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## ITINERARIES THROUGH LIBRARIES

### PHILOLOGISTS AND THEIR SEARCH FOR ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS IN 17TH-CENTURY EUROPE

»Ho notato che correvi a guardare le loro librerie.  
È il vizio più antico e più inguaribile del bibliofilo.  
Paul Collins: Al paese dei libri\*

#### 1. Introduction

In the Early Modern scholarly world, traveling and collecting were two closely related practices. From the extensive field of travel during the Early Modern age, specifically from northern countries to southern Europe and Italy, the birthplace of ancient Roman civilization, I focus here on a particular and well-defined area commonly referred to in international literature as *voyage savant* or *Gelehrtenreise*.<sup>1</sup> My intention is to analyze several texts that

\* Quoted from the Italian edition, Paul Collins: *Al paese dei libri*, Milano 2010, p. 13 («I noticed that you were running to look at their bookshelves. «It is the bibliophile's oldest and most incurable vice»).

1 Cf. Paul Dibon and Françoise Waquet: *Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, pèlerin de la république des lettres. Recherches sur le voyage savant au 17. Siècle*, Genève 1984 (École Pratique des Hautes Études, IVe Section, Sciences Historiques et Philologiques 5. École pratique des hautes études. Section 4, Sciences historiques et philologiques 53); Francesco Russo: *Itinera literaria* et antiquités du Moyen Âge. L'Italie de Jean Mabillon et Bernard de Montfaucon, in: *Viaggi e coscienza patrimoniale*, Aubin-Louis Millin (1759–1818) tra Francia e Italia, ed. by Anna Maria D'Achille, Antonio Iacobini, Monica Preti-Hamard, Marina Righetti and Gennaro Toscano, Roma 2011, p. 33–46; Winfried Siebers: *Bildung auf Reisen. Bemerkungen zu Peregrinatio academica, Gelehrten- und Gebildetenreise*, in: *Neue Impulse der Reiseforschung*, ed. by Michael Maurer, Berlin 1999, p. 177–188; Hans Erich Boedeker: »Sehen, hören, sammeln und schreiben.« Gelehrte Reisen im Kommunikationssystem der Gelehrtenrepublik, in: *Paedagogica Historica. International Journal of the History of Education* 38 (2002), p. 504–532; Fiammetta Sabba: *Viaggi tra i libri. Le biblioteche italiane nella letteratura del Grand Tour*, Pisa and Roma 2018 (Bibliologia. Quaderni di Bibliologia, vol. 4), esp. p. 35–59. See also Attilio Brilli: *Il viaggio in Italia. Storia di una grande tradizione culturale*, Bologna 2006.

originated within a relatively homogeneous group of philologists who shared a common ideal of culture and erudition and aimed to improve classical and patristic texts by correcting errors and publishing more accurate editions than the previous ones. To achieve this goal, they embarked on journeys to seek previously unpublished and unknown manuscript sources, often found in ancient monasteries or private libraries. Through their individual and collectively accepted efforts within the so-called *Res publica litteraria*, a discourse concerning scholarly travel emerged and is reflected in various literary forms, such as letters, biographies, and memoirs of learned individuals.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, within my portrayal of the scholarly journey, I explore the economic aspects of travel and how they are addressed and described in the sources examined. It is essential to highlight the elements within this discourse that determined the perceived value of undertaking a lengthy journey abroad in search of libraries, books, and manuscripts, intending to compare texts or expand one's personal collection of books. The costs incurred by these erudite travellers were not solely material in nature, such as expenses for accommodation, transportation, books, and manuscript purchases, or acquiring ancient objects like coins or inscriptions as well as employing assistants to aid in research and text transcription. There were also intellectual and social obligations, involving the spending of time, attendance at cultural events, expertise in various fields, and literary skills.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, dangers were constantly associated with these voyages, sometimes becoming the subject of the scholars' narratives and anecdotes.<sup>4</sup>

2 On this concept, which was also used by contemporaries, see Patrick Fiska, Ines Peper, Thomas Stockinger, and Thomas Wallnig: *Res publica litteraria*, in: *Geschichte der Buchkultur*. Bd. 7: Barock, ed. by Christian Gastgeber and Elisabeth Klecker, Graz 2015, p. 129–160; Marian Füßel and Martin Mulsow (eds.): *Aufklärung. Interdisziplinäres Jahrbuch zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts und seiner Wirkungsgeschichte* 26: Gelehrtenrepublik, Hamburg 2014.

3 Cf., for example, the speeches given by invitation in academies, which required preparation and knowledge, or the compositions of occasional poems of circumstance. This was the case by Nicolaas Heinsius, cf. below fn. 24 and 41. See also Wolfgang Behringer: *Reisen als Aspekt einer Kommunikationsgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Maurer (fn. 1), p. 65–95. On travel literature, see also: Karl A. E. Enenkel and Jan L. de Jong (ed.): *Artes Apodemicae and Early Modern travel culture, 1550–1700*, Leiden 2019 (*Intersections* 64).

4 Cf. Antoni Mączak: *Travel in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge 1995, p. 95–102 and 158–182 on dangers; p. 72–94 on the costs of travelling. On the dangers and inconveniences during travel over the long term from the 17th to the 19th century (robbery, murder, kidnapping, illness, quarantine, formalities, cramped quarters) see

Below, I focus on two contemporaneous scholars, Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681) and Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), both from the same sociocultural milieu. They were fortunate to receive support from their respective families; their fathers, being learned scholars themselves, imparted valuable knowledge within the academic realm, facilitated connections with other scholars of the time, and provided access to a vast array of books and financial resources.<sup>5</sup> Nicolaas Heinsius and Isaac Vossius also actively engaged in and contributed significantly to intellectual life within and beyond their home country. As philologists, they produced editions of classical texts and academic publications, maintaining a prolonged correspondence over time with their academic circles.<sup>6</sup>

The primary sources of analysis consist of two distinct works. First, a biography of Heinsius, penned long after his death by Pieter Burman the Younger (1713–1778), a professor in Amsterdam and nephew of the renowned philologist Pieter Burman the Elder (1668–1741) (Fig. 1).<sup>7</sup> It is worth noting that Burman the Younger gained access to reliable materials, including autograph notes by Heinsius, through his uncle, who served as a professor in Leiden.<sup>8</sup> Second, I examine Isaac Vossius' correspondence with his parents during his early years as a scholar when he travelled from Holland to Italy in the early 1640s. While this correspondence possesses a more personal nature, it remains intriguing as it sheds light on certain aspects of the educational process deemed crucial for accessing the literary community as well as of the financial support provided by parents to facilitate

also Desanka Shwara: *Unterwegs. Reiseerfahrungen zwischen Heimat und Fremde in der Neuzeit*, Göttingen 2007, p. 117–135.

- 5 Later, on his second tour to Italy, however, Heinsius was forced to borrow money from his brother-in-law, and, in his fifth year of service, he complains in a letter to the Queen Christina that he has not had sufficient financial support during his long journey. He is granted credit, but the treasurer refused to pay the sum. See Christian Callmer: *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften. Beiträge zur europäischen Bibliotheksgeschichte*, Stockholm 1977 (*Acta Bibliothecae Regiae Stockholmiensis*, vol. 30), p. 66–67.
- 6 On the scientific activities and interests of Vossius, see Eric Jorink and Dirk van Miert (eds.): *Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) between science and scholarship*, Leiden 2012 (*Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*, vol. 214). For his correspondence, see Pieter Burman (ed.): *Sylloges Epistolarum A Viris Illustribus Scriptarum Tomi Quinque*, vol. III, Leiden 1727.
- 7 Nicolaas Heinsius: *Adversariorvm Libri IV [...] Qui Praefationem & Commentarium de Vita Nicolai Heinsii adjecit*, Harlingen 1742, here p. 1–55.
- 8 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 18: »ipsius Heinsii autographas Ephemerides MSS.« Burman also made use of previously published epistles between Heinsius and other scholars.

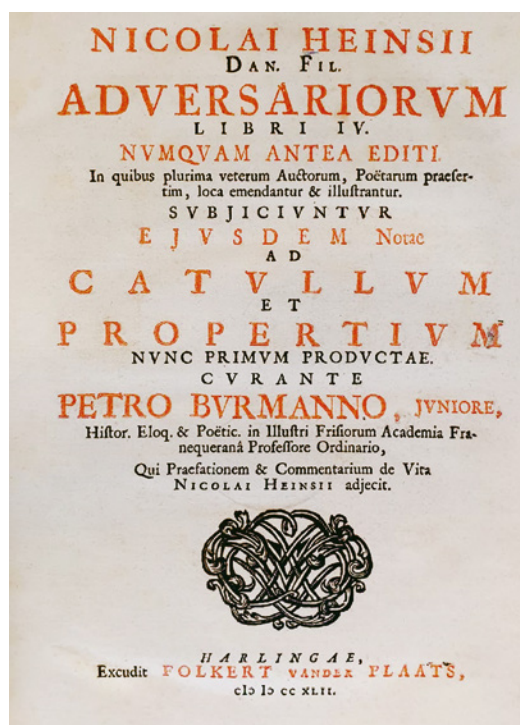


Fig. 1: Nicolai Heinsii Dan. Fil. Adversariorum Libri IV. In quibus plurima veterum Auctorum, Poëtarum praesertim, loca emendantur & illustrantur; Svbjicivntvr Ejvsdem Notae Ad Catvllvm Et Propertium. Nvnc primvm prodvctae. Curante Petro Byrmanno, Jvniore, [...] Qui Praefationem & Commentarium de Vita Nicolai Heinsii adjecit. Harlingae: van der Plaats, 1742, Title page.

such endeavors.<sup>9</sup> In addition to these two primary sources, I incorporate supplementary documents from the same intellectual milieu in the latter half of the 17th century.

