał. Tego, jako *magni doctoris in illorum fide, pro memoria statuum* postawili, iż w tym mieście umarł.⁹⁸

In the market square, there is a cast bronze statue called Erasmus, a great scholar *in fide calvinistien* [of the Calvinist faith], who savoured various and nearly all ecclesiastical orders, then reformed the faith, fled, and wrote many books *contra fidem* [against the Catholic faith]. They placed *magni doctoris in illorum fide, pro memoria statuum* [a statue here to remember him as a great scholar of their faith], because he died in this city.

Apart from the fact that the obvious erroneous details – the statue was not made of marble and Erasmus did not die in Rotterdam – may indicate a lack of precision on the part of both travellers, the two cited fragments point to something else as well: although the statue of Erasmus captivated both Catholics and Protestants, it also incited discussion about his religious inclination and impact, thus deepening confessional differences. Indeed, it appears that the local Calvinist population of Rotterdam appropriated Erasmus as their own – even though he had never converted to Protestantism. Billewicz even stated that the statue was meant to represent Erasmus as a specifically Calvinist scholar. Perhaps he was convinced by the stories he heard from a local Calvinist guide, while Gawarecki was not. Whatever their conclusion as to Erasmus's confession, it is clear that to Gawarecki and Billewicz, the statue was not just any place of knowledge, but one loaded with religious significance. The controversy surrounding Erasmus's beliefs and influence also shaped reactions to his likeness, which in itself became a tool in the debate about his person.

5 Joachim Pastorius and Caspar van Kinschot: Travelling Poets Reflect on Places and Objects of Knowledge

Two excellent case studies of the emotions a site or artefact could evoke, can be found in the poetry of the Silesian-Polish doctor, historian, professor, and poet Joachim Pastorius (Hirthenius/von Hirtenberg) and the Dutch lawyer and poet Caspar van Kinschot. Both men went on extended educational journeys across Europe and wrote numerous Latin poems on the places they visited and the sites they saw. These verses can be regarded as *hodoeporica*. *Hodoeporicon*

98 Billewicz Teodor, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677–1678*, ed. M. Kunicki-Goldfinger (Warsaw: 2004) 308.

was a term used for Neo-Latin travel literature a genre defined by the elder Scaliger in his posthumously published *Poetices libri septem* (*Seven books of poetics*) from 1561, and popular in large parts of Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹⁹ A number of the compositions by Pastorius and Van Kinschot reflect actively on places and objects of knowledge – some of which we have already come across, others that are new –, signifying the literary potential of these hallowed scholarly sites and artifacts. An analysis of some of these poems reveals how Pastorius and Van Kinschot used places and objects of knowledge to interact with the scholarly community they wished to be part of.

5.1 *Joachim Pastorius*

Joachim Pastorius [Fig. 8.3] was born in Głogów/Glogau, in Silesia, in a Protestant household.¹⁰⁰ He studied in Germany and in the 1630s made a number of travels as governor of several Polish youths. In 1632, together with the Socinian Martinus Ruarus (ca. 1588–1657), he accompanied a group of like-minded Polish noblemen to Holland. It is believed that he at that time began to associate strongly with the Arian or Socinian Polish Brethren. Several years later, starting in 1635 or 1636, he journeyed across Europe as preceptor of the Calvinist Piotr Sieniuta (1616–1648). His name ('Joachimus Hirthenius Polonus')

99 On the *hodoeporicon*, see Wiegand H., "Hodoeporica: Zur neulateinischen Reisedichtung des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts", in Brenner P.J. (ed.), *Der Reisebericht. Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Bonn: 1988) 117–139; Krzywy R., *Od hodoeporikonu do eposu peregrynackiego. Studium z historii form literackich* (Warsaw: 2001) 49–82; Moroz G., *A Generic History of Travel Writing in Anglophone and Polish Literature* (Leiden – Boston: 2020) 50–53.

100 Many details of Pastorius's life remain open to debate. See, for example, Birch-Hirschfeld A., "Autobiografia Joachima Pastoriusa", *Reformacja w Polsce* 9–10 (1937–1939) 470–477; "Pastorius Joachim (1611–1681)", in Pollak, R. (ed.), *Nowy Korbut 3: Piśmiennictwo staropolskie* (Warsaw: 1965) 92–93; Mokrzecki L., "Joachim Pastorius – Dyrektor Elbląskiego Gimnazjum Akademickiego", *Rocznik Elbląski* 4 (1969) 59–83; Kubik K., *Joachim Pastorius. Gdański pedagog XVII wieku* (Gdańsk: 1970) and the critical review: Salmonowicz S., "Kazimierz Kubik: Joachim Pastorius gdański pedagog XVII wieku. Gdańsk 1970", *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 17.1 (1972) 135–139; Skrobacki A., "Testament sekretarza królewskiego, historyografa, lekarza i kanonika warmińskiego Joachima Pastoriusa", *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie* 1–2 (1973) 73–92; Mokrzecki L., "Joachim Pastorius (1611–1681)", in Rostworowski E. (ed.), *Polski Słownik Biograficzny Tom XXV* (Wrocław: 1980) 261–265; Żołędź-Strzelczyk D., "Pädagogische Ansichten des Joachim Pastorius" (trans. D. Matelska), in Haye T. (ed.), *Humanismus im Norden. Frühneuzeitliche Rezeption antiker Kultur und Literatur an Nord- und Ostsee*, Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis 32 (Amsterdam – Atlanta, GA: 2000) 251–264. The correspondence between Pastorius and the Dutch Remonstrant Johannes Naeranus (1608–1679) is discussed in Visser S.J., *Samuel Naeranus (1582–1641) en Johannes Naeranus (1608–1679). Twee remonstrantse theologen op de bres voor godsdienstige verdraagzaamheid* (Hilversum: 2011) 171–173.



FIGURE 8.3
 Böner Johann
 Alexander, *Portrait
 of Joachim Pastorius
 von Hirtenberg*,
 engraved 1679.
 Engraving,
 118 × 65 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum
 [RP-P-1914-2258]

features in Leiden's *album studiosorum* in 1636, as a student of theology.¹⁰¹ He then travelled for several years, for example through London, Oxford, Orléans, and Paris. In his autobiography, which Pastorius wrote during the final years of his life, he explains that he befriended Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649), professor at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, and Hugo Grotius in Paris.¹⁰² In 1641, his name was entered into the Leiden *album studiosorum* once again (this time not as 'Joachimus Hirthenius Polonus', but as 'Joachimus Pastorius Silesius', signalling the fluidity of his identity),¹⁰³ and he

101 Rieu W.N. du, *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV* (The Hague: 1875) 280.

102 Birch-Hirschfeld, "Autobiografia Joachima Pastoriusa" 473.

103 Du Rieu, *Album Studiosorum* 321.

soon obtained a doctorate in medicine. That same year, he published a vastly influential work on Polish history, entitled *Florus Polonicus* (*The Polish Florus*), issued in Leiden by Franciscus Hegerus (b. ca. 1602).¹⁰⁴ Returning to Poland, Pastorius worked as a doctor and – from the 1650s onwards – as a professor of history, first at the Gymnasium in Elbląg/Elbing and then in Gdańsk/Danzig. In 1649, he was made court historian by the Polish king John II Casimir Vasa (1609–1672), and in 1652, he published an extensive history of the Cossack uprising of 1648. He also became a Polish diplomat and royal secretary, for example participating in the peace negotiations between the Swedes and Poles in 1660. Two years later, he received a nobleman's title. He is commonly believed to have changed his confession several times, alternating between Arianism, Calvinism, and Lutheranism, but finally converting to Catholicism. Towards the end of his life, Pastorius held various ecclesiastical positions.

While some scholarly attention has been aimed at Pastorius's work as a historiographer,¹⁰⁵ his poetical oeuvre has gone largely unexplored. Not only did he write a vast number of occasional poems,¹⁰⁶ he also published several collections of Latin verse. In 1644, he had his first tome of poetry printed by Daniel Vetter (1592–1669) in Leszno/Lissa, a town in western Poland famously connected to Polish Protestantism.¹⁰⁷ The pocket-sized book contains, for example, poems on 'heroes' from the Old Testament, compositions on Polish kings, commanders, and poets, bridal and funerary poems, and a large number of epigrams dealing with various persons and topics, for example on Constantine L'Empereur (1591–1648), professor of Hebrew in Leiden, or on a speech given by his colleague Marcus Zuerius Boxhornius (1612–1653). A significant part of the volume is taken up by a collection entitled 'Musa Peregrinans' ('The Travelling Muse'), which encompasses approximately one hundred poems discussing Pastorius's travels through the Low Countries, the German lands, England, and France (divided into two books: 'Germanica, et inprimis Belgica' and 'Anglica

104 See Lewandowski I., "Florus Polonicus' Joachima Pastoriusa", *Meander* 23.11–12 (1968) 522–529; Idem, *Florus w Polsce* (Wrocław: 1970) 29–46. The *Florus Polonicus* was reissued in Leiden in 1642, in Gdańsk/Danzig in 1651, in Amsterdam in 1664, and in Gdańsk/Danzig-Frankfurt in 1679.

105 Bömelburg H.-J., *Frühneuzeitliche Nationen im östlichen Europa. Das polnische Geschichtedenken und die Reichweite einer humanistischen Nationalgeschichte (1500–1799)* (Wiesbaden: 2006) 207–211.

106 Many of these, both in print and in manuscript form, can be found in the Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAN Biblioteka Gdańska). Pastorius's poems are discussed globally in Kubik *Joachim Pastorius* 46–55; Kotarski E., *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* (Gdańsk: 1993) *passim*.

107 Pastorius Joachimus, *Heroes Sacri, Musa Peregrinans, Flos Poloniae, et Epigrammata Varia* (Leszno, Daniel Vetter: [1644]).

et Gallica'; presumably, these poems span the years 1635/1636–1639). It is in this collection that Pastorius included most of his epigrams on places and objects of knowledge. Moreover, the 'Musa Peregrinans' was republished in Gdańsk/Danzig by Georgius Förster (ca. 1615–1660) in 1653.¹⁰⁸ For this second edition, Pastorius rewrote some of his epigrams, illustrating how he continued to mould his literary identity.

Pastorius found a majority of scholarly sites and artefacts in the Northern Netherlands, and wrote poems about the academies in Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Leiden. As the material is too extensive to be discussed elaborately, we will focus on a selection of highlights. The two poems on the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, which was inaugurated in January 1632, shortly before Pastorius first visited Amsterdam, argue that the great merchant city now combined financial profits with wisdom and rhetorical arts.¹⁰⁹ The epigram on the academy in Utrecht likewise congratulates the city with its new centre of learning, which had opened in 1636 'nobis praesentibus' ('in our presence').¹¹⁰ Following this is an epigram addressed to Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), the acclaimed humanist, linguist, theologian, poetess, and artist, who became the first female student at a European university.¹¹¹ The poem she wrote to celebrate the opening of Utrecht's academy inspired Pastorius, who called her 'decus secli' ('the glory of our age'), and compared her to Ovid and Virgil.¹¹² Naturally, Van Schurman was not a place or object, but she was connected to the Utrecht academy.¹¹³ Within learned epistolary networks, it was

108 Pastorius Joachimus, *Heroes Sacri: Peplum Sarmaticum: Musa Peregrinans* (Gdańsk, Georgius Förster: 1653).

109 "In Gymnasium Amsterodamense" and "Aliud de eodem", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 17–18.

110 "In Urbem et Academiam Trajectinam, Anno 1636. nobis praesentibus institutam", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 21–22.

111 For Van Schurman and her reception, see Larsen A.R., *Anna Maria van Schurman, 'The Star of Utrecht': The Educational Vision and Reception of a Savante*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World* (Abingdon – New York 2016). Also see Lieke van Deinsen's and Floris Solleveld's contributions in the present volume.

112 "Ad Annam Mariam Schurmans virginem genere et eruditione Nobilissimam, cum natales Academiae Latinis Gallicisque celebrasset carminibus", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 22. A slightly different version of this epigram can also be found in a manuscript collection of poems, compiled by the Arian Polish poet Jakub Teodor Trembecki (1643–ca. 1720): Trembecki Jakub Teodor, *Wirydarz poetycki Tom I*, ed. A. Brückner (Lviv: 1910) 270–271.

113 Van Schurman's poem, as well as an ode in her honour by Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), professor of Philosophy and Rhetoric at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, are included in *Academiae Ultrajectinae Inauguratio una cum Orationibus Inauguralibus* (Utrecht, Aegidius and Petrus Roman: 1636).

common practice to establish and maintain contacts through the exchange of poems.¹¹⁴ Perhaps Pastorius presented or sent his composition to Van Schurman herself, or else wished to enter into a poetical dialogue with other poets who likewise applauded her talent.

Most poems relate to the university in Leiden: one addresses the city itself, one discusses the botanical garden, two deal with the library, and three reflect on the anatomical theatre.¹¹⁵ The first and longest poem introduces the entire city as the personification of knowledge, and compares it to Apollo's sister Diana or Delia ('Delia' is an anagram of 'Leida'):

Leida Batavarum pulcherrima Nympha sororum,
 Munditie mundus cui negat esse parem.
 Cui non Socraticas Pallas praeponat Athenas.
 Non iuga Parnassi Phoebus Apollo sui.
 Quam dixisse suam non ambigit ille sororem,
 Delia, sed vultu suspicienda novo est.¹¹⁶

Leiden, the fairest Nymph of the Batavian sisters,
 Whom the world denies to have an equal in elegance.
 Whom Pallas would not place behind Socratic Athens.
 And Phoebus Apollo [would not place behind] the ridges of his
 Parnassus.
 Whom he does not hesitate to have called his sister,
 Delia, but who ought to be admired from a new point of view.

In the following few lines, we learn that this 'new' Delia or Diana is even more worthy of Apollo, as she turns wild beasts into men and even gods. The 'old' Diana was wont to do the opposite, turning men into animals.

The other poems on Leiden count but a few verses each, and concentrate on the unusual collections a visitor could behold. Much like Jakub Sobieski, Pastorius associated the library in particular with knowledge: a place filled 'mutis magistris' ('with mute teachers'), speaking in a varied array of

114 For poetic gift exchange in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, see Thoen I., *Strategic Affection? Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Amsterdam: 2007) 86–89, 121–128, 184–194.

115 Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 18–20. We would like to thank George van Hoof and Michiel Sauter for their valuable comments on the Latin poems in this chapter.

116 "In Urbem Lugduno-Batavam" vv. 1–6, in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 18–19. In the second edition, the poem was altered slightly, with the second line reading 'Delicia Charitum, Thespiadumque decus'. See Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1653) 116.

languages.¹¹⁷ Indeed, in the second epigram, Pastorius implies that Leiden's university library contains more knowledge than any other place in the world:

Illa docens alibi viva nos voce Minerva,
Hic tacita est, tamen haud ullibi plura docet.¹¹⁸

That well-known Minerva, who elsewhere teaches us with a living voice,
Is silent here, and yet she scarcely teaches more anywhere else.

The poems on Leiden present the city as the pinnacle of knowledge, a place where all the learning of the world came together, be it in books or in curious and exotic objects from all corners of the globe. Pastorius's awe and wonder translate into a clear message: he considered himself a proud member of the learned European community, of which Leiden was the centre. The university of Oxford, to which he dedicated two epigrams, likewise merited Pastorius's admiration.¹¹⁹ Similarly, Pastorius in 1656 poetically praised the library of Gdańsk/Danzig, housed in the city's Gymnasium Academicum.¹²⁰

Another place of knowledge, to some extent comparable to the academies, was the house of the famed collector Bernardus Paludanus (1550–1633), which Pastorius visited in Enkhuizen, in Holland. Paludanus's enormous cabinet of curiosities attracted visitors from all over Europe, much like Leiden's hortus and theatrum.¹²¹ In his poem, Pastorius invites fellow travellers to pay a visit to Paludanus's 'Pinacotheca':

117 "In Bibliothecam Leidensem, variorum linguarum libris instructissimam", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 19.

118 "Aliud", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 19. In the second edition, the two epigrams were combined and rewritten: "Templa vides, hospes, mutis habitata magistris, / Et queis Suada loquax et lepor omnis inest. / Sic quamvis alibi spiranti voce Minerva / Te docet; hic tacito, plus tamen ore docet" ('You see chambers, visitor, which are inhabited by mute teachers, / And which are filled with the speaking goddess of Persuasion and a great pleasantness. / Thus, although Minerva teaches you elsewhere with a living voice, / She teaches even more here with a silent mouth'). See Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1653) 117.

119 "In Academiam Oxoniensem" and "In manuscripta linguarum Orientalium quibus Bibliothecam Oxoniensem ornavit Reverendiss. Archiepiscopus Cantuar. Academiae tum Cancellarius", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 33–34.

120 Pastorius Joachimus, *De Bibliotheca Gedanensi ad Nobiliss[imum] & Amplissimum Virum Dominum Adrianum Engelke [...]* (Gdańsk, Philippus Christianus Rhete: 1656). The print is signed "J.P.". See Tylewska-Ostrowska Z. (ed.), *Gdańsk w literaturze. Bibliografia od roku 997 do dzisiaj. Tom drugi: 1601–1700. Część 1: do 1656* (Gdańsk: 2015) 376–378.

121 For Paludanus's collection, see Schepelern H.D., "Naturalienkabinett oder Kunstkammer: Der Sammler Bernhard Paludanus und sein Katalogmanuskript in den Königlichen Bibliothek in Kopenhagen", *Nordelbingen. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte* 50

Qui cupis orbis opes spectare, ostentaque rerum,
 Ista Paludani ditia tecta subi.
 Uno nescierat Natura effingere mundo.
 Una complecti quae sciit ille domo.¹²²

If you wish to witness the riches and wondrous things of the world,
 You must enter this opulent house of Paludanus.
 Nature was unable to create in one world,
 What he could contain in one house.

Pastorius's argument, that Paludanus had outdone Nature itself, effectively means that his house contained the whole of Creation. The collection was Paludanus's personal place of knowledge, which he opened as a public hotspot for scholars. By praising it, Pastorius underlined his appreciation for the collection, while also emphasising that he had been allowed access to this treasure trove of knowledge, and had witnessed all 'the riches and wondrous things of the world'. The poem is an excellent example of the value ascribed to hubs of knowledge other than university cities. Similarly, Pastorius exuberantly praised the book collection of Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), which had been added to the Royal Library in London.¹²³

The epigram immediately preceding the one about Paludanus discusses the statue of Erasmus in Rotterdam. Unlike the reactions by Gawarecki and Billewicz, Pastorius's poetical reflection does not concern Erasmus's religious beliefs, but focuses on another aspect: his fame as a humanist and Latinist. This can doubtless be linked to the fact that Pastorius himself was of course a Latinist, a man who aspired a scholarly career, for whom Erasmus's literary skills and achievements were probably an inspiration:

Aereus en patria stat magnus Erasmus in urbe,
 Et patriae et secli gloria prima sui.
 Os riget aere viro. Si solveret ora, Batavum
 Quo nunc stat, Tulli dixeris esse forum.¹²⁴

(1981) 157–182; Gelder R. van, "Liefhebbers en geleerde luiden: Nederlandse kabinetten en hun bezoekers", in Bergvelt E. – Kistemaker R. (eds.), *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585–1735* (Zwolle – Amsterdam: 1992) 263–266.

122 "In Paludani Pinacothecam, quae est Enchusae", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 21.

123 "In Isaaci Casauboni Bibliothecam Regia adiunctam, et huiusdem sepulchrum", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 32.

124 "In statuam Erasmi, quae Roterodami in foro conspicitur", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 21.

Look, the great Erasmus stands, in bronze, in his fatherly city,
 As the prime glory of both his fatherland and his age.
 The bronze stiffens the man's mouth. If he were to open it, you would say
 That the square of the Batavians, where he stands now, was the Forum
 [Romanum] of Tullius.

Much like Moskorzowski would do in his travel account, Pastorius presented Erasmus as one of the greatest minds of all time. The comparison of Erasmus to Cicero (Tullius) – and the square in Rotterdam to the Forum Romanum – focuses the reader's attention on Erasmus's rhetorical prowess, and on his knowledge of and proficiency in Latin. In Pastorius's interpretation, then, the statue is a place of knowledge in its purest form, untainted by religious debates.

Two final epigrams with which Pastorius fostered a learned identity through an object of knowledge concern the book chest in which Hugo Grotius in 1621 escaped from Loevestein Castle, in Guelders, where he had been imprisoned for life due to his sympathy for the Arminians. These two poems are not part of the 'Musa Peregrinans' collection, but appear later in the volume, among the 'Epigrammata Varia' ('Various epigrams').¹²⁵ Moreover, they recur – in slightly adjusted versions – in another tome of Pastorius's verses, published in Gdańsk/Danzig in 1657.¹²⁶ That edition claims that Pastorius wrote about the chest upon the request of the German scholar Joachim Morsius (1593–1643), who assembled a collection of verses about it, published in ca. 1640.¹²⁷ Pastorius's poems were not included, but they do make clear that he engaged with the learned circles of Morsius and Grotius.¹²⁸

In the first poem, he states that Grotius is the 'summus thesaurus' ('greatest treasure') of the Dutch, who guard their treasures badly, since their prison could not contain what the chest could.¹²⁹ The second epigram focuses on the

125 These 'various epigrams' were not included in the 1653 volume of Pastorius's verses.

126 Pastorius Joachimus, *Sylvarum, Pars Secunda* (Gdańsk: 1657) 37–38.

127 Grotius Hugo et al., *Incomparabilis Viri Hugonis Grotii Patris Patriae Alloquium Ad Arcam, Qua e carcere elatus est* ([n.p.]: ca. 1640).

128 In an episode of the Dutch TV-show *Historisch Bewijs*, aired in March 2020, it was concluded that the chest currently in Museum Prinsenhof in Delft is the only possible candidate to be the one used by Grotius to escape. More research is needed, however.

129 "In Arcam qua vir amplissimus Hugo Grotius ex carcere evasit", in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 65.

chest itself, which Pastorius presents as an invaluable object, more precious than the Golden Fleece and the fabled riches of Croesus:

Cedite Phryxei custodes velleris Arce,
 Cedite Craeseas quae tenuistis opes.
 Arca mihi potior vobis, pretiosior Arca est,
 Quae Grotium vinclis eripit Arca suis.
 Thesaurus aliae servant. Qua Grotius exit,
 Inter Thesaurus ipsa erit Arca mihi.¹³⁰

Yield, you guards of the golden fleece, to the Chest,
 Yield, you who hold the Croesan riches.
 To me, the Chest is preferable to you, the Chest is more valuable.
 The Chest which snatched Grotius away from his fetters.
 Let other chests preserve treasures. The Chest in which Grotius escaped
 Will itself be one of my treasures.

To Pastorius, the chest was a true treasure, since it had carried the famous Hugo Grotius. The chest can thus be interpreted as an object of knowledge: a link to an esteemed scholar and a tangible and thought-provoking symbol of the knowledge he represented.

Yet the fact that Pastorius was moved to write two epigrams about it cannot be separated from his Arian inclinations. As we saw earlier, Grotius appears to have attracted the particular attention of Polish Arians; that Grotius used the chest to escape a sentence connected to his denomination no doubt meant that the object was imbued with religious significance as well. Via his epigrams, Pastorius sought to associate himself with Grotius the scholar *and* with Grotius the Remonstrant, and it appears that he may have been successful. Indeed, these two poems may have laid the foundation for his friendship with Grotius, as Pastorius in his autobiography writes that the Dutchman ‘Lutetiae Parisiorum me ob carmina honori eius inscripta humanissime excepit’ (‘received me most kindly in Paris, due to poems I had written in his honour’).¹³¹ If the poems in question are the epigrams about the chest, they are a concrete example of how poetical reflections on places and objects of knowledge could bear scholarly fruit.

130 “In eandem”, in Pastorius, *Heroes Sacri* (1644) 65–66.

131 Birch-Hirschfeld, “Autobiografia Joachima Pastoriusa” 473.

5.2 *Caspar van Kinschot*

Our second case study revolves around the poetry of Caspar van Kinschot [Fig. 8.4]. He was the son of Lodewijk van Kinschot (1595–1647), attorney for the Court of Holland and grandchild of Jasper van Kinschot (1552–1603), councillor of Brabant and treasurer-general to stadholder Maurice of Orange (1567–1625).¹³² After completing his law studies in Utrecht and Leiden, Caspar set out on a Grand Tour to France and Switzerland between 1643 and 1645. He obtained a law degree, most likely in Orléans.¹³³ His journey is recounted in an incomplete Latin travelogue, which roughly spans one hundred pages.¹³⁴ Next to his travelogue, there are several letters to his father and his friend Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681).¹³⁵ He also wrote twenty-two poems on his travel experiences.¹³⁶

After his Grand Tour, Van Kinschot attended the Munster peace negotiations as personal secretary to diplomat Adriaan Pauw (1585–1653). There, he befriended the future pope Alexander VII (1599–1667). He is depicted standing next to Pauw in Gerard ter Borch's painting of the peace talks.¹³⁷ Two years later, Van Kinschot, Heinsius, and Hadriaan van der Wal (1625–1684) anonymously published the *Saturnalia*, a literary attack on the Republic's older generation of Neo-Latin poets, who, according to these Young Turks, excelled only in inane mannerisms and forced hyperboles.¹³⁸ In 1649, the poet fell ill. He succumbed to tuberculosis at the age of twenty-seven and was buried in The Hague.¹³⁹ In his 1666 collected poems, Heinsius dedicated an elegy to Van Kinschot.¹⁴⁰ This

132 Molhuysen P.C. – Kossman F.K.H. (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek. Tiende deel* (Leiden: 1937) 461–464.

133 Ibidem 462.

134 Ms. Delft, Stadsarchief Delft (from now on: SD), FA Van Kinschot 151. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, we have been unable to study this manuscript in detail.

135 Ms. Delft, SD, FA Van Kinschot 152; Ms. Leiden, UBL, BUR F 51.

136 Van Kinschot Caspar, *Poemata in Libros IV. digesta* 85–117.

137 Molhuysen – Kossman (eds.) *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 461–462. For the painting, see Brown C., “Gerard ter Borch at The Hague and Münster”, *The Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974) 289–292.

138 Rademaker C.S.M., “Oorlog en vrede in de Neolatijnse literatuur in de Noordelijke Nederlanden rond 1648: dichters, redenaars en geleerden”, in Noordegraaf L. – Smits-Veldt M.B. – Spaans J. – Vaeck M. van – Vlieghe H. (eds.), *1648: de vrede van Munster. Handelingen van het herdenkingscongres te Nijmegen en Kleef, 28–30 augustus 1996, georganiseerd door Katholieke Universiteit van Nijmegen, onder auspiciën van de Werkgroep Zeventiende Eeuw* (Hilversum: 1997) 245–247.

139 Molhuysen – Kossman (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 462.

140 Heinsius Nicolaas, “Elegia IV. Pausilypus: ad Casparem Kinschotium”, in Heinsius Nicolaas, *Poematum nova editio, prioribus longe auctior [...]* (Amsterdam, Daniel Elzevier: 1666) 12–14.