The search for ancient manuscripts and books useful for personal research during these trips was – when possible and the financial means allowed –

9 Cf. the edition and commentary by Frans F. Blok and Cornelis S.M. Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, 1641–1644. The correspondence between Isaac and his parents, in: *Lias* 33 (2006), p. 151–216; Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, 1641–1644. The correspondence between Isaac and his parents, Part II. Isaac Vossius in Italy, in: *Lias* 35 (2008), p. 209–279; Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, 1641–1644. The correspondence between Isaac and his parents, Part III. Isaac in Paris, in: *Lias* 36 (2009), p. 295–385.

aimed not only at reading but also at purchasing them to establish and expand one's library (for Heinsius, we must add the mission entrusted to him by the Queen of Sweden). A personal collection of manuscripts was highly coveted. Although one could sometimes borrow codices to create/publish an edition, having one's own collection increased the researcher's prestige and allowed one to have a unique fund of sources to exploit for future research and publications. The term »collection« generally refers to »a set of things intentionally brought together, usually according to a concept and sometimes to a particular purpose.«<sup>10</sup> Therefore, such a scholar's library or part of it in the Early Modern period can be defined as a ›collection‹ because it had been individually and intentionally accumulated to study the classics and advance the research on them. Determining criteria and qualities for a collection have also been described as order, taxonomy, and intentionality.<sup>11</sup> From the later auction catalogues, we recognize that, in the libraries of the scholars of this period, volumes were divided according to a precise order by genre or subject matter; the learned community also discussed detailed criteria attributing value to books, as we shall see.<sup>12</sup>

To consider such collections in an economic dimension, starting with travel sources, means first of all analysing the objects in question – books and manuscripts: What criteria determined the value of certain books compared to others in the context of a well-defined social group such as the international community of scholars and philologists of the time?

Second, it will be a matter of examining what advantage a good collection could bring to the erudite collector and scholar engaged in such research, that is, what intangible goods and benefits (such as prestige and fame) as well

10 Gabriella Cirucci and Walter Cupper: Beyond »Art collections.« Rethinking a Canon of Historiography, in: Beyond »Art Collections.« Owning and accumulating objects from the Greek antiquity to the Early Modern period, ed. by Gianfranco Adornato, Gabriella Cirucci and Walter Cupper, Berlin 2020, p. 9–28, here p. 9, with a discussion on the meaning of the term in different languages and on the research approaches on this subject.

11 Jane Fejfer: Displacing Artifacts. Towards a Framework for Studying Collecting in the Ancient Roman World, in: Cirucci and Cupper (fn. 10), p. 29–54, here p. 39.

12 See, e.g., the auction catalogue of the library of Marquard Gude (1635–1689): *Bibliotheca Exquisitissimis Libris in Theologia Jure, Medicina, Historia Literaria omnique alio Studiorum Genere instructissima: Imprimis autem Multorum a Viris Doctiss. Scaligero, Blondello, Salmasio aliisque emendatorum ac eorum manibus notatorum; Mss. Codicum Arabicæ, Græcæ Latinæque Linguae [...] à Viro Illustri Domino Marquardo Gudio ... Summo Studio & delectu congesta [...]*, Kilonii: Reuther, 1706. For the catalogue of the library of Nicolaas Heinsius see below fn. 15.

as material ones (such as work and compensation) were accorded within the structured frame of the *Res publica litteraria*. Indeed, different discourses emerge from the sources not only on the material costs involved in building a book collection but also on the qualities of a philologist, the value of culture, and the production of knowledge.

## 2. Economic aspects of Heinsius' trip to Italy collecting manuscripts for himself and the Queen of Sweden

Let us commence with Heinsius and his account of the journey to France and Italy undertaken at the request of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689) in the early 1650s. With Isaac Vossius serving as her librarian and advisor during this period, the Queen sought to enhance the royal library's collection and prestige by acquiring books, manuscripts, and antiquarian artifacts like gems, medals, and coins. Consequently, after thorough evaluation, examination, and negotiations, they acquired libraries available for purchase and previously owned by living or deceased scholars, which sometimes involved book and manuscript exchanges.<sup>13</sup> For this purpose, and in search of valuable items on the market, traveling abroad was necessary.<sup>14</sup> Within his philolog-

13 Many plans and wishes to purchase manuscripts, libraries, or antiquities collections in France and Italy, however, failed, cf. Callmer: *Königin Christina*, p. 61–66, 148–177; Eva Nilsson Nylander: *The mild boredom of order. A study in the history of the manuscript collection of Queen Christina of Sweden*, Lund 2011 (Bokhistoriska skrifter 8), p. 51–54. This activity also involved compiling catalogues of objects or books to be examined by the Queen. On the Queen as book collector, the collector's reputation, and the construction of the image of the monarch through the library, see *ibid.*, p. 105–146. Heinsius' tour in Italy touched the cities of Turin, Milan, Padua, Venice, Rome, Florence, Pisa, Livorno, Lucca, Bologna, Ferrara, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo. On his *peregrinationes academicae*, see also Gennaro Celato: *Nasonis vincere decus. Da Ovidio a Claudiano: gli studi di Nicolaus Heinsius sugli auctores latini*, Pisa 2023 (Testi e studi di cultura classica 88), p. 59–98.

14 Heinsius had already undertaken personal study trips abroad including England, France, and Italy in previous years (1641, 1645–1648), see Callmer: *Königin Christina*, p. 58–59; Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 5–12. Called to Stockholm at the suggestion of Vossius, he undertook a journey first to Denmark, Hamburg, and Holland at the behest of the Queen. The history of Christina of Sweden's library, in Stockholm, then after her conversion to Catholicism and her move to Rome, has been the subject of several studies, to which I refer here for details: Callmer: *Königin Christina*, esp. p. 28–38, p. 57–70 on Heinsius; p. 148–177, on the manuscripts acquired and their provenance from other collections, indicating in some cases the amounts paid;



Fig. 2: Portrait of Nicolaas Heinsius, from the Auction catalogue of his library: *Bibliotheca Heinsiana Sive Catalogus Librorum, Quos magno studio & sumptu, dum viveret, collegit Vir Nicolaus Heinsius, Dan. Fil. In duas Partes divisus, Lugduni in Batavis: Vivié, [1682].* Porträt in the copy at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Bc 882.

ical and scholarly research context, Heinsius aimed to explore both public and private libraries that might house valuable manuscript witnesses. The areas of interest to Heinsius as well as many other intellectuals of the time engaged in a *peregrinatio erudita* encompassed classical antiquity in general. This included the study and research of texts by ancient and patristic Latin and Greek authors and an in-depth understanding of remnants of antiquity such as monuments, inscriptions, or coins. (Fig. 2)

To aid him in these endeavors, Heinsius required a companion to assist him in his scientific work and in navigating libraries. This was a main task and

Frans F. Blok: Isaac Vossius and his circle: His life until his farewell to Queen Christina of Sweden 1618–1655, Groningen 2000, esp. part IV; Nilsson Nylander: The mild boredom, with further bibliography.

implied the transcription of texts: »Cuius opera in bibliothecis perlustrandis uti necesse habebat.«<sup>15</sup>

From an economic perspective, Burman's account of Heinsius' journey to Italy reveals several dangers and inconveniences the learned traveller encountered in his dual role as scholar and collector. The episodes narrated not only hold the anecdotal or commemorative value of the journey itself but also help us comprehend the potential losses and risks (if even calculated) compared to the investments made for the trip. We can discern both disadvantages and opportunities arising during the journey. Some elements fall on the negative side, resulting in work delays, significant changes, or even cancellation of plans and itineraries, which may also lead to higher expenses. The evaluation of the trip's negative aspects, influenced by natural and human factors, is centred primarily around missed visits to libraries, the consequent loss of potential manuscript consultations, and the discovery of textual variants. Among the limiting factors on the negative side are climatic elements, such as excessive heat, particularly prevalent in southern European countries, which render any stay there during the summer months inefficient. Heinsius himself took this into account, waiting for the heat to subside before departing from Paris to Italy: »Lutetiis quum mense Septembri haesisset Heinsius, remittentibus jam aestivis caloribus, de italico itinere promovendo meditari coepit.«<sup>16</sup> Other natural factors such as rain, snow, or inclement weather also impacted road conditions, which were already challenging, thus limiting travel possibilities or prolonging the journey. Examples of such conditions include traversing the Alps or the route from Turin to Milan, where snow, storms, and continuous rain made the path both strenuous and perilous.<sup>17</sup>

15 It is Lukas Langermann from Hamburg (1625–1686). Cf. I.U.: Langermann, Lucas, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 17 (1883), p. 683–684 (<https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122880692.html#adbcontent>, accessed: 23 January 2023). *Perlustrare* is the expression used about going to different types of libraries to scrutinize them: »partim Bibliothecis quam publicis quam privatis perlustrandis transegit,« Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 19. In his lifetime, Heinsius collected a rich private library, see catalogue Nicolaas Heinsius: *Bibliotheca Heinsiana Sive Catalogus Librorum*, Leiden [1682]. On this catalogue John A. Sibbald: *The Heinsiana – Almost a Seventeenth-Century Universal Short Title Catalogue*, in: *Documenting the Early Modern Book World*, ed. by John A. Sibbald, Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, Leiden 2013 (*Library of the Written Word* 31; *Library of the Written Word. The Handpress World* 23), p. 141–159.