FIGURE 8.4
Hollar Wenceslaus
after Borch Gerard ter,
*Portrait of Caspar van
Kinschot*, etched 1650.
Etching, 152 × 87 mm.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
[RP-P-1921-1194]

poem on the Posillipo near Naples, a popular hotspot due to its antiquities and nearby Seiano tunnel, was especially apt since Heinsius was only able to venture into Naples thanks to Van Kinschot's diplomatic connections.¹⁴¹

In 1685, Van Kinschot's poetry was published as *Poemata in Libros IV. digesta*, edited by the Leiden professor Jacob Gronovius. According to his later biographers, Van Kinschot intended to cast his poems into the hearth, but his friends apparently intervened and saved his poetic legacy from the flames.¹⁴² The anthology contains various elegies, epithalamia, and psalms, as well as

141 Blok F.F., *Nicolaas Heinsius in Napels (april–juni 1647)* (Amsterdam: 1984).

142 Molhuysen – Kossman (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* 462.

poems on the Relief of Leiden in 1574, the victory of Dutch Lieutenant-Admiral Tromp (1598–1653) during the 1639 Battle of the Downs, the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and the regicide of Charles I (1600–1649) in 1649.¹⁴³ The third part of the *Poemata* contains twenty-two poems related to Van Kinschot's Grand Tour and later trip to the province of Zeeland, his *iter Toxandricum*. His itinerary can be traced through his poems, from Paris to Blois, Bordeaux, Montpellier, Marseille, and Arras. Van Kinschot wrote, among other things, about the Seine, the equestrian statue of Henry IV (1553–1610) in Paris, the amphitheatre of Nîmes, and the Pont du Gard.¹⁴⁴ In two poems he investigates the home of Petrarch in Fontaine-de-Vaucluse.¹⁴⁵

Van Kinschot wrote three poems which concern sites relating to the Scaliger family in Agen: one dedicated to the grave of Julius Caesar Scaliger in the Augustinian church, one on the birth chamber of his son Josephus Justus Scaliger, and one on the skull of Scaliger senior, which could also be admired in the Augustinian church. The two poems relating to the elder Scaliger are particularly interesting due to their take on places and objects of knowledge. In both instances, Van Kinschot argues that the grave and skull are in themselves not especially interesting, but their deeper significance is: they are symbols of scholarly fame and profound knowledge.¹⁴⁶

The first poem, on Scaliger's grave, features among Van Kinschot's funerary compositions. This editorial choice, most likely made by Jacob Gronovius, gives the impression that Van Kinschot wrote the poem for a recently deceased close colleague. In truth, Scaliger had been dead for almost ninety years. In the opening lines, Van Kinschot laments the fact that the great scholar lacked a proper monument:

Aspice, Posteritas, cineres sine honore sepultos;
 Scaligeri cineres illa recondit humus.
 Marmor abest Parium, nec quae sub mole tegantur
 Condita signatus denotat ossa lapis.
 Sic decuit, fortuna, tegi, cui fama perennis
 Heroum titulos debuit ipsa suos?¹⁴⁷

143 Moss A., "Van het vuur gered", in Deinsen, L. van, *Het schrijverskabinet. Panpoëticon Batavum* (2016). <http://www.schrijverskabinet.nl/portret/caspar-van-kinschot/>.

144 Van Kinschot, *Poemata in Libros IV. digesta* 97–107.

145 Ibidem 105–106.

146 Both the grave and the skull were also venerated, in 1656, by the orthodox Calvinist minister Abraham Trommius. See Van Miert, "Trommius's Travelogue" 65.

147 "In Julii Caesaris Scaligeri Monumentum sine monumento, quod Agini Nitiobrigum visitur" vv. 1–6, in Van Kinschot, *Poemata in Libros IV. digesta* 24.

Behold, Posterity, the ashes which have been buried without honour;
 This earth conceals the ashes of Scaliger.
 There is no Parian marble, nor does a marked stone denote
 The buried bones, which should be covered beneath a mausoleum.
 Was it fitting, fortune, that he whose eternal fame itself
 Merited its own heroic titles, be buried like this?

The answer is, of course, negative. By the end of the poem, however, Van Kinschot comes to the conclusion that Scaliger has no need of titles and marble slabs: his fame alone serves him as his funerary monument. Meanwhile, it is Van Kinschot himself who candidly gives Scaliger the epitaph he deserves, thus underscoring his immense appreciation of the great man and placing himself firmly within the same culture of learning.¹⁴⁸

In the poem about Scaliger's skull, Van Kinschot describes how he studied this scholarly relic, which due to its presence in the Augustinian church must have gained an almost sacred meaning. The object itself may not have appeared noteworthy – indeed, it even seems that Van Kinschot found it rather repulsive. Through the skull, however, he was inspired to reflect on the knowledge gained in the afterlife:

Adsta viator: Caesaris vide caput,
 Metam sciendi et ingeni compendium,
 Capaxque mundi, vita dum quondam fuit;
 Nunc triste spoliū vix ademptum vermibus
 Deforme putrium ossium coagulum.
 At illa, cuius portio praestantior
 His mancipata vinculis quondam fuit,
 Illustris anima, primam originem sui
 Emancipata, iuris et tandem sui,
 Quam mente tenuit, tota nunc totam tenet.¹⁴⁹

Hold, traveller! Behold the head of Caesar,
 Once, during his lifetime, the pinnacle of knowledge,
 Compendium of the mind and treasury of the world;
 Now a sad leftover, hardly saved from worms,
 A deformed clotted mass of rotting bones.

148 According to Abraham Trommius, a 'very conspicuous' monument had by 1656 been erected for Scaliger senior. See Van Miert, "Trommius's Travelogue" 65. Whether this monument was already in place when Van Kinschot visited the church remains unclear.

149 "In Cranium Jul. Caes. Scaligeri", in Van Kinschot, *Poemata in Libros IV. digesta* 100.

But that illustrious soul, of which the superior part
 Was once held by these bonds, free from
 Its first origin, and at length its own master,
 Now in its entirety understands 'the all-spirit',
 Which it first held only with its mind.

Van Kinschot no doubt referred to Scaliger's poetical theory, expounded in his *Poetices libri septem* from 1561, in which he adhered to both Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy about the Ideas. According to Scaliger, the eternal, immaculate Ideas, of which reality is but an imitation, also existed in the poet's mind.¹⁵⁰ Van Kinschot appears to argue that Scaliger, now that his mind had been released from its earthly shackles, had complete access to the Ideas. Scaliger was thus even more knowledgeable in death than he had been in life. The transconfessional potential of places and objects of knowledge is once more illustrated by the fact that the Protestant Van Kinschot made no comment on Scaliger's Catholicism, but despite their religious differences celebrated him as a great man of letters.

6 Conclusion

The written appreciation of places and objects of knowledge on the Grand Tour was a widespread European phenomenon. These recollections show that a transnational approach to early modern travel, juxtaposing the experiences of Dutch and Polish travellers, offers fresh insights into the commonalities and differences between national variants of the European Grand Tour. Travellers from both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Dutch Republic, Catholics and Protestants alike, visited the same, or comparable, sites and artefacts of venerable scholars of the past and actively sought to describe, transcribe, or poetically capture these scholarly memories. The act of remembering could vary: from passively mentioning graves and birth places to visiting and discussing the wonders of foreign university towns. Sometimes, travellers even felt something akin to a historical experience. Seeing the books and testament of Erasmus in the Basel Minster, for example, Dutch visitors marvelled at their physical closeness to the renowned scholar. At the far end of the spectrum,

¹⁵⁰ For a more elaborate explanation, see Spies M., *Rhetoric, Rhetoricians and Poets. Studies in Renaissance Poetry and Poetics*, ed. Duits H. – Strien T. van (Amsterdam: 1999) 23; Mack M., *Sidney's Poetics. Imitating Creation* (Washington D.C.: 2005) 63.

poets such as Pastorius and Van Kinschot wrote their verses in praise of their academic forebears.

Travellers perceived and presented university cities, libraries, and collections of rarities as hubs of knowledge, where all the learning in the world was accumulated in the form of books, scholars, botanical gardens, anatomical theatres, and cabinets of curiosities. Here, itinerants had a chance to soak up all the knowledge they could. Writing about university cities, but also about the collection of Bernardus Paludanus, for instance, the travellers in this chapter underlined their membership of an international academic community, which consisted not only of individual scholars, but also of places where knowledge was actively agglomerated and God's Creation could be studied in all its richness. Whilst commenting on university towns, travellers passed over religious differences and difficulties – even though, in the wake of the Counter-Reformation, the university landscape became gradually divided along confessional lines. At the same time, reflections on foreign academia were not merely congratulatory in nature. Dutch visitors compared Oxford with their own university in Leiden and often found the former lacking, thus revealing their pride about their alma mater.

At other sites or artefacts, individual denominations could complicate matters. For the Arian travellers Pastorius and Moskorzowski, the grave and book chest of Grotius were important focal points of scholarly memory, which their Catholic compatriots took no notice of. Despite their sometimes different confessional backgrounds to the scholar in question, however, travellers often ignored or surreptitiously skimmed over potential religious controversy. Observing Lipsius's silver pen in Halle, Jacob Gronovius disregarded the artefact's Catholic backstory altogether. At other times, the denomination of the offending scholar was a matter of debate, as the Catholic travellers Sebastian Gawarecki and Teodor Billewicz either counted Erasmus among their numbers, as a Roman Catholic, or as a Dutch Calvinist. Religious differences were an important side note when remembering scholars, nuancing the idea that travellers easily crossed party lines in order to embrace transconfessional places and objects of knowledge. Nonetheless, it seems that religious backgrounds oftentimes fell secondary to scholars' academic achievements.

Finally, reflections on scholarly sites and artefacts, especially versified examples, demonstrate how travellers consciously constructed a scholarly community in which the members were both living and deceased. Contemplating Scaliger's grave and skull, Van Kinschot entered into a dialogue with a scholar who had long since died. Pastorius did something similar when he praised Erasmus by appreciating his statue in Rotterdam. Members of the Republic

of Letters often honoured each other with poems, something which both Van Kinschot and Pastorius did not neglect to do. We need only think of Pastorius's epigram to Anna Maria van Schurman, for example. Yet the poems under discussion show that this practice also extended to scholars who had already passed away, and how this was done. Places and objects of knowledge offered a way to communicate with venerable colleagues from the past. Indeed, in the edition of Van Kinschot's poetry, the composition on Scaliger's grave was placed amongst a larger collection of funerary poems, as if the author had written the piece in honour of a recently departed fellow scholar. The learned imagined community thus not only transcended national, but also chronological boundaries, and places and objects of scholarly memory were portals through which generational borders could be crossed.

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The Curious Case of Isaac Casaubon's Monstrous Bladder: The Networked Construction of Learned Memory within the Seventeenth-Century Reformed World of Learning

Dirk van Miert

1 A Relic of Hard Work

Few death-bed accounts are more harrowing than that of the Huguenot scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614).¹ Casaubon suffered from excruciating urological problems. At the post-mortem, the physician expected to find a sizeable bladder stone. However, when Casaubon's corpse was opened, he witnessed a twist of nature that would often be re-described over the course of the seventeenth century:

Nam aperto abdomine pro calculo inventa est vesica monstrosae conformationis ab utero matris. In sinistro latere vesicae prominebat ἔκφυσις vastae capacitatis, sese attollens usque ad sinistrum os ilii, eiusdem substantiae continua cum ipsa vesica, ut videri posset altera vesica naturali adiuncta. In eodem sinistro verae vesicae latere, foramen erat eius magnitudinis ut facile admitteret quatuor digitorum apices, pervium a vera vesica in adnatum saccum quo refluebat lotium: ubi diutius retentum, putredinem, inflammationem, tabem, et interitum tandem attulit.²

When his abdomen was opened, instead of a stone [in the bladder], there was found a bladder of a formation that had been monstrous since birth. In the left side of the bladder bulged an enormous outgrowth, which rose to the left opening of the groin, of the same substance and attached to

1 This article was written in the context of the ERC Consolidator project SKILLNET (Project no. 724972). I am grateful to Robin Buning, Karl Enenkel, Christien Franken and Koen Scholten for their comments.

2 Thorius Raphael, *Epistola medici Londinensis R. T. de viri celeberrimi Isaaci Casauboni morbi mortisque causa, edita ex museo Joachimi Morsi* (Leiden, Jacobus Marcus: 1619), fol. A2r.

the very bladder, giving the appearance of a second bladder, naturally enjoined with it. In the same left side of the actual bladder, there was a hole of such a size that one could easily stick in four fingertips: an opening from the true bladder to the bag which had grown out of it, in which urine flowed back: there the urine stagnated for a while, causing petrification, inflammation, rotting and eventually death.

Unsurprisingly, Casaubon spent his last days in terrible agony. His biographer Mark Pattison concluded in 1875 that 'Isaac Casaubon was the martyr of learning. While it is not probable that he would have survived to a great age, it is clear that his premature death, in his fifty-sixth year, was brought upon him by his habits of life, unintermitted study and late vigils'.³ This display and celebration of an extreme work ethic in itself is no exception in the world of learning: examples of excessive scholarly and scientific labour abound from antiquity onwards to the present day, comparable to other types of hardships suffered in the service of higher political, social, or religious goals.

In the seventeenth century, Casaubon had been remembered by the Reformed scholarly community of North-Western Europe as a champion of learning against what was perceived as a disingenuous and philologically flawed interpretation of Catholic historical traditions. However, these religious propagandists did not keep the memory of Casaubon's martyrdom alive single-handedly: in this particular case, the oddity of the 'monstrous bladder' fascinated medical scholars throughout the seventeenth century, and was spread by humanistic and medical scholars rather than theologians. Casaubon's 'double bladder' grew into a medical cause célèbre. Now forgotten, it kept alive the memory of Casaubon in the century following his death.

We can discern two groups of stakeholders: the philologists and the physicians, who both shared the overall context of a Protestant worldview. Together they constituted a network of stakeholders: apologists for Casaubon's employer, the English king James I who required Casaubon to write against Roman Catholic interpretations of the history of the church; reformed scholars in Leiden who recognized in Casaubon the great friend of Joseph Scaliger; Flemish and Dutch medical scholars who sympathized with Casaubon as a fellow refugee in London; and protestant physicians who were simply intrigued by Casaubon's monstrous bladder. The context, then, is clearly the confessional strife of the first half of the seventeenth century.

3 Pattison retained the idea in the revised version of his biography of 1892: Pattison M., *Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614)* 2nd edition (Oxford: 1892) 412.

However, apart from stakeholders and a particular context, for a memory culture to take hold and endure, there must also be a narrative, and preferably one with a detail that sticks in the mind. The story of Casaubon's illness and death makes for a good narrative indeed, and the bladder itself acts as a true gimmick: an unusual detail that is easily remembered. It is a 'vehicle for commemoration' that lifts 'from the historical record those ... persons representing a society's conception of its ideals and depravities' – in this case the Protestant community's ideal of the true church as recovered in Casaubon's work against Cesare Baronio, and not merely as a warning against excessive neglect of the body. The bladder stands out, not as an icon, monument, or shrine, but as a relic: an object that sanctifies an extraordinary person.⁴

In short, Casaubon's death has all the ingredients for a successful memory culture, upholding the exemplary work-ethic of a Protestant champion, as long as the context endured. This article will concentrate on the 'assemblage of texts', i.e., the network of citations, that evolved from Casaubon's post-mortems.

How could modern readers have heard of Casaubon's bladder? Chances are that they saw a picture of the intestine in a letter by his physician Raphael Thorius, appended to the *Vita Casauboni* in the massive third edition of Casaubon's letters that Theodorus Janssonius ab Almelveen published in 1709 [Fig. 9.1].⁵ That image stands at the end of a long, intertwined history that receded into the past after 1709. The story of Casaubon working so hard and dying in agony because he refused to heed his doctor's advice to take regular toilet breaks, was in fact dispersed over two genres: in the biographical context of the three consecutive editions of his letters, and in medical treatises. More precisely, there are three pedigrees in the narrative: two textual ones stemming from the two physicians who tended to Casaubon before his death in 1614, and one visual transmission, that reached back to 1614 as well, although its origins remain unclear. The textual histories came in different redactions, and even the visual source was elucidated in two versions. The ways in which these redactions were borrowed, reworked, translated, and juxtaposed created an 'assemblage of texts', in which physicians cut out elements from the character-focused biographical descriptions and pasted them into medical case examples. The collective memory of Casaubon is thus 'varied': it has come down to us in narratives told from different perspectives. Moreover, the story

4 Schwartz B., "Rethinking the concept of collective memory", in Tota A.L. – Hagen T. (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies* (Abingdon – New York, NY: 2016) 9–21 (11–12).

5 Casaubon Isaac, *Epistolae, insertis ad easdem responsionibus, quoquot hactenus reperiri potuerunt, secundum seriem temporis accurate digestae*, ed. Theodorus Janssonius ab Almelveen (Rotterdam, Caspar Fritsch – Michaelis Böhm: 1709) first page numbering, 64.



FIGURE 9.1 The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Almeloveen, ed., *Casauboni Epistolae*, first page numbering, 64. Engraver unknown

of Casaubon's bladder appeared in communities unknown to each other.⁶ The manner in which the story of Casaubon's deathbed made it to the third edition of his letters of 1709 is far more intricate than hitherto assumed. It suggests that Casaubon's final days became something of a trope among seventeenth-century scholars, in particular the medically interested Protestant ones.

The two textual traditions of Casaubon's post-mortem stem from two different sources: the eyewitness accounts by the physician Raphael Thorius, quoted above, and the case report of the physician Theodore Turquet de Mayerne. The visual transmission of the bladder itself, meanwhile, had a history of its own, and can be traced back to the Leiden professor Petrus Pauw in 1614. These three pedigrees will be discussed here one after the other.

2 Raphael Thorius's Two Accounts: From a Brief *Epistola* to a Long *Narratio*

Casaubon's physician Raphael Thorius (d. 1625), was a little-known humanist physician and Neo-Latin poet, born in the town of Belle in Flanders, and

⁶ Schwartz, "Rethinking the concept of collective memory" 11.

author of a curious *Hymn to Tobacco*, of over a thousand Latin alexandrine verses.⁷ Thorius obtained his doctorate in Leiden early in 1591 and then moved to London, where he was admitted to the College of Physicians in 1596. He ran a successful practice, and Casaubon was a regular patient of his.

On 15 July 1614 (old style), two weeks after the death of Casaubon, Thorius wrote a short letter to Hugo Grotius, describing the final hours of his patient.⁸ In 1619 this letter appeared in print for the first time, as a two-page pamphlet. The printer, the Leiden-based Jacobus Marcus (or Marci) van der Wiele (or Weele, ca. 1585–after 1650), had spotted the letter amongst the papers of Joachim Morsius, a Hamburg scholar visiting Leiden, who in turn had received the letter from the Leiden professor of medicine Otho Heurnius (1577–1652).⁹ The 364-word letter was signed in London, although Thorius's opening paragraph (in which he thanks Grotius for sending his latest work), was left out in Marcus's printed version of 1619.

In the letter, Thorius ignores circumstances and cuts to the chase immediately. His account starts on the day of Casaubon's death but does not declare his presence at the autopsy, fails to state anything about the history of Casaubon's affliction, and does not explain why he visited Casaubon in the first place. A daily 'dysuria' carried off 'the flower of doctors', we learn, due to an unknown and unheard cause. Thorius notes that 'all outward symptoms pointed at the stone in his bladder', and then gives the description cited at the start of this article. Thorius proceeds with a very detailed description of the bladder, much like an eye-witness account. He reasons that the outgrowth on the side of the bladder was originally as large as the hole in the bladder, causing an obstruction for passing water. With time, pressure of the urine caused the outgrowth to grow, even to bulge: during the six or seven final years of 'the life' (the name of Casaubon is never mentioned at this stage, as if he is demoted to an anonymous patient), it grew into a bag, functioning as a secondary receptacle for urine. 'For it was since then that effort had to be made' (again, notice the impersonal verb):

7 Grell O.P., "Thorius, Raphael (d. 1624)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: 2004); Elaut L., "Raphaël Thorius de Bailleul, médecin, humaniste et poète", *Revue du Nord* 15 (1957) 227–234.

8 Molhuysen P.C. (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* (The Hague: 1928) 335–336. The edition in Molhuysen is based on a manuscript copy, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds Dupuy 16, fol. 109.

9 On Jacobus Marcus, see Hoftijzer P.G., "Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century: The case of Jacob Marcus", in Rosenberg S. – Simon S. (eds.), *Material moments in book culture. Essays in honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser* (Essen: 2014) 163–176 (165, n. 6 and 175).

[N]am ab illo tempore conatu fuit opus ad exprimendum lotium; eius rei magnum argumentum est, quod verae vesicae corpus contractum erat, densius quam pro naturae modo, profundis rugis inaequale ex desuetudine dilatationis. Ex ea partium ad excrementorum expulsionem perturbatione, omnis corporis oeconomia collapsa est, et vir magnus inter lethi cruciatus extinctus per dolores ad astra penetravit, ea constantia et alacritate ut spectantibus omnem mortis metum expectoraret.¹⁰

[...] for pushing out urine; the true bladder's walls were compressed and hardened through the pressure. From this disturbance of the body parts that served to expel excrement, the whole economy of the body collapsed, and the great man died in the torment of death and reached the stars through pains, showing such constancy and liveliness, that he chased away all fear from the hearts of those who looked on.

Here, at the end of this letter, there is finally some moral appraisal of Casaubon: he was a 'magnus vir', who despite great suffering, remained composed, even lively, and showed no fear. The 1619 Leiden version of this letter omitted the final paragraph of the actual letter Thorius sent to Grotius:

Mors ei sane licet praevisa ante, repentina tamen contigit et immatura, quippe quae multa egregia incepta interruptit; sed non est huius vel ingenii vel otii tantum funus digne procurare. Vos in hanc curam isthic incumbite, quibus ob ingenii et doctrinae similitudinem animus exurgit ad tanti herois iacturam ex merito deploranda [...]¹¹

Although he indeed foresaw his death, it still happened suddenly and too soon, because it interrupted many outstanding projects. Yet, he was not the man to have the spirit and leisure to prepare as much as a worthy funeral. You on your side should take care of this. You are similar to him in talent and learning and your mind rises to the occasion of properly lamenting the loss of such a hero.

This circumstantial request bore no relation to the actual account of the deathbed, and was therefore excised from the 1619 edition, which focussed more strongly on the medical side of things. Grotius never wrote an elegy,

¹⁰ Thorius, *Epistola*, fol. Azv.

¹¹ Raphael Thorius to Hugo Grotius, 15/25 July 1614, in Molhuysen (ed.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* 336 (no. 355).

or at least we have no trace of it. Just a few months before, he had produced a 40-verse preliminary poem, praising Casaubon's refutation of Baronius, printed in the *Exercitationes*.¹² This poem celebrates Casaubon as the irenicist mouthpiece of James I. It criticizes the biased view of Cesare Baronio, but also Protestant tendencies to reform too eagerly.¹³ In a much later poem of 1641, Grotius would again put Casaubon in this middle-of-the-road position. He aligned him in a genealogy of irenicist thinkers, starting with Erasmus, 'cast in bronze in Holland' (Erasmus was the first person in the Low Countries to get a public statue),¹⁴ followed by Georgius Cassander (the poem figures in Grotius's publication of his annotations on this irenicist thinker, on whom he was working already in 1614, the year of Casaubon's death), and the great reformer Philipp Melanchthon. This pedigree then runs on via the egalitarian thinker Andreas Modrevius (1503–1572), the reunionist theologian Georgius Wicelius (1501–1573), and the wavering renegade bishop Marcantonio De Dominis (1560–1624), to Casaubon ('to whom the British King was wise to commit his thoughts').¹⁵ Thus, Casaubon's industry and the excellence of his work was omitted from the 1619 printed edition of this letter, reducing it to a largely medical memory. In a letter of 4 May 1614 to Casaubon, Grotius compared him to Erasmus:

Sed rogo te, Vir Clarissime, quando tandem tibi vacaturum est ut plenam tui admiratoribus Bataviam nostram videas? Memini te huic itineri id tempus destinare, cum Baronianarum Animadversionum partem primam absolvisses. Utinam in proposito perstes; non paenitebit te consilii. Sed illud etiam atque etiam moneo ut primus tibi portus sit Rotterodamum. neque enim debet alia in Batavia urbs Casaubonum videre ante illam, quae simillimum Casaubono Erasmus genuit. illa dies propera [...]¹⁶

12 Casaubon Isaac, *De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes XVI* (London, officina Nortoniana, Ioannes Billius: 1614) LXV–LXVI.

13 See the modern edition, translation, and commentary in Oosterhout M. van, *Hugo Grotius' Occasional Poetry (1609–1645)* (Ph.D. dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen: 2009) 96–101.

14 The bronze statue was erected in 1622, replacing a wooden one of 1549, which was in its turn replaced by a stone one in 1557 and 1593; see Miert D. van, "Trommius's Travelogue. Learned Memories of Erasmus and Scaliger and Scholarly Identity in the Republic of Letters", *Early Modern Low Countries* 11 (2017) 51–70 (57–58).

15 Oosterhout, *Grotius' Occasional Poetry* 124–125.

16 Hugo Grotius to Isaac Casaubon, 4 May 1614, in Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* 319 (no. 334).

I implore you, most distinguished man: when will you finally have the opportunity to visit Holland, which is filled with people who admire you? I remember you planned to do so after finishing the first part of your *Observations* on Baronius. I hope you persist in that plan; you won't regret it. But then I urge you again and again that the port of Rotterdam be your first stop. For no other city in Holland should see Casaubon before Rotterdam, which gave birth to Erasmus, so similar to Casaubon. Make haste with that day!

Grotius, thus, placed himself and Casaubon in a particular Erasmian philosophy, between the warring confessions. That Casaubon's somewhat unclear position allowed for such an appropriation would also explain why his memory was consolidated, not so much by the champions of reformed scholasticism in the Dutch Reformed Church, but by the theologically latitudinarian, more historically minded philological scholars of the age.

Grotius first made mention of Casaubon's death on 14 August 1614, when he forwarded Thorius's letter from Rotterdam to Daniel Heinsius in Leiden:

Mitto tibi, summe virorum, historiam ornate admodum et subtiliter scriptam a doctissimo Raphaele Thorio, quae causam mortis viri incomparabilis et tibi simillimi Isaaci Casauboni complectitur. Rogo legas, deinde ostendas Pavio, qui miram constitutionem corporis, in quo habitavit admirandus ille animus, Observationibus suis anatomicis adiungat: est enim res digna medicorum exacta consideratione; postea vero obsecro cures ad me redeant literae [...]¹⁷

I send you, my best man, a story, quite well and precisely written by the learned Raphael Thorius that contains the cause of the death of incomparable Isaac Casaubon, who resembles you. Pray, read this letter and then show it to Pieter Pauw, who should include the wondrous constitution of this body in which that amazing mind lived, in his *Anatomical Observations*. For the case is worthy of close consideration by medical scholars. But please make sure the letter gets back to me afterwards.

The letter then goes on about Cassander's work, with whom Casaubon here again seems closely connected in Grotius's interpretation.

¹⁷ Hugo Grotius to Daniel Heinsius, 14 August 1614, in Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerte deel* 346 (no. 362).

We will meet Pieter Pauw again later, in our discussion of the origin of the image of Casaubon's bladder. For now, this letter explains how Thorius's epistola ended up in Leiden. Two months later, Grotius admonished Heinsius to share it:

Rogatus ab amicis in Gallia nobilis Mylius, ut certos ipsos faceret de causis morbi mortisque viri, nisi tu esses, incomparabilis Isaaci Casauboni, compellavit me de literis Thorii, quibus ea historia ita describitur, ut non possit aut rectius quicquam aut ornatus dici. Respondi esse eas apud te, sed daturum me operam ne diu iis careret, ut honestissimis amicorum desideriis posset satisfacere. Quare rogo eam epistolam ad me transmittas, Hagam, si fieri potest, ubi futurus sum ad diem usque Saturni. Quo facto et me et ipsum D. Mylium devinxeris [...]¹⁸

[The special agent], the noble Cornelis van der Myle has been asked by his friends in France that he informs them about the causes of the illness and death of Isaac Casaubon, a man who would be incomparable, were it not for you. He summoned me about Thorius's letter, in which this story is described in such a manner that nothing more correct or distinguished could be said. I answered the letter is with you, but that I would make sure they would not be without it any longer, so that Van der Myle can satisfy the very honourable wishes of his friends. I ask you therefore to send the letter back to me, to The Hague, if possible, where I will be until Saturday. You will oblige both me and Mr Van der Myle.

Whether this indeed happened is unclear: there is no further mentioning of the subject in Grotius's extant correspondence. After Pauw's death in 1617, the letter apparently came into the hands of professor Otho Heurnius (1577–1652), whence it was recovered by the colourful Hamburg-born scholar Joachim Morsius (1593–1642).¹⁹

18 Hugo Grotius to Daniel Heinsius, 14 October 1614, in Molhuysen, *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius, eerste deel* 363 (no. 377).

19 See for him, and particular for his album amicorum, Schneider H., *Joachim Morsius und sein Kreis. Zur Geistesgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Lübeck: 1929).