16 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 19.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 21: »itinere laborioso cum imbribus continuis conflictatus, et per vias in montibus difficiles et periculosas a nivibus et procellis dirum in modum exagitatus sexto demum die post Taurinum pervenit«; *ibid.*, p. 22: »Quod iter per sex fere



In addition to these aspects, one must consider human and institutional factors. Roads could be infested with brigands (*latrones*), as in the Brescia to Piacenza stretch.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, war situations and conflicts among states created a general sense of insecurity.<sup>19</sup> Finally, the fragility of human nature could lead to interruptions of desired activities because of illness or, in the most extreme cases, death.<sup>20</sup> On the route from Paris to Dijon, the city of Troyes presented a socially significant religious festivity that prevented Heinsius from visiting local libraries on that particular day. This unforeseen circumstance resulted in an unpredictable and random loss of potential discoveries: »postquam per Threcensem civitatem transisset, ubi propter diem festum et sacrum nec bibliothecas nec alia, quae satis illic videnda erant, lustrare potuit.«<sup>21</sup> Similarly, in Turin, where Heinsius possessed a letter of recommendation from Paris for an abbot, celebrating All Saints' Day and other holidays occupied the abbot's time, preventing Heinsius from benefitting from the contact. He described the situation economically: »vix illius opera Heinsio profuit« – it was useless. Time wasted on the streets and missed opportunities in cities are thus evaluated once again in the context of the search for possible precious manuscripts of ancient texts. The value of these discoveries lies in the quality and rarity of the manuscripts. However, the reports do not explicitly name the monetary or material costs associated with transportation, food, or lodging in any detail, even though these aspects

dies continuos propter vias pluviarum copia inundatas habuit valde exercitum ac laboriosum.« For dangers and storms when traveling by sea see *ibid.*, p. 29, 37.

- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 23: »Hinc propter viam Brixensem a latronibus undique obsessam per Placentiam, Parmam, Mutinamque pervenit.« See also about *latrones*, *ibid.*, p. 30. Heinsius also complains of having lost books and other antiquities because of a shipwreck during the expedition, cf. Callmer: Königin Christina, p. 87.
- 19 Heinsius assisted, e.g., in Naples to the Conspiracy of the Ciompi, see Frans Felix Blok: Nicolaas Heinsius in Napels: April–Juli 1647, Amsterdam 1984 (*Verhandelingen der Koninklijke nederlandse akademie van wetenschappen, Afd. letterkunde. Nieuwe reeks* 125).
- 20 We also have the account by Jean-Pierre Nicéron of the journey undertaken by Marquard Gude as a learned companion to the young nobleman Samuel Schas in France and Italy. Both scholars were forced to halt in Toulouse for over 15 days because of illness. Besides the risk of death, the precise recording of the days spent and the eagerness to resume the journey as soon as possible suggests the economic value of time during such travels. The text also implies additional medical expenses by referencing doctors. Jean Pierre Nicéron: *Memoires Pour Servir A L'Histoire Des Hommes Illustres Dans La Republique Des Lettres. Avec Un Catalogue Raisonné de leurs Ouvrages. Tome XXVII.* Paris 1734, here p. 179.
- 21 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 20.

certainly formed part of the trip's preparation and planning based on financial resources. Instead, the evaluation revolves around intellectual and communication factors, primarily advancing philological science and expanding the network of scholars. Specific payments and costs of accommodation are rarely mentioned in this erudite correspondence.<sup>22</sup>

The positive aspects seem to prevail in Burman's account of Heinsius' journey. These instances sometimes involve scholars being warmly welcomed into local communities, but the most significant advantage lies in their gaining access to rich private or public libraries through the right connections. An early example of such hospitality and conviviality speaks to physical pleasure: Pierre de Boissat (1603–1682), a jurist, soldier, and the son of a renowned Greek scholar, invited Heinsius and his companion, along with the most learned individuals of the city, not only for lunch but also for an extravagant dinner in Vienne.<sup>23</sup> Yet, these fine and lavish dining instances were not merely about indulging in food; they also served as valuable net-

- 22 One exceptional case is described in a letter from the numismatist Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710), sent from Mannheim to Ottavio Falconieri (1636–1675) in Rome on 14 July 1665. In the letter, Spanheim discusses his outstanding debts to the hotelier with whom he had been residing in Rome. Evidently, the hotelier was demanding final payment, while Spanheim requested to delay the payment until the Frankfurt Book Fair. In this case, it is possible to establish a correspondence between the amount paid and the actual duration of the stay: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana [thereafter BNM], Lat. XI, 97 (= 4085), fol. 195r–196v, here fol. 196r–v: »J'écris un mot à l'hoste pour le conjurer d'avoir encore patience jusques à la foire prochaine de Francfort qui se tient en six semaines et auquel tems sans plus long delay il aura toute satisfaction, comme vous aussi (196v) pour le reste qui est demeuré. Ledit hoste ni perdra rien. Il reçut 400 écus de moy à mon depart et avoit reçu 250 en d'autres payemens, ou environ, tout cela pour l'espace de deux années et demy que j'ay logé chez lui ce que j'allegue seulement à l'égard de ses plaintes, et non pas pour lui en donner nouveau sujet. Je vous auray une extrême obligation de le faire patienter jusqu'à ce tems là.« The letters are preserved in this manuscript; most of them; most of them are unpublished. About Spanheim, see Sven Externbrink: *Diplomatie und République des lettres: Ezechiel Spanheim (1629–1710)*, in: *Francia. Frühe Neuzeit* 34 (2007), p. 25–59. Spanheim went on a diplomatic mission to Rome in the years 1661–1664, *ibid.*, p. 27. On his library and the network of his correspondents, see Sven Externbrink: *Politik und Gelehrtentrepublik zwischen konfessionellem Zeitalter und Frühaufklärung. Die Bibliothek Ezechiel Spanheims*, in: *Frühneuzeitliche Bibliotheken als Zentren des europäischen Kulturtransfers*, ed. by Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde, Annekatrin Inder, Marie Isabelle Vogel, and Jürgen Wolf, Stuttgart 2014, p. 161–175.
- 23 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 21: »incredibili benignitate eum excepit Petrus Bossiacus vir nobilissimus [...] virosque civitatis doctiores ad prandium ac coenam lautissimam una cum Heinsio Lagermannoque invitavit.« His hotel particulier is preserved to this day.

working opportunities. These encounters with the upper class and literati of the cities were repeated at each stage of the journey and served as formalized communication and demonstrations of one's worth and social status. These interactions involve mutual recognition, homage, and intellectual exchanges, showcasing one's competence in erudite conversation. Sometimes, it is necessary to pay tribute, such as participating in circles or academies – and, as we shall see, producing poems, dedications, elegies, and other literary compositions. For example, during his earlier stay in Padua in 1648, Heinsius was almost compelled by his circle of friends to publish his poems written in Italy, dedicated to Cassiano del Pozzo (1588–1657), which referenced the people and places he had visited.<sup>24</sup>

These meetings often led to valuable information regarding access to libraries and manuscripts, especially when they were private collections. In the same account, the image of wealth and opulence (described with the adjective *luculentus*) was also used to portray a library (*luculenta ... bibliotheca*), as an ideal »feast of books«. This is exemplified by the library of the Duke of Savoy, adorned with numerous high-quality Greek codices as well as ancient statues and inscriptions: »patuit Heinsio luculenta ipsius Ducis Bibliotheca, codicibus melioris notae Graecis, iisque ineditis & numero haud paucis, cum statuis plurimis & inscriptionibus antiquis exornata.«<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the concept of the usefulness and benefit of the *peregrinatio* were closely tied to the discovery of texts that held value for one's own research and the publication of new editions. In the case of Heinsius, the success of a visit or a stage of the journey was assessed, for example, by the presence of codices of Claudianus or Ovid, the focus of the philologist's work. Burman explicitly mentioned the editions published during those years.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, such manuscripts were deemed more valuable the older they were, while recent or limited quantity ones could lead to a disappointing visit.<sup>27</sup> It entailed a constant »searching« of places and libraries (*perlustrare*), often with a specific purpose in mind. The culmination of these efforts was the actual discovery of something unusual (*invenit* is the verb used). This is exemplified, for instance, in the case of Senator Carolus Strozzi's (1587–1670) library, which was also later praised by Daniel Papenbroch (1628–1714), a learned Jesuit who embarked on a Grand Tour of Italy in the second half

24 Heinsius: Vita, p. 10. Nicolaas Heinsius: Elegiarvm Liber. Ad Illustrissimum Virum Cassianvm Pvteo, Padua 1648.

25 Heinsius: Vita, p. 22.

26 Heinsius: Vita, p. 25 and 55 (list of published works by Heinsius: first edition of Claudianus 1650, of Ovidius 1652).

27 Heinsius: Vita, p. 24, on the library of the Abbey of Fiesole.

of the 17th century, in his account of a visit to Florence.<sup>28</sup> Burman's words indicate that Heinsius found an ancient codex of the *Fasti* in this bibliophile and manuscript collector's exceptionally rich library: »Eodem comite excusit Heinsius varia insignia Antiquitatis monumenta & Bibliothecam Caroli Strozzeae viri nobilissimi, plurimis codicibus MSS refertissimam, eosque inter *Fastos* & *Metamorphosin* Ovidianam, quemadmodum et alia nonnulla Ovidii praesertim *Fastos* ex antiquissimo codice descriptos apud Jac. Gaddium invenit.«<sup>29</sup> Jacopo Gaddi (ca. 1600–after 1658), a noble Florentine scholar who hosted gatherings of the »*Svogliati*« Academy at his residence, was credited with describing the codex.<sup>30</sup>

Additionally, among the manuscripts observed by Langermann in the library of S. Croce in Florence, one containing Ovid's epistles is mentioned prominently.<sup>31</sup> Finally, in Rome, in the renowned library of the learned Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), the manuscripts containing the works of Claudianus and Ovid were recorded. Heinsius had the privilege of consulting them freely every day, thanks to the generous concession of the cardinal: »Cum Cardinalis ac Princeps eruditissimus Franciscus Barberinus suae ipsius usum quotidianum ultro ac valde liberaliter Heinsio concederet; in quibus Claudiani atque Ovidii, cuius nova hoc anno editionem adornavit, membranis conferendis Heinsius, Theocriti vero codicibus excutiendis Langermannus invigilaverunt.«<sup>32</sup> The codex containing Ovid has been identified in the current manuscript at the Vatican Apostolic Library, Barb. lat. 59.<sup>33</sup>

28 Cf. Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 24. About Daniel Papebroch, see Susanne Daub: *Kunstdenkmäler in Latium und der Toskana: Die Beschreibungen und Bewertungen des Jesuiten Daniel Papebroch aus den Jahren 1661–1662*, Göttingen 2016, here p. 268–269. Daniel Papebroch: *Auf heiliger Jagd in Florenz. Aus dem Tagebuch des Jesuiten Daniel Papebroch. Erstedition, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, ed. by Susanne Daub, Erlangen 2010, p. 127.