3 Joachim Morsius's Programme for Safe-Keeping Leiden Material

This recovery by Morsius explains the context in which Thorius's short letter of 1619 came to print: Morsius wanted to rescue small texts and material relating to the generation of scholars at Leiden University in the first decade of the seventeenth century. This shows that Morsius considered Casaubon an important figure in the history of Leiden University. To gain access to lingering material, one first had to familiarize with the people who kept that material and win their trust, for instance by being accepted as a friend in the network of these people.

On 31 December 1618, the German Morsius enrolled as a student at Leiden University, calling himself "Polymathiae studens" ("studying many types of learning"). Morsius's four-volume *album amicorum* allows for a reconstruction of his movements and shows whom he met. The album includes a number of Leiden scholars, including Otho Heurnius (Leiden, 26 November 1618),²⁰ Johannes Loccenius (1598–1677), from Itzehoe in Holstein (a country man who lodged with Morsius's printer Jacobus Marcus²¹ (Leiden, 23 January 1619),²² Franco Duyckius (Leiden, 28 March 1619²³) and Daniel Heinsius (Leiden, July 1619),²⁴ to mention only a few.

²⁰ Ibidem 90.

²¹ Hoftijzer P.G., "Leiden-German book-trade relations in the seventeenth century: The case of Jacob Marcus", in Rosenberg S. – Simon S. (eds.), *Material moments in book culture. Essays in honour of Gabriele Müller-Oberhäuser* (Essen: 2014) 163–176 (167, n. 13).

²² Schneider, *Morsius*, 94. Henry Wotton, English ambassador to Venice, also signed on 23 January 1619, but in London (Schneider 109). Since, in the English Calendar, 1620 started officially only on 25 March, the date of 23 January 1619 must have been 1620 according to the normal calendar year that started on 1 January. The engraver Simon van de Passe signed in London on 27 January 1620, using the continental year calendar. The confusion over the 1619/20 year would give the impression that Morsius was constantly crossing the channel in the first three months of 1619. When Ben Jonson signed the album on 1 January 1619 (Schneider, *Morsius*, 92), this should be read as 1 January 1620, because Morsius actually enrolled at Leiden University the day before, on 31 December 1618. Of course, there is still the fact that England, following the Julian Calendar, was ten days behind Leiden's Gregorian calendar, giving Morsius 10 days to make his way from Leiden to London, but why would he have enrolled just before setting off to London and get back almost immediately? For Wotton and Jonson, see Schlueter J., "Lost and Found: Ben Jonson's Autograph in Joachim Morsius's *Album Amicorum*", *The Ben Jonson Journal* 20.2 (2013) 260–272 (262–263, for Wotton, whose entry date of 23 January 1619 Schlueter provides without comment, and 260–261, for Jonson, whose entry date seems to have been silently translated into New Year's day 1620 by Peter Beal, whom Schlueter quotes before quoting the source date 'Cal. Ian. M D C XIX').

²³ Schneider, *Morsius* 86.

²⁴ Ibidem 90.

Morsius seems to have had a keen eye for small manuscript treasures, for he struck up an alliance with the earlier mentioned Leiden printer Jacobus Marcus and in quick succession published a number of slender booklets with him, as well as with other Leiden printers. In 1619 no less than ten editions appeared with Marcus, all 'from the collection' or 'from the library' of Morsius, with poems and fragments of works by Janus Dousa, Carolus Clusius, Franco Duyckius, Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Joseph Scaliger, but also of authors not connected to Leiden, such as Simon Simonides, Cesare Baronio, and Antonio Florebello.²⁵ A year earlier, in 1618, Morsius had published with Marcus a speech by professor Paullus Merula. In October 1619, he set off for London, Cambridge, and Oxford,²⁶ and met with Raphael Thorius himself on 7 December 1619. On that occasion, he may even have shown Thorius his fresh edition of Thorius's own *epistola* on Casaubon's death. Thorius in fact signed Morsius's album twice, but the second time he mentioned neither place nor year.²⁷

Back in Hamburg, Morsius in 1621 published a Latin poem by Hugo Grotius: 'Address to the Chest', praising the book chest in which Grotius escaped from Loevestein Castle on 22 March 1621. This poem, together with an epigram on his imprisonment, 'spread like wild fire', according to its modern editor.²⁸ As attested elsewhere in this volume, Grotius's chest became a true *objet de mémoire*, even when Grotius's brother Willem de Groot had to admit in 1644 that he was unable to locate the chest, much to the dismay of Grotius himself: 'I would not want the monument of such great divine favour towards me to be lost!', he answered. 'It won't have flown up to heaven, will it?'²⁹ Morsius, who sometimes used the pseudonym 'Anastasius Philaretus Cosmopolita' (which translates as 'Resurrecting Virtue-lover Cosmopolite') had a clear eye for printing the memorable paper monuments by the greatest scholars of his time: the Scaligers, Dousa, Casaubon, and Grotius.

Leiden University Library keeps a convolute of eight works edited by Morsius, with an autograph dedication to the Latin poet Cornelis Gijsbertsz. Plempius from Amsterdam (1574–1638), who jotted down an epigram on the

25 See the list of Marcus's publication edited by Morsius in Hoftijzer, "Leiden-German book-trade relations" 167, note 19.

26 Christian Hennig signed the album in Amsterdam on 5 October 1619 and Peter Gool in London on 29 October 1619); see Schneider, *Morsius* 89 and 90.

27 Ibidem 105.

28 Oosterhout, *Grotius' Occasional Poetry* 371.

29 Nellen H.J.M. – Ridderikhoff C.M. (eds.), *Briefwisseling van Hugo Grotius*, vol. 15 (The Hague: 1996) 596 (no. 6971: 'Nolim perire monumentum tanti in me divini beneficii') and 720 (no. 7037: 'non enim in caelum evolaverit?'). See Oosterhout, *Grotius' Occasional Poetry* 372. See the contribution in this volume by Paul Hulsenboom and Alan Moss, 289–290.

last page, praising Morsius's efforts to 'salvage from a dark grave' the 'monuments of the fame of eloquent men': 'You make an effort to print; always some author is born to you [...], thus you have nothing in common with death' (despite the name Morsius, *mors* being Latin for death).³⁰

He found such things perhaps in the papers of Otho Heurnius, a Leiden professor with whom he struck up a friendship – as he did with the Leiden professor of medicine Reinier Bontius (1576–1623), a former student of both Heurnius's father Johannes (1543–1601), who died of bladder and kidney stones, and of Pauw.³¹ Heurnius, who signed Morsius's *album amicorum* twice,³² contributed a liminary poem to Morsius's 1619 edition of Gulielmus Laurembergius's epistolary dissertation on the treatment of bladder stones.³³ This interest in bladders is of course also clear from the publication of Thorius's letter, which the printer Jacobus Marcus claimed to have seen in the possession of Morsius, which Morsius in turn had received from Heurnius, and which he printed to dispel 'various rumours by various people about the death of the Prince of the Learned.'³⁴

30 Leiden University Library shelfmark 1366 E 11:9: 'C.G. Plempii Epigrammatium ad Ioachim Morsium: / Tu facundorum fama monumenta virorum / tradis et in multo lumine scripta locas / Tu vigil in vitam doctas extendere chartas, his procul obscurum funus abesse iubes. Niteris, excudis; semper tibi nascitur auctor/ qui vetus aspiciat sidera sive novus / Sic commune tibi nihil est cum morte [...]' Plemp signed Morsius's album amicorum, mentioning no place or date of entry (Schneider, *Morsius* 98–99).

31 See Morsius's attestation of friendship to Bont(ius) in Leiden, University Library, ms. BPL 3316: 1, undated. Bontius also signed Morsius's album (in 1614, according to the editor of this album). We have no other evidence that Morsius visited Leiden in 1614, but Ludwig von Böneburg signed the album in Rotterdam on 12 April 1612, and John Thorius did so in Leiden on 27 April 1612 (Schneider, *Morsius* 81 and 105; for this John Thorius, Schneider refers to Jöcher's *Gelehrten-Lexicon* vol. 4, 1172, but the Thorius mentioned there seems too old to qualify; a son of Raphael Thorius was called John, but was born around 1600; he matriculated twice in Leiden, once on 26 June 1620 and once on 13 July 1626 (Du Rieu, G. [ed.], *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV–MDCCCLXXV* [The Hague: 1875]) 148 and 193) and obtained his doctoral degree on 26 August 1626 (Molhuysen P.C. (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, Tweede deel: 8 Febr. 1610–7 Febr. 1647* (The Hague: 1916) 127, here printed as 'Thirius', but see Grell, 'Thorius'). In 1612 he was aged 12, which is a bit young to have signed Morsius's album.

32 Schneider, *Morsius* 90–91: one of these two entries is from 26 November 1618; the other bears no place and date. Was it perhaps when Morsius visited Leiden in 1614, as is suggested by the entry date of Reinier Bontius? See previous footnote.

33 Laurembergius Gulielmus, *Epistolica dissertatio continens curationem calculi vesicae*, edita ex bibliotheca Ioachimi Morsii (Leiden, Bartholomeus a Bild: 1619). This was one of two publications that Morsius had printed with someone else than Jacobus Marcus.

34 Thorius, *Epistola* fol. A<1>v: 'Typographus Lectori Salutem. Varii variorum rumores fuerunt de obitu doctorum principis Isaaci Casauboni. At veram huius Herois morbi mortisque causam, detectam epistolio quodam R[aphaelis] T[horii] eximii Londinensis

Clearly, then, Morsius successfully associated with philologists, medical scholars, and printers in Leiden, winning their trust and advertising the overlooked fruits of the likes of Scaliger, Dousa, and Grotius. With his printing of Thorius's *Epistola*, he clearly inscribed Casaubon into this Leiden context.

4 The Reception of Thorius's *Epistola*

In 1638, Thorius's *Epistola* was reprinted as an appendix to the first edition of Casaubon's correspondence. The editors, André Rivet and Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, both professors in Leiden, left no stone unturned in soliciting the help of their colleagues, asking them to send in autographs or handwritten copies of any Casaubon letters they might have. Isaac Casaubon's son Meric complied also, but with great care. In fact, the material they received was copied in versions that were sometimes redacted: either the editors or the suppliers silently left out certain passages.³⁵ Here the posthumous construction of Casaubon the hero is perpetuated in a paper monument. The flow of manuscript sources is again impressive: Jacques Dupuy asked Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc for letters from Casaubon. In his turn receiving two Casaubon-letters from De Fabrot, Peiresc sent these on to Dupuy, who passed them on to Hugo Grotius, who forwarded them to Leiden.³⁶

Gronovius managed to add a new source, in addition to Thorius's *epistola*: immediately after Thorius's letter at the end of the 1638 edition of Casaubon's letters, there is a second account of Casaubon's end, also by Thorius. This time it is called not an *Epistola*, but a *Narratio*: a story or a history. It is six times longer than the letter. The account is more detailed, but above all, Thorius now added a great deal more circumstantial evidence, lionising Casaubon. The work is a rhetorical reworking of his original account: a carefully constructed *narratio* (the proper argument in the theory of rhetoric). In fact, Thorius's *Narratio* is part of an epideictic piece of rhetoric. While the disease takes centre stage in the short *Epistola*, in the *Narratio* the suffering is the focal point:

medici, ad primatem Belgii virum [i.e. Grotius – DvM], cum apud Dn. Morsium vidissem, exemplar petii. Quod ille, quemadmodum ab excellentissimo philosopho et medico Otthone Heurnio acceperat, haud invitus (quae morum eius facilitas) mecum communicavit. Quo ne solus fruerer, usibus tuis id repraesentare consultum duxi. Tu conatus meos approba, et vale feliciter'.

35 Dibon P., "Les avatars d'une édition de correspondance: les *Epistolae I. Casauboni* de 1638", *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* 1.2 (1981) 25–65 (examples of censorship on 58–59).

36 Dibon, "Les Avatars" 33–34.

Casaubon transforms from a patient into a person, and not just any person, but a great scholar who regarded his studies as the very essence of his existence.

These two accounts were published in the first edition of Casaubon's letters that appeared in 1638, and they were reprinted in the second, expanded, edition of the letters, published in 1656 by Johannes Georgius Graevius. As in the first edition, the two accounts of Thorius appear at the end, unaltered.³⁷

This edition project had been passed on to Graevius by Gronovius, through the intervention of the dedicatee, Reinesius. We can gather this from the dedicatory letter that sheds some light on the construction of Casaubon as a philologist rather than a church historian or theologian: the words 'God' or 'Church' appear nowhere in this letter. Graevius thanks his dedicatee for introducing him to Gronovius, when Graevius himself 'set off to Holland, that palace of so many illustrious minds, in order to learn to cultivate my talent.' Although he was a total stranger, Gronovius acknowledged Graevius's potential, and introduced him to 'those great heroes of this age, [Gerard] Vossius, [Daniel] Heinsius, [Jan Gaspar] Gevartius, [Peter Paul] Rubens and others'. Gronovius had also delegated this second edition of Casaubon's letters to Graevius. This story is similar to Morsius's story, although with larger dimensions: contrary to Morsius, Graevius stayed on in the Dutch Republic to become a professor, and his edition of Casaubon's letters was incomparably heftier than Morsius's edition of Thorius's *Epistola*. The procedure was the same however: editors had to win the trust of the 'heirs' of Casaubon through admittance into their social circles.

In the meantime, however, the physician Johannes van Beverwijck (1594–1647) from Dordrecht had Thorius's *Epistola* printed in 1641 in his *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo (Exercise on Hippocrates's aphorism about kidney- or bladder stones)*.³⁸ A Dutch translation appeared in Beverwijck's *Alle de wercken (Complete works)* of 1663 and 1672.³⁹

In 1679, the Swiss physician Théophile Bonet (1620–1689), editor of Mayerne's book on gout in 1676, published his *Sepulchretum sive Anatomia*

37 Casaubon Isaac, *Epistolae, editio secunda, LXXXII epistolis auctior, et iuxta seriem temporum digesta*, ed. Johannes Georgius Graevius (Magdeburg – Helmstedt – Brunswick, Christianus Gelrachus – Simon Brekensteinus – Andreas Dunckerus: 1656) 1049–1050 (*Epistola*) and 1050–1058 (*Narratio*).