29 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 24.

30 He died 1668 in exile. On his person, see Fabio Tarzia: Gaddi, Jacopo, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 51 (1998), p. 159–160. His erudition about the classics is also reflected in his compilation *De Scriptoribus Non Ecclesiasticis Graecis, Latinis, Italicis Primorum graduum in quinque Theatris scilicet Philosophico, Poetico, Historico, Oratorio, Critico*, Florence 1648. The second volume was published in Lyon one year later.

31 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 24.

32 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 25. Barberini writes a letter of recommendation, *ibid.*, p. 28. On his library, see *Index bibliothecae qua Franciscus Barberinus S.R. E. cardinalis vicecancellarius magnificentissimas suae familiae ad Quirinalis aedes magnificentiores reddidit. Tomi tres libros typis editos complectentes*, Rome [1681].

33 Cf. M.D. Reeve: Heinsius' Manuscripts of Ovid, in: *Rheinisches Museum für*

In addition to the items Heinsius collected or attempted to purchase for the Queen of Sweden – books, manuscripts, and ancient coins – it becomes evident that he was deeply invested in his role as editor and philologist.<sup>34</sup> Burman's narrative, though it takes place several decades later, reveals a »discourse« about travel within a specific group of philologists, encompassing their interests and their identity as experts in ancient literature as well as their advancement of the science of »textual criticism.« This discourse existed within a broader cultural and literary context surrounding the subject of travel, which included both accounts and travel guides and involved the Grand Tour's usefulness in training young elites and expanding their knowledge. In this case, travel served as a way to learn about the customs of other peoples, refine the art of diplomacy and politics, and explore what we would now refer to as the »cultural heritage« of other nations to govern effectively.<sup>35</sup>

The endeavors of Heinsius and his colleagues can be likened to a genuine »chasse aux livres«,<sup>36</sup> which also encompassed inscriptions, coins, and other antiquarian information. These pursuits aimed to enhance scientific knowledge and understanding of classical antiquity and to produce (also in an economic sense) works and artifacts that justified and legitimized their status

Philologie N.F. 117 (1974), p. 133–166, here p. 158. The manuscript is digitized: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.lat.59](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.lat.59) (accessed: 27 November 2023).

34 Burman evidently intends to provide a positive and ideal picture of Heinsius' activities as a philologist. In reality, Heinsius' purchases for the Queen were minor because of lack of funds; see Callmer: Königin Christina, p. 64–67, for details on the amount of money involved. Moreover, there was a loss of four chests with rare books because of pirates, *ibid.*, p. 66 (with fn. 61), p. 88.

35 Besides the already mentioned literature, see also Carolin Sachs' Ph.D. project: *Apodemische Wissenskultur in Europa. Zur Theorie des Reisens junger gesellschaftlicher Eliten in der Frühen Neuzeit* (ca. 1600–1800). With a focus on the 18th century, see the conference, held in Halle (Franckesche Stiftungen), on 28–31 August 2022: »Reisen und Religion im (langen) 18. Jahrhundert. VI. Internationaler Kongress für Pietismusforschung«.

36 So the book title of Graziano Ruffini: *La chasse aux livres: Bibliografia e collezionismo nel viaggio in Italia di Étienne-Charles de Loménie de Brienne e François-Xavier Laire, 1789–1790*, Florence 2012 (Fonti storiche e letterarie 32). Metaphorical images about hunting in connection with the search for rare manuscripts in European libraries, however, appear as early as the 16th century. Cf. the beginning of the Preface by Pierre Galland: *De Agrorum Conditionibus, & constitutionibus limitum*, Paris 1554: »Cum ante annos decem, [...] ego et Adrianus Turnebus Belgicae occidentalis aliquot oppida perlustraremus, et in singulis monasteriis libros veteres veluti canes sagaces in lustris feras, diligenter conquireremus ...«

within the literary community (the *Res publica litteraria*). As early as 1639, prior to his departure, Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671) expressed to Heinsius the belief in the usefulness of such a journey for his studies: »How useful will such a journey be to your studies, you know it yourself« (»Nam quod studiis quoque tuis illa peregrinatio profutura sit, nosti ipse«).<sup>37</sup>

To conclude the section on Heinsius, I would like to highlight a significant episode from his trip to Tuscany. In Florence, Heinsius experienced the appreciation and esteem of local scholars who admitted him into the *penetralia* of the two Academies, the Crusca and the Apatisti.<sup>38</sup> Burman noted that he was even inducted into the order of the Apatisti, despite being a foreigner and a traveller (»licet peregrinum & advenam«). It is noteworthy that Burman characterized Heinsius precisely in his temporary role as a voyager.<sup>39</sup> The philologist's reaction upon his nomination into the academy is equally indicative of his feelings, highlighting how the topic of travel could be consciously approached on a metalevel, since Heinsius and his colleagues had to consider its effects, advantages and disadvantages, gains and losses. Burman described a dinner at the academicians of the Crusca on 8 September 1652, followed by a visit to the academy of the Apatists on 5 October, where all participants made oratorical contributions. Among these was a lengthy Italian oration praising philosophy. The following day, the academicians gathered again, and new members – including Heinsius – were officially proclaimed by the founder, Agostino Coltellini (1613–1693).<sup>40</sup>

It is particularly interesting that Heinsius appears to have conformed to the pattern of former *orationes*. He too raised several questions along these lines, such as whether it is better to flee or fight and die for one's country in times of war. On 3 November, in the Academy of the Apatisti, Heinsius proposed a fourth question, known to Burman through an autograph of Heinsius, an »oratiuncola.« This question revolved around whether it is better to travel or more conveniently to always remain at home: »superest mihi oratiuncula Heinsii manu scripta, quae problema IV. ab eo propositum, *Utrum praestet*

37 Burman: *Sylloges*, vol. III, p. 78.

38 On this Academy see Alessandro Lazzeri: *Intellettuale e consenso nella Toscana del Seicento. L'Accademia degli Apatisti*, Milano 1983 (*Strumenti e ipotesi* 9).

39 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 26. See also Jane E. Everson, Dennis V. Reidy, and Lisa Sampson (eds.): *The Italian academies 1525–1700. Networks of culture, innovation and dissent*, Cambridge 2016 (*Italian perspectives* 31).

40 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 27. On this circle of scholars, see Eva Struhal: *Reading with acutezza: Lorenzo Lippi's Literary Culture*, in: *The artist as reader. On education and non-education of Early Modern artists*, ed. by Heiko Damm and Michael Thimann, Leiden 2013 (*Intersections* 27), p. 105–127, here p. 118–120.

*peregrinari, quam aetatem agere semper in patria comprehendit, quam die 3. Novembr. in Apathistarum Academia recitavit.*»<sup>41</sup>

The topic of the journey is thus presented in terms of its benefits.<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, we do not have the text of this speech; it surely contributed, beyond personal experience, to a discourse being debated at the time, which found expression in various texts, such as the *Disputationes de arte peregrinandi*.<sup>43</sup> Heinsius may have referred to these debates and provided a broad perspective on the issue. However, considering the discourse being developed and shared within this circle of scholars, Heinsius likely focused on the world of letters. He probably favored the idea of the usefulness related to travel, especially to Italy, based on his scientific contacts with other scholars and the potential for new emendations and the acquisition of manuscripts. The Parisian jurist and philologist Roland Desmarets (1594–1653) formulated these concepts in a letter addressed to Heinsius after his return from his Italian journey. He speaks of the *commodum* (advantage) Heinsius achieved through his *peregrinatio* in two ways: through the friendship of learned men, including conversations with them, which sometimes proved more beneficial than reading books;<sup>44</sup> and through research in libraries, accompanied by the fervent collection of rare books and manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> Similarly, Antonio Magli-

41 Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 27.

42 I am not aware whether the original has been preserved. In the same Academy, founded in 1635, the *Discorsi accademici*, recited until then by Anton Maria Salvini (1653–1729), were published in 1695. To understand Heinsius' speech, it is important to see how these lectures were rhetorically displayed. It is always a matter of illustrating and solving a difficult problem, a dilemma, drawn from examples in literature, history, the traditions, the human nature, philosophy, etc. It must be discussed whether one thing is better, easier, stronger, more agreeable than another, and so on, according to the scheme of a stringent *aut aut*: Anton Maria Salvini: *Discorsi accademici* [...] sopra alcuni dubbi proposti nell'Accademia degli apatisti, Florence 1695. Heinsius evidently fits this pattern and proposes several questions along these lines.

43 Cf. Robert Seidel: *Debating the Use of Academic Travel. Early Modern Disputations De arte peregrinandi*, in: Enenkel and Jan L. de Jong (fn. 3), p. 114–147.

44 Roland Desmarets: *Epistolarum philologicarum libri duo*, Paris 1655, p. 162: »Aliud etiam commodum vos Φιλομαθεις consequimini: doctos nimirum viros, qui ubicumque degunt, salutando, cum illis amicitiam contrahendo, eorumque consuetudine, & colloquio fruendo, ex quo nonnunquam plus utilitatis hauritur, quam ex librorum lectione.«

45 *Ibid.*, p. 162–163: »Cui commodum aliud addendum est, vobis quodam modo peculiare, scilicet bibliothecarum excussio, librorumque rariorum, praesertim vero manuscriptorum sedula conquisitio.«

abechi (1633–1714), the Grand Duke's Florentine librarian, recalled Emery Bigot's (1626–1689) visit and the two main activities they engaged in during their time together: collating manuscripts in the library and conversating with scholars on literary subjects.<sup>46</sup>

Moreover, the ideal dimension of the imperishable reward of a new edition – which goes beyond an immediate material benefit – is expressed, for example, in a letter from Henricus Valesius (Henry Valois, 1693–1676) to Octavius Falconieri (1636–1675), written from Paris on 1 July 1666. If – as he heard from Bigot – Falconieri seriously considered doing an edition of ancient writers on military issues (*de re militari*), he could begin to earn great credit at present and in the future.<sup>47</sup>

Another significant economic aspect of these trips to foreign libraries concerns the transmission of information, not only within the country of arrival among local scholars but also back home among colleagues and friends who may share similar intentions and plans. The costs that needed to be accounted for while traveling, maintaining relationships with family and colleagues through letters, or purchasing and partly shipping books and manuscripts incurred substantial expenses, particularly when done internationally.<sup>48</sup> In the letters addressed to Ottavio Falconieri, we find intriguing evidence regarding the specific dimension of book prices and their transportation to build up an excellent own collection of books.<sup>49</sup> In them, scholars often discuss the ex-

46 Letter of Antonio Magliabechi to Jean Mabillon (25.1.1690), quoted by Leonard E. Doucette: Emery Bigot. Seventeenth-century French humanist, Toronto 1970 (University of Toronto romance series 16), p. 19–20: »Quando che il suddetto Sig.re fù per molti mesi in Firenze, stemmo ogni giorno insieme, o serrati in Libreria di S. Lorenzo a copiare e collazionare manoscritti, o nel mio povero Museo, a discorrer con Amici eruditi di materie letterarie.«

47 BNM, Lat. XI, 97 (= 4085), fol. 225r–226r, here fol. 225v: »Itaque maximam cepi voluptatem ex eo quod Bigotius noster mihi affirmavit te de editione veterum scriptorum rei militaris serio cogitare. Aggredere hoc opus quamprimum V. Cl. et de saeculo nostro, ac de omni posteritate bene mereri incipe. Quod si fortasse numerus scriptorum illorum te ab editione deterret, unum ex iis elige qui tibi praestantior reliquis videbitur.«

48 For an example of the costs of correspondence from a Benedictine monk and historian, reconstructed from archive documents, cf. Thomas Wallnig: Bernhard Pez versendet einen Brief. Ein Versuch über die Kreuzung von gelehrten und nicht-gelehrten Praktiken, in: Praktiken frühneuzeitlicher Historiographie, ed. by Markus Friedrich and Jacob Schilling, Oldenburg 2019 (Cultures and Practices of Knowledge in History 2), p. 371–385.

49 BNM, Lat. XI, 97 (= 4085). Among the correspondents are Nicolaas Heinsius, Emery Bigot, Jean Chapelain (1595–1674), Ezechiel Spanheim, Pierre Séguin



cessive prices of books and shipping, along with suggestions for cost-saving measures, such as using intermediaries and shipping large quantities of books from printers instead of individual couriers, which were very expensive.<sup>50</sup> They also propose buying volumes at the place of their publication and combining books from various people into one shipment through friends and acquaintances. The letters also delve into comparing market prices for the same books in different countries, discussing the relationship between book prices and shipping costs, and considering how the scarcity of available copies influences their price.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, scholars sometimes regretted not

(1599–1672), Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632–1703), Henry Valois, brother of the mentioned Adrien, in the 1760s and 1770s. These individuals belonged to the same circle of literati Isaac Vossius and Marquard Gude were also in contact with. The manuscript has belonged to Giusto Fontanini, Giovanni Battista Schioppalaba, and Giulio Bernardino Tomitano (1761–1828). From his library, the codex probably passed to that of S. Michele in Isola under the librarian Fortunato Mandelli (1728–1797). See Paolo Eleuteri: *La Biblioteca*, in: *San Michele in Isola – Isola delle conoscenze: ottocento anni di storia e cultura camaldolese nella laguna di Venezia*, ed. by Marcello Brusegan, Paolo Eleuteri and Gianfranco Fiaccadori, Turin 2012, p. 213–216, here p. 215.

- 50 Venice, BNM, Lat. XI, 97, letter of Pierre Séguin, priest and numismatic, to Ottavio Falconieri (15 January 1672), fol. 137v–138r, here fol. 138r: »Quant aux livres que vous desirés Monseigr., il faudra attendre l’occasion de quelque ballot de Libraire, parce que la voye des Courriers est trop chere. Il est facheux de payer autant pour le port que pour le Livre même, et davantage. Cramoisy m’a assuré qu’il avoit envoyé des Commendons à Rome, ce seroit bien plutôt fait de les y prendre, cela étant, que de les faire venir de si loin.«
- 51 Venice, BNM, Lat. XI, 97, letter of Emery Bigot to Ottavio Falconieri (25 February 1667), fol. 118v–119v, here fol. 118v: »Si vous avés encore en vôtre ville Mr l’Abbé Seguin je vous prie de l’assurer des mes tres humbles services. Demandés lui s’il ne fait point quelques balles de livres, et, s’il en fait, s’il ny auroit point place pour ces volumes d’Allatius, que vous avés eu la bonté de m’achepter et les deux d’Abraham Achellensis imprimés à la Propagande«; fol. 119r: »L’Epiphane du Pere Petau est tres cher en ces quartiers, et il se vend jusques à vint écus. Les oeuvres de Gerson ne sont pas à meilleur marché. S’ils se trouvoient en vos quartiers je suis certain que vous les auriez à un tiers de meilleur marché. Optatus Alaspinaei, et les oeuvres du cardinal du Perron, se purront trouver à un prix raisonnable, et je vous les enverrai quand vous m’aurez indiqué à qui les adresser à Lyon; cela est necessaire comme vous me le mandés. Il y a long têmes que je souhaite que Mr Mellini fasse imprimer son Anastase, et vous le devriez presser, et l’obliger à cela. Je n’ay pu apprendre rien de bien certain du prix de la Bible Polyglotte d’Angleterre, ne s’en trouvant qu’une ou deux à vendre à Paris tres cher. Les Libraires qui n’en ont point disent, qu’elle ne vaut que vingt, ou vingt cinq Pistoles, et les autres la font trente ou trente cinq; cela depend de sçavoir, s’il en a eu beaucoup d’exemplaires brulés ou non; car s’il

purchasing certain books during their journey because of concerns about their correctness and matching the price paid. Emery Bigot, for instance, lamented not having bought two editions of the Greek Menology published in Venice because they were of poor quality. The decision seemed right at the time, but then he regretted not having the books.<sup>52</sup> This indirectly implies that a book's value is higher if it is more accurate. Consequently, investing in travel or purchasing manuscripts to produce philologically high-quality books would likely lead to economic benefits, including selling the books themselves. In fact, in another letter, Bigot reminded Falconieri that the works of two contemporary authors were beginning to be sold.<sup>53</sup>

Additionally, it is essential to contemplate the value embedded in a range of information transmitted from one scholar to another, whether orally or in writing, such as exchanging lists of libraries and contacts. The recipients of this information benefitted from the established social networks and the knowledge acquired locally. They received valuable advice, addresses, and letters of recommendation, leading other scholars to visit the same libraries, meet the same people, and correspond with them.

This communicative aspect is explicitly evident, for example, in the correspondence between Vossius and Heinsius. In a letter from Amsterdam in December 1646, Vossius provided his friend Heinsius, who was in Italy then, with many insights about the libraries in Florence, Rome, and Naples. He mentioned the library of the convent of S. Giovanni a Carbonara in Naples, known through the advice of Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661), and even humorously referred to the »Accademia degli Otiosi« in Naples, who call themselves Otiosi and indeed live up to the name (»qui se Otiosos vocant, et revera sunt«).<sup>54</sup>

y en a eu beaucoup, elle deviendra bien chere, sinon, on la pourra avoir entre vingt, et vingt cinq pistoles. Voila ce que j'en eu pô apprendre.»

52 Venice, BNM, Lat. XI, 97, letter of Emery Bigot to Ottavio Falconieri (25 September 1666), fol. 115v–118r, here fol. 117v: »A propos de livres, il faut que vous ayés les Menées imprimés à Venise. Il y en a deux editions. La premiere est la meilleure, mais l'une et l'autre est fort fautive et bellement corrompue, qu'il est impossible quelquefois en tirer aucun sens. Cela m'empêcha de les acheter à Venise, presentement je voudrais les avoir.« In another case Bigot himself wrote to Magliabechi (Milan, 8 June 1661) that he brought back books he had just bought from booksellers because they were of very poor quality, cited by Doucette: Emery Bigot (fn. 46), p. 25: »Comprai una dozzina di libracci ch'io lascia nelle loro bottighe.«

53 Venice, BNM, Lat. XI, 97, letter of Emery Bigot to Ottavio Falconieri (6 January 1669), fol. 121v–122r, here fol. 121v: »L'Origenes de Mr Huet, et l'histoire d'Eliau de Mr. LeFebvre commencent à se vendre.«

54 Burman: Sylloges, p. 565–567: Vossius describes the itinerary for the cities of Flo-

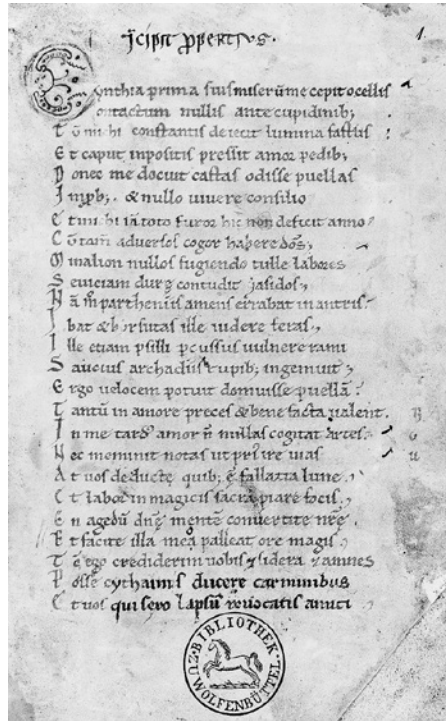


Fig. 3: Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 224 Gud. lat., fol. 1r, Propertius, Elegiae, from the manuscript collection of Marquard Gude.