38 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo, ad N[obilissimum] V[irum] Claudium Salmasium [...] Accedunt eiusdem argumenti doctorum epistolae* (Leiden, Elsevirii: 1641) 282–285.

39 More precisely in the complete works that is entitled *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, Jan J. Schipper: 1663, and Amsterdam, the widow of Jan J. Schipper: 1672, resp.), second page numbering, 244 The page numberings in the 1663 and 1672 editions are the same, but they differ from those in the complete works of 1656 and 1660.

practica ex Cadaveribus Morbo Denatis (Cemetery, or Practical anatomy based on bodies of people who died of illness), a book that was republished in 1700. The 1679 and 1700 editions mention Casaubon's bladder and contain Thorius's *Epistola* under the heading "A more succinct description of the affliction of the same bladder by Raphael Thorius" ("Eiusdem vesicae affectus succinctior descriptio a Raphaelae Thorio"). Halfway through the letter, Bonet inserted a heading "SCHOLIA", suggesting that the letter itself was structured as such by Thorius.⁴⁰ Finally, the *Epistola* appeared in Almeloveen's 1709 edition of Casaubon's letters.⁴¹

Thorius's *Epistola* thus appeared seven times in Latin (in 1619, 1638, 1641, 1656, 1679, 1700, and 1709) and twice in Dutch (1663 and 1672). The letter was printed in a more complete version in Volume 1 of the edition of the correspondence of Grotius in 1928. For the first time it was now noted that this letter of Thorius, kept in a manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, was actually addressed to Grotius.⁴²

Thorius's longer *Narratio* was much less popular. It appeared in all three editions of Casaubon's letters, was reprinted in Russell's edition of Casaubon's

40 Bonet Theophile, *Sepulchretum sive Anatomia practica ex Cadaveribus Morbo Denatis. In III Tomos distributa* vol. 2 (Geneva, Leonardus Chouët: 1679) 1279; Bonet Theophile, *Sepulchretum sive Anatomia practica ex Cadaveribus Morbo Denatis [...]* Editio altera, quam novis commentariis [...] illustravit vol. 2 (Geneva, Cramer – Perachon: 1700) 647. The sub-heading appears before the passage starting with 'Quaeres, et bene, qui potuit vivere ad eam aetatem cum organo necessario tam male conformato?' (You ask, and rightly so, who could live to such an age with a vital organ so misshaped?)

41 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. Almeloveen, first page numbering 64.

42 A new transcription and a German translation of both the *Epistola* and the *Narratio* is helpfully given in Ludwig W., "Das Monument des Londoner Arztes Raphael Thorius zur Erinnerung an Leben und Sterben von Isaac Casaubonus (1614)", *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature* 19 (2017) 271–297, revised and reprinted in Ludwig W., *Florilegium Neolatinum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze 2014–2018*, ed. Astrid Steiner-Weber (Hildesheim: 2019) 345–372. Ludwig fails to identify the addressee ('Ein Name wird nicht angegeben. Vielleicht soll sich jeder Leser angesprochen fühlen') and wrongly identifies his own translation as the first (we have seen that Beverwijck had already translated it into Dutch). Ludwig rightly stresses the character of paper monument that Thorius left, but he seems unaware of the textual tradition other than the 1619 edition of the *Epistola* and the printing of the *Epistola* and the *Narratio* in the three editions of Casaubon's correspondence. Although he does mention a reference by Caspar Bartholinus (Ludwig, *Florilegium Neolatinum* 368) to Thorius (see below), he does not mention those of Beverwijck and Bonet. Mayerne's post-mortem was also not part of his studies, despite Bartholinus's mentioning of 'Brovardus' (but Bartholinus seems also not to have known that Brovardus drew on Mayerne's account, since Beverwijck, which is obviously Bartholinus's source, does not mention Mayerne either).

Ephemerides and in a modern edition, accompanied by a German translation.⁴³ It did not appear in the works of Beverwijck and Bonet, but we will see that they instead opted for another account of Casaubon's death bed: Brovardius's redaction of Theodore Mayerne's post-mortem report, which brings us to the textual tradition of another source.

5 Theodore Turquet de Mayerne's Account

While Thorius's account, thus, found its way into the editions of Casaubon's correspondence, Beverwijck had managed to lay his hands on a second long account of Casaubon's autopsy, drawn up by the Huguenot scholar-physician Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), which he printed in his 1641 *Exercitatio*.⁴⁴

Mayerne knew Casaubon well. Both had lived at the Parisian court of Henri IV in the first decade of the seventeenth century, and both had been pressured to convert, with promises of advanced career opportunities. Having both refused to do so, they left France in 1610, shortly after the murder of Henri IV, taking up positions in London at the court of James I.⁴⁵ Casaubon knew Mayerne well enough to complain about his high salary of 1400 pounds.⁴⁶ Mayerne also knew Thorius well. Casaubon wrote in his diary that Thorius approved of prescriptions by Mayerne, and that the three of them had sat down together, chatting and having breakfast.⁴⁷ Among the unpublished Latin poetry of Thorius is one poem addressed to Mayerne.⁴⁸

43 Casaubon Isaac, *Ephemerides*, ed. J. Russell, vol. 2 (Oxford: 1850) 1242–1249, endnote 1065; Ludwig, *Florilegium* 347–360.

44 Beverwijck, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo* 257–281.

45 It is coincidental that they both entitled their diaries *Ephemerides* (Greek for diaries, or journals); Mayerne's case studies herein share little similarity with Casaubon's personal prayers and records of activity.

46 Nance B, *Turquet de Mayerne as Baroque Physician. The Art of Medical Portraiture* (Amsterdam – New York: 2001) 10.

47 Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, vol. 2, 842 (31 May 1611): 'Heri in magnis angoribus meis praescripta fuerat πόσις a clarissimo medico D. Maierne, et probaverat D. Thorius'; 914: (24 January 1611): 'Cum amicis hodie fui D. Capello, Maiernio et Thorio'; 1050 (16 April 1614): 'Apud Maiernium virum clarissimum hodie pransus sum cum Thorio medico eruditissimo, quorum consiliis quae de mea valetudine inerunt, benedic, O Pater. Amen'; 1055 (4 May 1614): 'Hodie medici D. Maiernius et D. Thorius ad me venerunt, et ad prandium apud D. Maiernium deduxerunt. Multa illi de meis morbis, quibus faxit Deus ut medicinam facient. Amen'.

48 And another one, dedicated to Casaubon's son Meric Casaubon. See Grell, "Thorius".

Mayerne's own original medical case books, the *Ephemerides*,⁴⁹ were published in 1695, 1700, 1701, and 1703. These four editions all contain (all with the same page number) Mayerne's discussion of the so-called 'History of the illness and death of Isaac Casaubon and of the monstrous shape of his urinary organs, as found when the corpse was dissected on the 1st day of July 1614'.⁵⁰

Beverwijck in his 1641 *Exercitatio* actually fails to mention Mayerne as the author. What he does say instead, however, provides a clue about the networked structure of the memory of Casaubon. For we read on page 281 'Please have this, most distinguished man, from your Brovardus'.⁵¹ This 'Brovardus' is likely to be have been Johannes Brouvaert, a Brussels-born member of the London College of Physicians, who contributed, alongside Raphael Thorius (and Constantijn Huygens no less) to a 1622 collection of printed elegies remembering the life and death of Simon Ruytinck, who had been a minister of the word to the Dutch Reformed community in London.⁵² There is a clear link with the Netherlands: the collection was printed at Leiden by Isaac Elsevier, the university's printer. So here we encounter a Reformed sub-community of Dutch physicians: Thorius, Brouvaert, and Beverwijck. The same Brouvaert had met Joachim Morsius in London two years earlier, where he signed the latter's album on 6 March 1620.⁵³ These connections tie Brouvaert securely into

49 This account was originally part of the manuscript of Mayerne's *Ephemerides* (British Library, ms. Sloane, 2065), but it seems to have been removed after 1652. See Nance, *Mayerne* 23, 31, 60 (n. 29), and 202.

50 Mayerne Theodore Turquet de, *Consilia, epistolae et observationes*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, Samuel Smith – Ben Walford: 1695) 144–154; *Opera medica, complectentia consilia, epistolas et observationes, pharmaco-peam variasque medicamentorum formulas*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, R[obert] E[veringham?]: 1700) 144–154; *Opera medica, complectentia consilia, epistolas et observationes, pharmaco-peam, variasque medicamentorum formulas*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, R[obert] E[veringham?]: 1701) 144–154; *Opera medica, in quibus continentur consilia, epistolae, observationes, pharmaco-peia, variaequae medicamentorum formulae*, ed. Joseph Brown (London, D. Browne – Richard Smith – P. Varenn: 1703) 144–154: 'Historia morbi et mortis D. Isaaci Casauboni et conformationis partium urinarium montrosae, qualis reperta fuit in dissecto cadavere, 1 die Iulii 1614.'

51 Beverwijck, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo* 281: 'Haec habe, clarissime vir, a tuo Brovardo.'

52 *Epicedia in obitum reverendi clarissimi doctissimique viri D. Simeonis Rutingii, fidelissime verbi divini dispensatoris in Ecclesia Londinensi Belgica, diversorum* (Leiden, Isaacus Elzevirius: 1622). Thorius opens the collection with a long epicedium on page 3–8; Brovardus's poem, signed 1 February 1621, is on pages 25–26. The poem by Huygens, who befriended Thorius when he visited London in 1618–1619, is on page 20. Four poems by the Dutch reformed minister and colleague of Rutingius, Ambrosius Regemorterus, are on pages 16–18.

53 Schneider, *Morsius* 82. Mayerne himself does not appear in Morsius's album.

the network and show that he was in a very good position to lay his hands on Mayerne's account.

A comparison with the original Latin text of Mayerne that was printed later, in 1695, 1700, 1701 and 1703, shows that Brovardus redacted some of the non-medical parts out of Mayerne's account. In the opening fragment below, I set in **bold** the words that Brovardus left out and I *italicized* the words between square brackets that he added:

Mayerne's text, with Brovardus's interventions

Translation

Is. Cas. singularis eruditionis vir, humaniorum studiorum, literarum cognitione peritia toti notus orbi et criticorum sui temporis Coryphaeus facile princeps. [Summus et clarissimus vir Isaacus Casaubonus] Corpus tenue, gracile, [et] siccum a natura sortitus erat, temperamento [ex] bilioso, **quod vitae conditione atque annorum decursu in melancholicum degeneravit** [plurimum declinante]. Ignei vigoris et coelestis originis animam **obsepiebat**, continebat fragile ergastulum, quod exili, nec importuna mole haud grave, hospitem sui plane iuris esse sivit. Hinc factum ut literis deditissima mens parvam admodum habuerit sui domicilii rationem. Ita vir magnus non impalluit modo, sed pene inaruit chartis. **Utinam Capularis Acheronticus etiam insenuisset.**⁵⁴

Isaac Casaubon, a man of rare learning, known to the whole world because of his experience in the knowledge of humanistic studies and learning, was, as the Coryphaeus of his time, easily the prince of critics. He [The great and famous mister Isaac Casaubon] was allotted a **thin and slender** body, [and] dry by nature, and of a bilious temperament, **which degenerated due to his way of life, and degenerating with age** [declining very much] into a melancholical body. This fragile prison **enclosed**, contained a soul of fiery vigour and of heavenly origins. This body, not quite heavy due to its slender and not unfavourable weight, allowed its guest to be his own master. Hence it happened that this mind, dedicated entirely to learning, had little consideration with its home. Thus, the great man not only grew pale but almost dried up amidst his papers. **I wish he yet would have grown old having one foot in the grave.**⁵⁵

54 Cf. Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 627–628: 'Itane tibi ego videor oppido Acherunticus? Tam capularis?'

55 I have adapted the English translation in Nance, *Mayerne* 94.

Brovardus omitted some synonyms, but more importantly he excised the praise of Casaubon as a prince of learning who died too early, resulting in a stronger emphasis on his physical condition. For the Latin text of Brovardus's redaction, Beverwijck in later Dutch editions of his work on bladder and kidney stones, the *Steen-Stuck* (1649, 1656, and 1660⁵⁶) referred the reader back to his 1641 *Exercitatio*. However, in 1663 and 1672, he included a Dutch translation of Brovardus's redaction in the *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt*, as part of retitled re-editions of his complete works.⁵⁷ By 1672, then, Brovardus's redaction of Mayerne's text had appeared once in Latin and twice in Dutch. It was, however, unclear to any reader that Mayerne was the original author of the account.

This only became apparent in 1679, when Théophile Bonet published Brovardus's redaction (again followed by Thorius's short letter, as we have seen above) in his *Sepulchretum*, where the history is headed as 'descripta ab Excellente Theodoro De Mayerne. Broatio' ('copied from the excellent Theodore De Mayerne, for Broatius' (*sic*: the confusion about the name of Brovardus would indicate that Bonet had no clue who Brovardus was)).⁵⁸ Again, he added a subheading "Scholia" halfway through the text, furnishing the account with a more scholarly appearance of a *narratio* and a comment with explanations.⁵⁹

This text was again reprinted in Bonet's second edition of 1700, now as '*descripta ab Excellente Theodoro De Meyerne Broatio adscripta*', that is to say '*ascribed to Broatius*'. This acted as a correction of the idea, no doubt brought into the world by Beverwijck, that Brovardus was the author of the text.⁶⁰ The next step would be to restore Mayerne's own, somewhat fuller, account, unredacted by Brovardus. This saw the light in 1695, 1700, 1701, and 1703 in Mayerne's own printed works.⁶¹ Finally, it was also printed in Almeloveen's third edition

56 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teykenen, 't voorkomen ende genesen van steen en graveel : als mede het Ite deel, wesende brieven van meest alle de treffelijckste genees-meesters deser Eeuwe, beroerende deselve Materie* (Den Briel, M. Feermans: 1649 or Dordrecht, Leendert Baenwijck: 1649) 42; *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1656) 27; *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1660) 27.

57 Beverwijck Johannes, *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, I. I. Schipper: 1663) in Idem, *Wercken der genees-konste* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664 [sic]) 240–246; and *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, Jan J. Schipper: 1672) in Idem, *Wercken der genees-konste* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1680 [sic]).