In some instances, revisiting libraries proved even more fruitful on the second or third visit. For example, Nicolaas Heinsius discovered an unpublished text in the Paduan library of S. Giovanni in Viridario, which he handed over to Adrien Valois (1607–1692) for publishing. Burman recorded this discovery for 1653, stating that Heinsius contributed significantly to the augmentation of the *res publica litteraria* through his finding.<sup>55</sup> Similarly, around 10 years

rence, Rome, Naples, and Urbino. He indicates not only the libraries worth visiting but also librarians and people to contact, some of the codices which the libraries contain and their quality, and the roads to take (e.g., the Flaminia, when departing from Rom heading to Urbino).

<sup>55</sup> Heinsius: Vita, p. 29. This is the edition Adrien, de Valois: *Carmen Panegyricvm De Lavdibvs Berengarii*, Paris 1663. The story of the discovery and transmission of the text at the request of Valois is referred by the latter in the Preface.

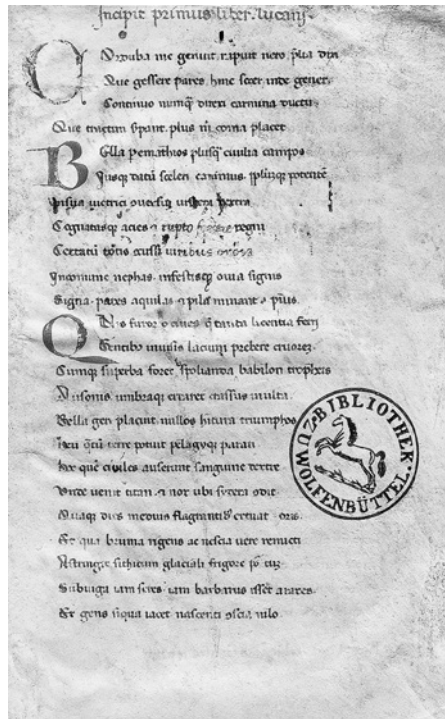


Fig. 4: Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 317 Gud. lat., fol. 1r, Lucanus, Bellum civile, from the manuscript collection of Marquard Gude.

later, another scholar, Marquard Gude (1635–1689), acquired a series of precious Greek codices from the same Library in Padua.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>56</sup> The volume of Giacomo Filippo Tomasini, describing the manuscripts in the libraries in the region went back to 1650, and Gude had one copy of the book: *Bibliothecæ Venetæ Manuscriptæ Pvblicæ & Privatae*, Udine 1650. It listed the manuscripts of many libraries which could be traced by the traveling scholars. Gude could acquire manuscripts that had belonged to the scholar Pietro da Montagnana. See Eleonora Gamba: *Da S. Giovanni di Verdara a Wolfenbüttel: riflessioni intorno alla biblioteca di Pietro da Montagnana e all'Euripide nel Cod. Guelf. 15 Gud. graec.*, in: *Retter der Antike: Marquard Gude (1635–1689) auf der Suche nach den Klassikern*, ed. by Patrizia Carmassi, Wiesbaden 2016 (*Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 147), p. 191–216; Ead.: *Libri greci nella biblioteca di Pietro da Montagnana*, in: *Libri e biblioteche di umanisti tra Oriente e Occidente*, ed. by Stefano Martinelli Tempesta, David Speranzi and Federico Gallo, Milano 2019 (*Fonti e studi. Accademia Ambrosiana, Classe di studi greci e latini* 31), p. 61–122.

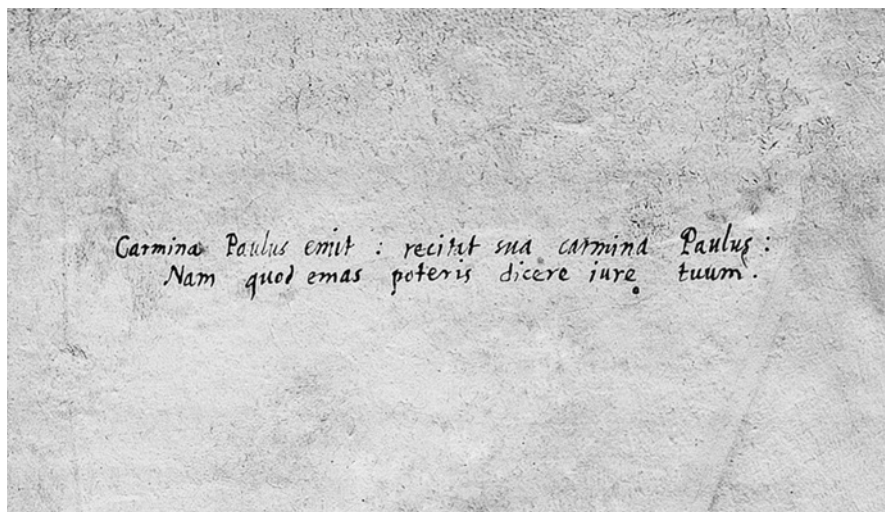


Fig. 5: Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 317 Gud. lat., back pastedown, note by the hand of Marquard Gude.

Furthermore, the renowned Neapolitanus codex of Propertius, dating back to the 12th century, highly valuable for text reconstruction, was examined by Heinsius but eventually acquired by Marquard Gude for his private library during his trip to Naples. The codex is now preserved at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 224 Gud. lat. (Fig. 3).<sup>57</sup>

Another manuscript of Gude's library containing Lucanus, now preserved at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 317 Gud. lat., had previously belonged to Antonio Seripando (1486–1531) (Fig. 4).

The former learned owners of these books connected back to the generation of the humanists, serving as a model for philologists of the 17th century and inspiring them to build significant collections of manuscripts.<sup>58</sup> Gude's

<sup>57</sup> The manuscript is digitized: <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/224-gud-lat/start.htm> (accessed: 27 November 2023); see Gennaro Celato: N. Heinsius e l'uso del Codex Neapolitanus di Propertio in tre note ad Ovidio (con una lettera inedita), in: *Commentaria Classica* 7 (2020), p. 45–62, with further literature.

<sup>58</sup> At his death, Antonio Seripando left his library to his brother, Cardinal Girolamo Seripando; Antonio, in turn, had inherited the books of the humanist Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1522), including many Greek codices, and had deposited them in the Library of S. Giovanni a Carbonara (an Augustinian monastery). Description in: Franz Koehler (ed.): *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*. Abth. 4. *Die Gudischen Handschriften*. *Die griechischen Handschriften*

choice to inscribe an epigram of Martial (II, 20) on the inner page of the back plate of the Neapolitan codex of Lucan is not a coincidence: (Fig. 5):

»Carmina Paulus emit: recitat sua carmina Paulus.  
Nam quod emas, poteris dicere iure tuum.«<sup>59</sup>

This epigram conveys that, when a book like the one he has acquired, is purchased, there comes a level of assimilation of the entire literary heritage within. However, despite this assimilation, a distinction remains between the actual author – in this case, the Latin poet Martial – and the possessor of the codex, even if the latter is an eminent scholar. Martial's Paulus (referring to the possessor of the book in the epigram) can never truly make the verses of the original writer his own, even if he has bought and recited them deceitfully. Nonetheless, in certain books, a genuine accumulation of knowledge takes place, particularly through the glosses of learned men of the more or less distant past. Consequently, the value of the book increased significantly. An annotated book by such eminent personalities became more valuable because it contains unique insights and knowledge that might not be found elsewhere. These remarks and glosses are considered »certified« since they come from scholars who have already earned recognition in the academic world for their erudition. Moreover, a rare book held greater value, and its fame could considerably enhance the admiration for a collection of books or manuscripts. The uniqueness and scarcity of such a book contribute to its desirability and worth among scholars and collectors alike.<sup>60</sup>

bearbeitet von Franz Köhler. Die lateinischen Handschriften bearbeitet von Gustav Milchsack, Wolfenbüttel 1913, p. 243; Sesto Prete and Renato Badali: I codici di Terenzio e quelli di Lucano nella Herzog August Bibliothek di Wolfenbüttel, Wolfenbüttel 1982 (Repertorien zur Erforschung der frühen Neuzeit 6). For the similar history of other Greek Codices which had belonged to Aulo Giano Parrasio see the Database Pinakes | Πίνακες: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>.

59 The text quoted in the manuscript presents variants that differ from the critical edition. It is also different from the text of Martial transmitted in the other manuscripts Gude had in his possession.

60 Such rare pieces and their fame could increase the admiration for a collection of books or manuscripts. On these elements of evaluation and representation of manuscripts, with particular attention to Marquard Gude's private collection, see Patrizia Carmassi: *Bücherleben zwischen Produktion und Kollektion. Beispiele aus der Sammlung Marquard Gude*, in: *Biographien des Buches*, ed. by Ulrike Gleixner, Constanze Baum, Jörn Münkner, and Hole Rößler, Göttingen 2017 (Kulturen des Sammelns. Akteure, Objekte, Medien 1), p. 179–196, Tables I–II; Patrizia Carmassi: *Musicum iter*. Die Handschriftensammlung Marquard Gudes.

### 3. Economics, ethics, and collecting: transmission of knowledge and exchange of information between father and son during Isaac Vossius' trip to Italy

At this point, we turn to Vossius' trip to Italy. It offers the advantage of having a direct source, unlike Burman's reconstruction of Heinsius' journey. Furthermore, we can observe the transmission of knowledge from father to son in a »vertical« manner, where the father, already part of the academic world, influenced the son's scholarly behaviour during the tour.

In this case, there are significant aspects related to economic issues and the evaluation of the itinerary. First, Gerhard Vossius (1577–1649), the father, could financially assist his son Isaac and connected him with local contacts through a network of Dutch bankers, merchants, and agents operating in Italy. He also offered letters of recommendation to his distinguished connections, such as Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653) or Lucas Holstenius.<sup>61</sup> Additionally, there was advice on managing expenses and optimizing the journey's strategy, all within a broader framework of moral education. For instance, the father advised on saving money and advocated a frugal lifestyle that avoids avarice but maintains a wise middle path: »You should adhere to parsimony during your journey, as you know it can be a great resource. However, I do not wish you to become miserly. Keep a golden mean, which is sufficient for our modest circumstances.«<sup>62</sup> Regarding the approach to work and behaviour during the journey, the father emphasized the two fundamental pillars of a scholarly expedition: visiting libraries and establishing new friendships with learned individuals (*virī docti*). This advice is imbued with ethical principles inspired by the ideals of prudence and moderation from classical philosophy.<sup>63</sup>

Entstehung einer berühmten Privatbibliothek im 17. Jahrhundert aus der Sicht der Zeitgenossen, in: Herzog August Bibliothek. Geschichte einer Sammlung, ed. by Sven Limbeck, Volker Bauer, Peter Burschel, Petra Feuerstein-Herz, Johannes Mangei, and Hole Rößler, Wiesbaden 2023 (in print). On the concept of migration of books see also Nylander: The mild boredom, p. 109–112.

61 Letter 31 (7 March 1641), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, p. 221: »Spero aliquid apud eos valituram commendationem meam.«

62 »Tu modo parsimoniae in itinere tuo lita, quam magnum scis esse vectigal. Nec tamen sordide avarum te vellem. Auream serves mediocritatem, idque pro tenui satis sorte nostra«. Letter 5 (22 May 1641) in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, p. 167–168. Cf. also letter 31 (7 March 1641), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, Part II, p. 222: »In sumptibus vide ne modum excedas.«

63 »Dum istic es lustra bibliothecas, viros doctos tibi amicos para, sed in omnibus age prudenter et valetudinis causa. σπεῦδε βραδέως.« Letter 9 (11 June 1641), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, p. 175.

Like Heinsius, Isaac Vossius encountered challenges during his journey through Italian libraries, such as dealing with heat, pirates, thieves, library closures, restricted visiting hours, and the expenses of transporting books.<sup>64</sup> It becomes evident that the young scholar fully embraced the ideals and values of an itinerant philologist, as mentioned above. For Isaac Vossius, the worth of a place lay not in its historical monuments (*antiquitates*) but in the presence of suitable libraries and materials for his scholarly pursuits. For instance, he disregarded a stop on the Ligurian coast as it did not offer anything relevant to his studies: »There is no desire to stay in this city, as there is nothing here that contributes to my research.«<sup>65</sup>

This demonstrates an extreme form of economisation and a profound appreciation for the value of time during travel, as seen in other instances. Isaac Vossius expressed his desire to work day and night at the Laurentiana Library in Florence, despite its limited 6-hour opening time. Leaving the library felt to him like parting from a dear friend.<sup>66</sup> Additionally, Isaac faced challenges in finding someone proficient in transcribing Greek texts, given the amount of work he had to accomplish within the available time; he humorously referred to the need to be a »hundred-handed monster.«<sup>67</sup>

The ultimate and absolute value of Isaac Vossius' journey lies in the opportunity to create new editions based on previously unknown codices. His father encouraged him by acknowledging his focus on unpublished materials, praising him for assembling a valuable treasure: »I see that you are entirely focused on those things related to ἀνέκδοτα [unedited works]. I commend you for preparing this treasure for yourself.«<sup>68</sup>

Noteworthy examples are the Greek Epistles of Barnabas and Polycarp, which Isaac Vossius discovered in Florence. He described them, respectively, as significantly improved and more complete than the known copies. Simi-

64 On the Italian heat, see, e.g., letter 37 (3 May 1642), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, Part II, p. 232. There are also constant references in the letters to economic aspects, accounts, merchants, or expenses. In one case, Vossius writes to his father that a merchant deceived him seriously, as it will be seen from the accounts. Cf. letter 25 (27 November 1641), in: *ibid.*, p. 209–210.

65 »Nulla enim voluntas hac in urbe manendi, cum nihil hic sit quod faciat ad institutum meum.« Letter 30 (9 February 1642), written from Genova, in: *ibid.*, p. 217.

66 Letter 32 (7 March 1642), in: *ibid.*, p. 223–224.

67 Letter 35 (28 March 1642), in: *ibid.*, p. 228.

68 »Video te adhuc totum esse in iis quae ad ἀνέκδοτα pertinent. Laudo quod thesaurum tibi paras«. Letter 22B (7 October 1641), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, p. 203. The father also asks the son to check for him some codices in the Vatican Library, which he needs for a new edition, see letter 29 (18 January 1642), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, Part II, p. 214–216.



larly, he expressed enthusiasm for a medical miscellany, noting that the texts were nearly unpublished.<sup>69</sup> In that particular case, Gerardus Vossius advised his son to be the first to publish an edition of a letter by Ignatius found in the Florentine manuscript, even though he knew that the Irish theologian James Ussher (1581–1656) was also preparing an edition and had informed him of the manuscript's existence.<sup>70</sup> Gerardus Vossius presented this account to the academic world in a letter from 1646, asserting that it was his son, Isaac, who first saw the manuscript in the Biblioteca Medicea, not Ussher, and Isaac was the first to deliver it, along with his edition, to the Christian world.<sup>71</sup>

In this openly competitive yet amicable world, priority was obviously given to seeing instead of only knowing, which explains the necessity of embarking on physical and personal journeys, regardless of expenses and difficulties. The journey abroad held significant value for the advancement of literary science, as it provided scholars with indispensable new sources for future editions and projects. Consequently, this contributed to gaining respect and appreciation within a network of social contacts and constant mutual communication. These sources could not be purchased for one's own library but were found in others' collections or foreign libraries.

Economic investment played a pivotal role in determining the success of the study trip, and this aspect found affirmation in the testimonies. This situation could also evoke feelings of jealousy in the world of learning. For instance, when, many years later, Isaac Vossius discovered that Marquard Gude had secured a wealthy travel companion and patron in the form of the nobleman Samuel Schas,<sup>72</sup> he attempted to entice Schas to return to Holland and forsake his association with Gude.<sup>73</sup> This passage, referred to by Jean-Pierre Nicéron

69 »Multo melior et auctior«; »multo emendatior«; »Omnia hactenus inedita.« Letter 35 to his father (28 March 1642), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, Part II, p. 227–228.

70 The case is examined in detail by Cornelis S.M. Rademaker: Archbishop James Ussher (1581–1656) and the Dutch Vossius family, in: *Lias* 33 (2006), p. 89–128. See also letter of Vossius to his father (3 May 1642), in: Blok and Rademaker: Isaac Vossius' Grand Tour, Part II, p. 231–232, with fn. 105 on the editions of Ussher and Vossius.

71 »Ipsium Graecum codicem non vidit vir summus Usserius sed ea foelicitas reservata fuit Isaaco meo, qui Florentiae e Bibliotheca Medicea descripsit, ac primus orbi Christiano dedit,« Gerhard Vossius to Jacob Lydius (1610–1679), in: Rademaker: Archbishop James Ussher, p. 112.

72 Nicéron: *Memoires*, T. XXVII, p. 181.

73 Nicéron: *Memoires*, T. XXVII, p. 181–193, here pp. 183–184: »C'est de votre argent que tout cela a été acheté. Ne vous laissez pas séduire à une vaine ambition de témoigner votre amitié & votre reconnaissance à cet homme [= Gude], en vous

(1685–1738), illustrates the intricate link between financial resources and the acquisition of valuable manuscripts while also exposing the tensions that may arise between the desire to create an impressive collection and the practical economic limitations. On the other hand, Vossius portrayed an ideal vision of a splendid library filled with rare and valuable manuscripts, bringing intellectual delight to its owner and even capable of being bequeathed for public use after their passing.<sup>74</sup> Such an act would secure significant renown and admiration from future generations, making it evident that a valuable collection brought personal satisfaction and added prestige and recognition to the owner in society.<sup>75</sup>

In the case of Heinsius, we encounter a unique situation, where the Queen of Sweden failed to adequately compensate him for his travel engagements; nor did she provide sufficient means to purchase collections abroad. As a result, we find several writings highlighting the relationship between collecting manuscripts and economic constraints. Heinsius had to resort to a firm and official appeal, providing a detailed account of his expenses and work, in an attempt to recover the money owed to him by Queen Christina after his journey to Italy.<sup>76</sup> In a revealing letter to Vossius dated 1652, Heinsius

privant, & en même temps la Hollande, des choses si rares & de si grand prix. Vous êtes d'ailleurs assez riche pour satisfaire votre bonne volonté envers lui de quelque autre maniere. Croiez-moi, associons-nous, & faisons ensemble une Bibliotheque de manuscrits, dont nous jouïrons en commun pendant notre vie; et après notre mort, par un exemple rare dans ces Provinces, nous leguerons au public cette belle Bibliotheque; ce que nous acquerera beaucoup de gloire». Gude had a fair amount of money at his disposal during this period, and according to Nicéron, he was able to bind Schas to himself in the love of letters. Thereafter, the latter not only supported Gude in his studies and other scholarly journeys in Germany even after the tour in France and Italy but also eventually left him his property by will. Through such funds, Gude had been able to collect in Italy and France many of the manuscripts that later made his private library famous among his contemporaries.

74 He uses this as an argument to convince Schas, not without nationalistic tones. There is a component of greed and competition, which Vossius in this case can hardly disguise.

75 On the relationship between national identity and heritage and on the objects of a collection as a vehicle for social rise and identity, see Nils Güttler and Ina Heumann: *Sammeln. Ökonomie wissenschaftlicher Dinge*, in: *Sammlungsökonomien*, ed. by Nils Güttler and Ina Heumann, Berlin 2016, p. 7–22, here p. 21–22.