58 Bonet, *Sepulchretum* (1679) 1246–1249.

59 Ibidem 1248.

60 Bonet, *Sepulchretum* (1700) 644–647.

61 See above, note 49.

of Casaubon's letters of 1709,⁶² but Almeloveen seems to have been unaware of Bonet's correction, or of Mayerne's medical works for that matter. He failed to mention Mayerne's name, ascribing the story to Brovardus instead: 'I thought it would be favourable to print the accurate history of the last stage of his health, left to posterity by the renowned Brovardus, together with a *Letter* of the outstanding physician Raphael Thorius'.⁶³

Yet, people might even have read about the bladder, not in the letters of Casaubon, or the work of Beverwijck, Bonet or Mayerne, but in the *Institutiones anatomicae* of 1641 by Caspar Bartholinus, as published by his son Thomas Bartholinus. Their account constitutes another branch leading back to Thorius's *Epistola*.

Bartholinus's textbook, 'enhanced by numerous hitherto unpublished opinions and observations of recent authors' (added by Bartholinus's son Thomas) has a title page sporting eight portraits of anatomists, including Pauw and Otho Heurnius. We see here how, in the eyes of a Danish physician, the Leiden medical professors belonged to a canon starting with Hippocrates and Galen, leading through Andreas Vesalius and Johannes Riolanus, on to Casparus Bauhinus and Adriaan van den Spiegel, and ending with Pauw and Heurnius [Fig. 9.2]. Connected to these last two physicians, we now imagine how the young German Morsius brought Thorius's letter before the public eye, drawing on an extensive Leiden scholarly network with links to the reformed refugees in the Dutch Church in London.

In 1641, the elder Bartholinus first referred to 'Raphael Thorius describing to us similar bladders found in the corpse of the great Casaubon. Thus nature wished that this man's mind, rising beyond mortals, left posterity with equal awe as the constitution of his unique body.'⁶⁴ This observation was reprinted in the second edition of 1645.⁶⁵ The third edition of 1651 added the name of Brovardus (suggesting that, by then, Bartholin had read Beverwijck's Latin

62 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. Almeloveen, 60–64.

63 Ibidem 60: 'Accuratam postremae valetudinis Historiam a viro clarissimo, D Brovardo, posteris traditam, una cum Raphaelis Thorii, medici praestantissimi, Epistolam subiicere gratum fore sum arbitratus'.

64 Bartholinus Caspar, *Institutiones anatomicae, novis recentiorum opinionibus et observationibus, quarum innumerae hactenus editae non sunt figurisque auctae* (Leiden, Franciscus Hackius: 1641) 116 (book 1, chapter 20) 116: '[...] raro duas [...] quales [...] nec dissimiles in cadavere Magni Casauboni repertas nobis descripsit Raphael Thorius. Ita volente natura ut siut animus eius supra mortales, ita corporis singularis constitutio parem admirationem posteris relinqueret'.

65 Bartholinus Caspar, *Institutiones anatomicae, novis recentiorum opinionibus et observationibus, quarum innumerae hactenus editae non sunt, figurisque Secundo auctae*, ed. Thomas Bartholinus (Leiden, Franciscus Hackius: 1645) 104.

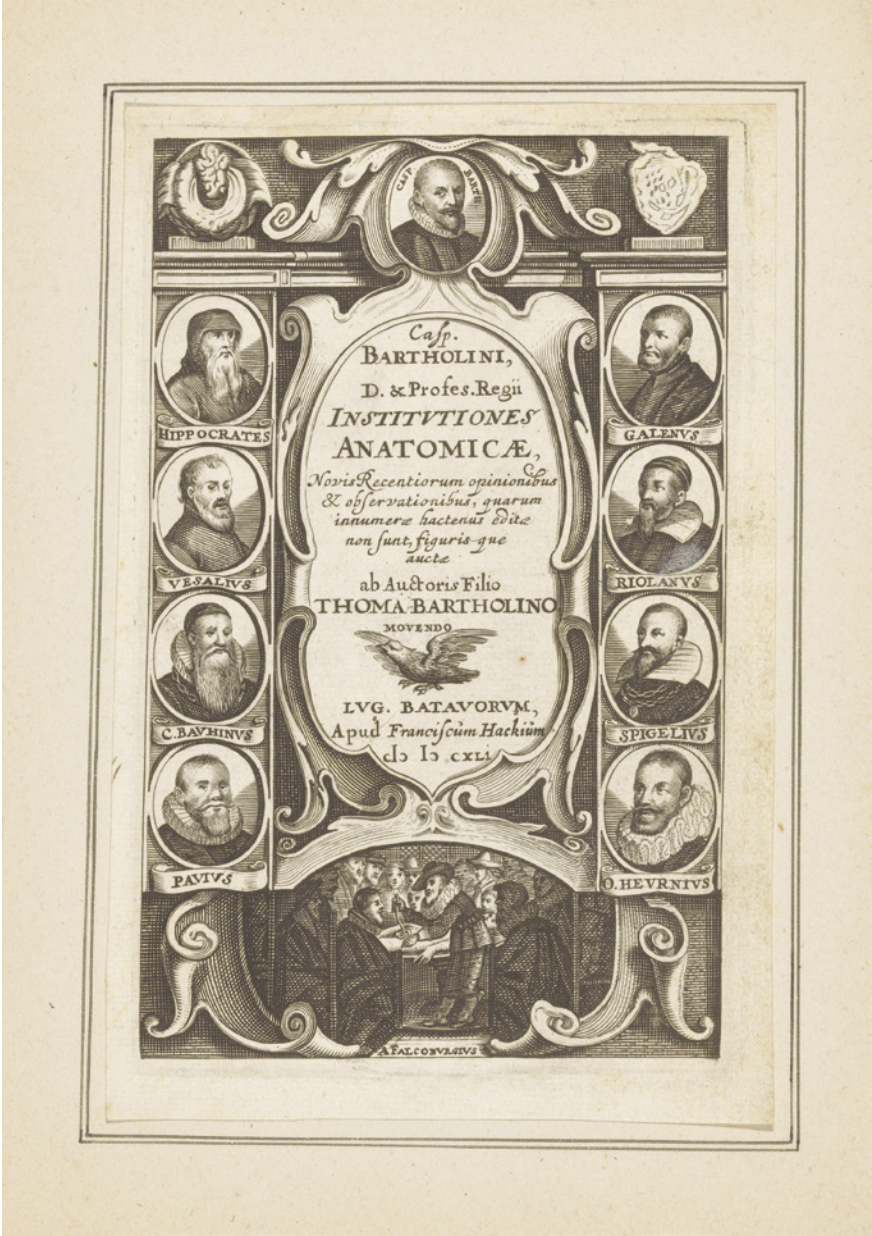


FIGURE 9.2 Title page of Bartholinus Caspar, *Institutiones anatomicae* (1641)

Exercitatio of 1641).⁶⁶ In the fourth edition of 1667, he added yet one more sentence, referring the reader on to Beverwijck's work for an image of the bladder.⁶⁷ This story was printed a number of times in other editions.⁶⁸ In total, seven consecutive editions told the story of Casaubon's bladder, with five of them also referring to Beverwijck's image. This brings us to perhaps the most salient element of the story of Casaubon's bladder: the image itself.

6 The Image of Casaubon's Bladder

Beverwijck, as we have seen the first one to publish Brovardus's redaction of Mayerne's post-mortem, was also responsible for publishing an image of Casaubon's deformed bladder. He first mentioned the curious case briefly in 1637 in his earlier mentioned *Steen-Stuck* (*Stone piece*), a Dutch work on kidney and bladder stones:

Soo ghedenckt my dat Doctor Pauw saliger, Professor te Leyden, ons eertijts getoont heeft een dubbelde blaes van den grooten Casaubon, aen syn E. uyt Engelant gesonden; aen de rechte blaes hingh onder gelijck een sack, daer een groote steen in gheweest hadde.⁶⁹

Thus I remember that the late doctor Pauw, professor in Leiden, once showed me a double bladder of the great Casaubon, sent to him from England. Below on the actual bladder was hanging a kind of bag, which had contained a large stone.

66 Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatomia ex Caspari Bartholini parentis Institutionibus omniumque recentiorum et propriis Observationibus Tertium ad sanguis circulationem reformata* (Leiden, Franciscus Hackius: 1651) 127 and 129.

67 Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatome ex omnium veterum recentiorumque Observationibus, inprimis Institutionibus b[eatae] m[emoriae] parentis Caspari Bartholini ad circulationem Harveianam et vasa lymphatica Quartum renovata, cum iconibus novis et indicibus* (Leiden, ex officina Hackiana: 1673) 197: '[...] relinqueret: huius autem figuram exhibuit Beverovicus' (Bartholin gives no bibliographical reference for Beverwijck).

68 Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatome Quartum Renovata non tantum ex Institutionibus b[eatae] m[emoriae] parentis Caspari Bartholini, sed etiam ex omnium cum veterum tum recentiorum Observationibus ad circulationem Harveianam directis, cum iconibus novis et indicibus* (Leiden, Joannes Antonius Hugueta: 1677) and Idem (Leiden, Marcus and Joannes Henricus Hugueta: 1684) 197. Bartholinus Thomas, *Anatome ex omnium veterum recentiorumque Observationibus, inprimis Institutionibus b[eatae] m[emoriae] parentis Caspari Bartholini ad circulationem Harveianam et vasa lymphatica Quintum renovata, cum iconibus novis et indicibus* (Leiden, Jacobus Hackius: 1686) 197.

69 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, ende ghesenen van Steen ende Graveel* (Dordrecht, Fransoys Boels: 1637) 38–39.

A year later, this text appeared in a Latin translation of the *Steen-Stuck*.⁷⁰ In 1649 a reprint of the Dutch *Steen-Stuck* appeared, and Beverwijck was now a bit more specific: he now mentioned the year 1614 (Pauw had died in 1617), and he also added an image of the bladder and its monstrous outgrowth, but somehow printed mirrored [Fig. 9.3]. It is strange that the very first time we can see the image in print, it appears as a mirrored copy; it suggests that the model on which it was based already contained the three reference numbers to which Beverwijck added three references:

Soo gedenckt my, dat Dr Pauw sal.r. Professor te Leyden, ons in 't Jaer 1614 getoont heeft een graveelige Blaes (1) van D. Casaubon uyt Engelandt gesonden; aen welcke slinker zijde hing een ander (2) gelijk een sack, van het selfde wesen, alwaer het Water door een gat (3) in quam ende wederom uyt-leeckte. Om de seldtsaemhey van 't gebreck, ende in soo seldtsamen man van geleertheyt, hebben wy 't selve alhier voor-gestelt: doch is breeder beschreven in ons Latijnsch Werck.⁷¹



FIGURE 9.3
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1649) 41. Engraver unknown

70 Beverwijck Johannes van, *De calculo renum et vesicae liber singularis, cum epistolis et consultationibus magnorum virorum* (Leiden, Elsevirii: 1638) 31: 'Sic memini clarissimum praeceptorem Petrum Paaw nobis olim ostendisse quasi duplicem vesicam, ex Anglia ad se missam, summi viri Isaaci Casauboni. Vesicae sacculus quidam appensus conspiciebatur, qui calculum continuerat.' (Thus, I remember that the famous teacher Peter Pauw once showed me the double bladder, as it were, of the most distinguished mister Isaac Casaubon, sent to him from England. Hanging on the bladder, some kind of bag could be seen that had contained a stone.)

71 Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1649) 42. This Latin work was Beverwijck's, *Exercitatio in Hippocratis aphorismum De calculo*, which printed Brovardus's redaction of Mayerne's post-mortem. See above, note 44.

I thus remember that the late doctor Pauw, professor in Leiden, showed us in the year 1614 a stony bladder (1) of mister Casaubon, sent from England; on its left side hung another [bladder] (2), like a bag, from the same substance, in which water streamed in and out through a hole (3). Because of the rarity of this defect and because it appeared in a man of such rare learning, we have inserted a picture here. But it is described more elaborately in our Latin work.

This expanded fragment now mentioned the year 1614 and the hole at the point where the bladder and its outgrowth connected. Beverwijck had the story (in Dutch) and the image of the monstrous bladder reprinted in 1651,⁷² 1652,⁷³ 1656,⁷⁴ 1660,⁷⁵ 1663,⁷⁶ 1664,⁷⁷ and in 1672 [Figs. 9.4–9.10].⁷⁸

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- 72 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende Den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1651) 6, which is part of *Alle de Wercken, soo in de Medecyne als Chirurgye*. There is no place or year on this title page, but the subsequent convolute has works with their own title pages, including the *Steen-Stuck*, which starts with a sixth new page numbering.
- 73 Beverwijck Johannes van *Steen-stuck* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1652) in Idem, *Alle de Wercken, soo in de Medecyne als Chirurgye* ([Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1652]) sixth new page numbering, 6.
- 74 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende Den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz Schipper: 1656) in Idem, *Alle de wercken, zo in de Medicyne als Chirurgie* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1656) fourth new page numbering, 27.
- 75 Beverwijck Johannes van, *Steen-Stuck, aenwijsende Den oorspronck, teyckenen, 't voorkomen, en ghenesen van Steen en Graveel* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1660), in Idem, *Alle de wercken, zo in de Medicyne als Chirurgie* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1660), fifth new page numbering. The image of the bladder is slightly different, and although the letters run exactly like the 1656 edition, the text does seem to be typeset anew.
- 76 Beverwijck, *Schat der Ongesondheydt ofte Genees-konste van de Sieckten, verciert met Historien en koopere Platen* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1663), in *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicyne als chirurgie* (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobz Schipper: 1663), third new page numbering, 237. Although the original treatise *Steen-stuck* still retains its own title, it has now lost its title page and is hardly recognizable as a stand-alone work (starting on page 228), and its chapters (it starts with chapter 28) are continuous with the preceding pages.
- 77 Beverwijck, *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt*, Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1663 [sic], 237, in Idem, *Wercken der genees-konste* (followed by a title page *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicyne als chirurgie*) (Amsterdam, Jan Jacobsz. Schipper: 1664), third new page numbering, 237.
- 78 Beverwijck, *Tweede deel van den Schat der Ongesontheyt* (Amsterdam, the widow of Jan J. Schipper: 1672), 237, in Idem, *Alle de wercken, zo in de medicyne als chirurgie* (Amsterdam, the widow of Jan Jacobz. Schipper: [1672]), third new page numbering, 237.



FIGURE 9.4
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1651) 6. Engraver unknown

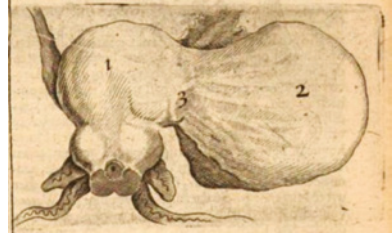


FIGURE 9.10
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1672) 237. Engraver unknown



FIGURE 9.5 The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1652) 6. Engraver unknown

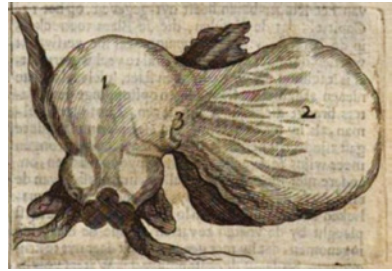


FIGURE 9.9 The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1664) 237. Engraver unknown

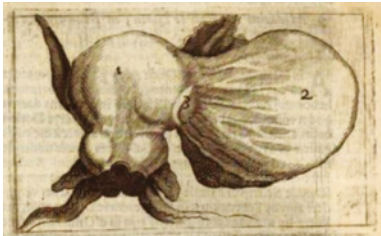


FIGURE 9.6
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1656) 27. Engraver unknown

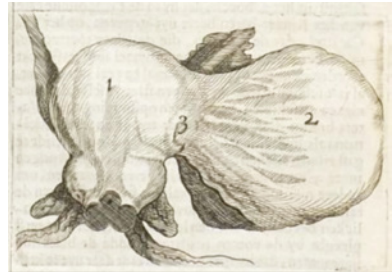


FIGURE 9.8
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1660) 237. Engraver unknown



FIGURE 9.7
The engraving of Casaubon's bladder in Beverwijck, *Steen-Stuck* (1660) 27. Engraver unknown



FIGURE 9.11
The engraving of
Casaubon's bladder
in Mayerne, *Consilia,
epistolae et observationes*
(1695) 154. Engraver
unknown

In 1695, the same image, this time in a very crude version, appeared in Mayerne's works at the end of his case description, and was reprinted in 1700, 1701, and 1603 (page 154 in all four editions) [Fig. 9.11]. Mayerne's edition also shows the likely source of the image: the editor, Joseph Brown, based his edition on the handwritten *Ephemerides* of Mayerne, and this suggests that the crude image was quickly drawn by Mayerne himself, after the body of Casaubon was opened on the same day he had died.

Beverwijck, however, had declared that the bladder had been 'sent' to Petrus Pauw. We remember that Grotius requested Daniel Heinsius to show Thorius's *Epistola* to the same person, i.e. Petrus Pauw. If this is no coincidence, then did Thorius actually *sent* Pauw the bladder, either as a prepared organ or (more likely) as an image? Probably not: the letter to Grotius did not refer to an accompanying bladder at all, nor did Grotius mention it when he forwarded Thorius's letter to Heinsius and requested it back, in October 1614. Pauw must have independently lain his hands on a drawn copy from Mayerne's sketch in his *Ephemerides* or on a drawing from the actual bladder, or indeed even secured a prepared version of the bladder. If so, why did the ever-curious Joachim Morsius not include an image in his *editio princeps* of Thorius's letter? Most likely, Morsius never saw the image of the bladder Pauw that owned, as Pauw had died in 1617, two years before Morsius came to Leiden. While Thorius's letter may have passed from Pauw to Otto Heurnius, the bladder eventually made its way to Beverwijck.

Be that as it may, Beverwijck's image was more elaborate than the one in the edition of Mayerne's work of 1695, suggesting an independent transmission of the bladder, based on an autopsy of a preparation of the organ, and not a copy

of Mayerne's crude drawing of it. We know that Beverwijck lay his hands on a shorter version of Mayerne's case report, copied out by Mayerne's acquaintance Brovardus, who also knew Thorius and Morsius. Maybe Brovardus had made a fine, more detailed drawing, after Mayerne's own more sketchy drawing, or Brovardus relied on a more detailed transmission of drawings. At this point, the early history of the bladder's image remains unclear.

Beverwijck provided the picture in 1649, 1651, 1652, 1656, 1660, 1664, and 1672. Brown had it reprinted four times in different print runs of Mayerne's work. So when Almeloveen had the picture printed in his edition of Casaubon's letters in 1709, it was the thirteenth time that the image appeared in print. He had the bladder reproduced just before the text of Thorius's *Epistola* and after ending his long *Casauboni Vita* with the sentence 'it was a unique and hitherto unknown monster of a bladder, probably never before observed by any mortal being. I deemed it necessary to add a picture of it, so that it is clear to everyone.'⁷⁹

7 The Transmissions Converge in 1709

It was only in this third and definite edition of Casaubon's letters of 1709 that the two traditions of Brovardus (in fact Mayerne) and Thorius's *Epistola* and *Narratio* came together, with the image of the bladder. It is this edition that Casaubon's nineteenth-century biographer Mark Pattison relied on.

However, something far more transformative happens in the third edition of Casaubon's letters. The very busy scholar Theodorus Janssonius ab Almeloveen failed to gain fame on account of his classical studies, but he should interest us because he acted as a brilliant networker and facilitator in the Republic of Letters.⁸⁰ He published primarily on *recentiores* and is the first biographer I know of to have written a history of a printers' family: the French house of Estienne or Stephanus, i.e. Casaubon's family-in-law through his wife Florence Estienne. His 1709 edition of Casaubon's letters completely dwarfs the second one: it is much more complete, much larger, but also has much more apparatus, including notes and comments. It also contains the letters of Casaubon's son, in addition to the latter's prefaces to his editions, as well as Casaubon's own

79 Casaubon, *Epistolae*, ed. Almeloveen, 60: 'singulare atque incognitum hactenus et forte nemini mortalium unquam observatum vesicae monstrum, cuius effigiem apponere ut unicuique pateat, censui necessarium.'

80 See Stegeman S., *Patronage and Services in the Republic of Letters. The Network of Theodorus Janssonius Van Almeloveen (1657–1712)* (Amsterdam: 2005).

prefaces to many editions of classical texts. And it has a huge *Vita Casauboni*, of no fewer than fifty-two thousand words (32 pages in folio), which cites extensively from Casaubon's letters and *Ephemerides*, which had hitherto been completely ignored (an edition of it appeared only in 1850).⁸¹

Casaubon was thus canonized: Almelooven's massive edition functions as an encyclopedia on Casaubon: it reprints available sources, prints a host of new sources, including previously published 'keys' to identifying anonymous persons mentioned in the letters. There are numerous footnotes in the edition, and the *Vita* cites extensively from source material. Its oversized folios make for a worthy paper funeral slab: a true monument for Casaubon. This work above all others helped to construct Casaubon as an archetypical scholar, a classical philologist who suffered the consequences of a heroically industrious life that was dedicated to, and ultimately consumed by, his work for the greater good of historical truth.

7.1 *The Social Framework of Casaubon's Post-Mortem*

When in 1925 Maurice Halbwachs discussed the social framework of collective memory, he wrote that with the changes in conventions taking place in society, the representation of the past also evolved. Whatever individuals remembered, the collective recollection shows a change in vocabulary and social conventions, in pace with the evolvment of the social environment.⁸² The artificial surrounding is exterior to the individual, but does envelope her and the individual's memories are inscribed in those of this framework; they cannot even exist without it.⁸³ Halbwachs largely spoke of lived personal memories in relation to collective memories, but we have learned that as soon as the framework changes, so do the memories, in particular if those memories are not personal, but are transmitted. In the case of remembering Casaubon, the social framework did change, and this change is likely to have been responsible for the fading away of the memory of Casaubon. What did this social framework look like in the seventeenth century, when Casaubon was widely heralded as a champion of learning?

The first edition of Casaubon's letters had been the initiative of a very authoritative Reformed theologian, André Rivet, but he left it to the classical scholar Gronovius to complete the work. Gronovius delegated the second

81 A new and more complete edition is in the making. See Campagnolo M., "Casaubon's *Ephemerides* as a Companion of Calvinist Ascesis through Labour", *Erudition and the Republic of Letters* 4.3 (2019) 316–329.

82 Halbwachs M., *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: 1925) 377.

83 Halbwachs M., *La mémoire collective*, ed. G. Namer, with the cooperation of M. Jaisson (Paris: 1997) 107–108.

edition to another German classical scholar, Graevius. The editor of the third edition, Almeloveen, was likewise a classical scholar. Casaubon's bladder, meanwhile, was a case study much repeated by Beverwijck, a Dutch physician who corresponded widely with figures such as Constantijn Huygens, Anna Maria van Schurman, Caspar Barlaeus, Hugo Grotius, and Gerardus Johannes Vossius, i.e., with the philologically minded princes (and one princess) of the Republic of Letters: classical scholars, poets, philosophers. Caspar Bartholin was a theologian and medical scholar, like his son Thomas, who published almost exclusively medical works. Mayerne was 'a man of many projects performing diplomatic tasks for King James, mixing paints for the great artists of his day, and selling cosmetics to the great ladies of the court, all while passionately pursuing the secret of alchemy'.⁸⁴ Evidently, Casaubon was appropriated by classical scholars and medical (alchemical, even) humanists, more than by religious leaders.

The philologists and physicians who remembered Casaubon were of course Reformed stakeholders, but Casaubon's Anglican leanings, his somewhat Arminian sympathies when it comes to the question of royal power over the Protestant church, the fact that he was courted for years by the Jesuits and Gallicans alike, hardly helped to make him into a hard-line orthodox Reformed hero: the Republic of Letters adopted him, not the Reformed church, the synods, the classes or the individual ministers of the word – who all could have done the same thing. Casaubon was appropriated as a scholarly martyr above everything else: his dedication to *studium* is much more pronounced than his dedication to God – even if quick glance at his diary would have convinced anyone that God played a more important role in Casaubon's life than *studium*, because to him all his *studium* was a pious service to God.

The reception of Casaubon centred geographically in Leiden, a place that Casaubon himself had never visited. But Leiden University cast a wide net: Thorius and Brovardus were Flemish physicians in England; Mayerne a French physician in England; Morsius, Gronovius, and Graevius were all German polymaths coming to Leiden (and travelling on to England in Morsius's case). The memory of Casaubon's suffering was upheld and transferred to a next generation in a geographically mobile network of philological and medical scholars from France, Flanders, England, and Germany, circulating the institutional converging point of Leiden University. The character of this intricate network made the memory of Casaubon more resilient. The assemblage of texts and images and the complicated ways in which these were redacted, copied, translated, and reproduced in word and image mirrors the manifold social network as a rich paper tissue of reception. Casaubon's memory was not carried by one

84 Nance, *Mayerne* vii.

clearly defined group of stakeholders, limited in number, but by a network of overlapping disciplines through different media and sources. If the memory of Casaubon was not constructed top-down by the university, nor bottom-up by one individual, then the process came about through a co-creation for which the network acted as a conduit⁸⁵ – the same kind of networks on which the 1638 and 1656 edition of Casaubon's letters drew. Overarching this social and material network was an ecclesiastical history on which the Reformed world grafted its historical identity.

This raises the question of course why the cult of Casaubon seems to have ended after Almeloveen. Whereas his memory was vital during the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth century the Republic of Letter's familiar central battlefield of theology informed by philology and history was reoriented towards the new fields of study opened up by new types of natural philosophy. After the *Querelle*, the greatest minds of the Republic of Letters were as much reading the book of nature as the word of God. Certainly, they were doing so from the same motivation to understand their position as men in relation to God, but the competition of this new context made ecclesiastical history into a specialisation, that became increasingly formalised and professionalised under the influence of the likes of Muratori, while biblical philology (not Casaubon's core business) developed into a more and more specialized field of work. This does not mean that ecclesiastical history and classical as well as biblical philology lost their vitality as endeavours, but the self-reflexive awareness of that particular philological community as constituting the key paradigm of knowledge did dwindle, and so did the collective memory of Casaubon and his ordeal. Casaubon never really became part of a 'cultural memory' in the Enlightenment: there was too little support for a 'cult' of commemoration.

It all started so promising: his bladderless body was buried in Westminster Abbey, in what later became the Poet's corner, at the entrance of S. Benedict's chapel. Six bishops, two deans, and almost the whole clergy of the metropolis followed the body.⁸⁶ Eighteen years later a funeral monument was erected, by a friend of Casaubon, who was recently appointed as bishop of Durham. However, in the course of the eighteenth century and first half of the nineteenth, the likes of the 'polyhistor' such as Casaubon, Morsius, Gronovius,

85 Rigney A., "Cultural memory studies: mediation, narrative, and the aesthetic" in Tota A.L. – Hagen T. (eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Memory Studies* (Abingdon – New York, NY: 2016) 65–76 (69).

86 According to yet another account, one by bishop Lancelot Andrewes to the Leiden professor of Greek Daniel Heinsius; see Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon* 418.

Graevius, and Almeloveen came together in the pedantic classical philologist that was satirized by George Eliot in her novel *Middlemarch*. The 'Mr. Edward Casaubon' she portrayed had little to do with the historical Casaubon, even if that character was inspired by the figure of Casaubon's own biographer Mark Pattison. But 'Mr Casaubon', and in particular the futility of his philological work, tied in with the popular imagination of the 'dry' classical scholar, 'dead from the waist' down.⁸⁷ Casaubon surely suffered great pain from the waist down, but for the seventeenth-century Reformed province of the Republic of Letters he had actually been an example of astounding vitality in fighting at the forefront of the most important controversy of the seventeenth century: the battle field of philologically-undergirded ecclesiastical history.

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87 Nuttall A.D., *Dead from the Waist Down. Scholars and Scholarship in Literature and the Popular Imagination* (New Haven – London: 2003).

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88 Although in this 1663 edition the original treatise *Steen-stuck* still retains its own title, it has now lost its title page and is hardly recognizable as a stand-alone work (starting on page 228), and its chapters (it starts with chapter 28 and ends with chapter 38 on page 287) are continuous with the preceding pages and following pages.

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