76 *Epistola DCLXXXII* (December 1653), in: *Burman: Sylloges*, vol. V, p. 766–772, cf. p. 767 on his activities in Italy and on the lack of resources: »Delatus in Italiam, multa diligentia multoque studio in ea inquisivi omnia, quae grata fore et voluptatis tibi allatura nonnihil confidebam; deque iis per literas non intermissas te certior feci. Exilis tamen & minor, quam vellem fructus ex itinere hoc, fateor, ad te

shed light on the customary nature of the outwardly projected discourse in certain social circles, exposing the fact that the prestige attributed to a significant collection always came hand in hand with a substantial economic investment, even if this fact remained unspoken. As an intermediary and expert in the field, the philologist diligently assessed the collection to be acquired, delving into its true intrinsic value from both a philological and antiquarian perspective. Heinsius emphasized that, when representing the Queen's interests, approaching merchants and manuscript owners without sufficient financial means to procure valuable collections led to a »iactura estimationis« – a diminishment of esteem both for the Queen and himself.<sup>77</sup> In contrast, Heinsius extolled the intangible value of erudition, which is everlasting and incomparable to the transient allure of entertainment arts (»aeternitatis instrumenta non sunt«). He clearly disdained courtly actors associated with fleeting amusements while being acutely aware of his own intellectual superiority. Nonetheless, Heinsius reluctantly admitted that he found himself compelled to plead for his salary, a striking paradox considering his elevated stature in the realm of erudition.<sup>78</sup>

redundavit ... Rebus certe tuis prodesse luculentius hac profectioe potuissem, si absenti ea, quam in procinctu sperare jussus eram, habita fuisset ratio.« Among the services provided for the Queen, Heinsius says that he had also spread her fame and reputation with regard to her studies and virtues in many countries, *ibid.*, p. 768. See also Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 33. Apparently the debt was not paid by the Queen, see Wilhelm Scherer: *Art. Heinsius, Nicolaus*, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 11 (1880), p. 656–660; Callmer: *Königin Christina*, p. 67–69.

77 Letter quoted in Callmer: *Königin Christina*, p. 65 and fn. 55, p. 87: »Non enim sine iactura existimationis aut meae aut regiae hoc modo inter Italos versari possum.«

78 *Epistola DCLXXXVI* (1654), in: Burman: *Sylloges*, vol. V, p. 775–776, here p. 776: »Sed ex illo numero exclusus sum, in quem tamen & Cytharoedos & alios minimi pretii homunciones admissos intelligo. In ipsos Cytharoedos dicam nihil aspere: scio enim illos oblectandis animis & fallendo tempori non parum conferre: sed aeternitatis instrumenta non sunt [...] Hos tamen successores nacti sunt eruditi in aula tua, hos liberalitas & munificentia tua nunc fovet nobis plorare jussis«. See also Heinsius: *Vita*, p. 35–36. About his disillusionment years later, see *ibid.*, p. 45: »Cum enim spem omnem de solvendis debitis penitus evanuisse videret, patriae se reddere maluit Heinsius, quam diutius ingratae reginae ludibrium esse«.

## 4. Conclusions

Collecting was a process and took place according to different dynamics and for various purposes: On the one hand, the purchase of ancient manuscripts from convents, private persons, or merchants represented a further step in the process of decontextualization, which had probably already begun in the Middle Ages and occurred with each change of book ownership. On the other hand, acquired within the new collection, for example, of works by classical authors, the book had a new functionality, in this case, connected with the purpose of new critical editions. Accordingly, a new collection of books or manuscripts was always open and aspired to a more or less attainable ideal of completeness.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, during the journey, when it was impossible to purchase the manuscripts as objects, the scholar created a collection of words and texts to be used for forthcoming projects, realized through the reading and selective transcription of texts and variants.<sup>80</sup>

The analyzed sources reveal several aspects in which searching for ancient books and manuscripts to increase one's or others' book collections is closely linked to economic factors.

First, material and monetary aspects: Significant living and travel costs had to be undertaken. Manpower, assistants for the transcription of manuscripts, or any agents and intermediaries increased the cost of the enterprise. Books and codices purchased on the market and their international transportation were expensive. The risks of material loss of objects and possessions during the journey, up to the loss of one's agreed compensation for the work of collecting, were real, as we have seen in the case of Heinsius.

Second, economic aspects of an intangible nature: The establishment of a collection was related to certain immaterial factors, which nevertheless translate into economic rate. These were, for example, time spent on study and research in libraries, time invested in social relations, meetings with local scholars, cultural preparation for travel, or for socially relevant events, including intellectual contributions in such meetings. Again, on the negative side, losses of research opportunities or important encounters with inter-

79 On these concepts about collection, following Walter Benjamin, see Mark Chinca, Manfred Eikermann, Michael Stolz and Christopher Young: *Einleitung*, in: *Sammlen als literarische Praxis im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit. Konzepte, Praktiken, Poetizität*, ed. by Mark Chinca, Manfred Eikermann, Michael Stolz and Christopher Young, Tübingen 2022, p. 11–20, here p. 11–12.

80 About this aspect of virtual collection and ›literary collecting‹ as field of interdisciplinary research, see *ibid.*, p. 13–20.

mediaries for library visits may have occurred because of external factors and represented an assessable loss in economic terms. Basically, any form of information gathered before or during the journey was valuable if it could increase one's knowledge of how to reach rare books or unexplored manuscripts containing unpublished texts.<sup>81</sup>

Third, it is necessary to consider the value of a book and manuscripts collection or an extensive private library in the context of the 17th-century intellectual circles examined here, i.e., in the larger framework of the discourse on the production and advancement of knowledge within that community. Public or private libraries were seen as »storage places of ›authoritative, cumulative and trustworthy‹ knowledge«, they represented the necessary premise for intensive research activity and for preparatory work for new publications.<sup>82</sup> These publications strengthened and legitimized the figure of the scholar in his identity. In this case, a collection's authoritative character depended on the collector's expert choice. The volumes, if competently selected and sorted by a good philologist, formed the basis and also an advantage over other scholars, for the purpose of generating knowledge and producing new books with which the holder of the collection could establish himself and persist as a member of the *Res publica litteraria*. The private possession of books and manuscripts had an intrinsic economic value – accounts on the sale and the study of auction catalogs often attest the extent of such monetary value, though it also depended on the discourse about individual, particularly precious items in the collection.<sup>83</sup>

Thus, it becomes evident that the relationship between collecting manuscripts and economic considerations relied on several factors, including rel-

81 On the value of information in the field of diplomacy, see Mark Netzloff: Agents beyond the state. The writings of English travelers, soldiers, and diplomats in Early Modern Europe, Oxford 2020, p. 40–93 (»The Information Economy of Early Modern Travel Writing«).

82 Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton, and Paul Michel: Questions framing the research/Fragen an das Forschungsgebiet, in: Collectors' knowledge. What is kept, what is discarded, ed. by Anja-Silvia Goeing, Anthony T. Grafton and Paul Michel, Leiden 2013 (Brill's studies in intellectual history 227), p. 3–12, here p. 3–7, quote from p. 3. This explains the importance of unpublished notes and preparatory writings on which research has focussed in recent years.

83 See the examples discussed in Patrizia Carmassi: La biblioteca di Marquard Gude come deposito di saperi greci e latini. Strategie di uso e rappresentazione: l'esempio dei Geoponica, in: Late Medieval and Early Modern Libraries, ed. by Outi Merisalo, Nataša Golob and Leonardo Magionami, Turnhout 2023 (Bibliologia 68), p. 293–313.

evant infrastructures such as postal services, book merchants, agents, and intermediaries in various cities.<sup>84</sup> These infrastructures might have had to be adapted to meet personal requests.<sup>85</sup> Various tensions emerged between aspirations and reality, projects and available finances, and different forms of competition arising from individuals seeking to maximize profits from their collections. Such competition might have occurred among scholars vying to possess the most exceptional and affluent library, collectors and merchants facilitating the circulation of valuable objects, or even rulers aiming to augment their prestige, and their erudite employees. Martin Mulsow has also described knowledge production as driven by the »social sense« of this learned environment, not without a continuous search for compromise between the interests of collectors, merchants, and experts.<sup>86</sup> The value of books and manuscripts, whether as individual items or as part of a comprehensive collection, could experience fluctuations because of factors like rarity, antiquity, or the presence of unpublished texts (leading to value growth).<sup>87</sup> This encounter between epistemic pursuits and economic practices extended beyond considering tangible travel, expeditions, or book acquisition costs. It encompassed nonmaterial indicators of value concerning both objects (e.g., rarity, antiquity) and individuals (as e.g., erudition, devotion, esteem, prestige, or fame, id est socially related issues), which are also mentioned in the

84 On the importance of the network of intermediaries as key figures for collectors in the Early Modern period, especially in the field of art market, see recently Susan Bracken and Adriana Turpin (eds.): *Art markets, agents and collectors. Collecting strategies in Europe and the United States, 1550–1950*, New York 2022. On the interdisciplinary approach in the study of (art) collecting, see also Cecilia Mazzetti di Pietralata and Sebastian Schütze (eds.): *Nuove scenografie del collezionismo europeo tra Seicento e Ottocento. Attori, pratiche, riflessioni di metodo*, Berlin 2022 (*Sammler, Sammlungen, Sammlungskulturen in Wien und Mitteleuropa* 4), esp. Prefazione, p. VII–IX.

85 Cf. on the role of infrastructures Güttler and Heumann: *Sammeln*, p. 18–19.

86 Martin Mulsow: *Hausenblasen. Kopierpraktiken und die Herstellung numismatischen Wissens um 1700*, in: *Objekte als Quellen der historischen Kulturwissenschaften. Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung*, ed. by Annette Caroline Cremer and Martin Mulsow, Köln 2017 (*Ding, Materialität, Geschichte* 2), p. 261–344, here p. 344.

87 On the other hand, manuscripts, editions, or other objects (such as inscriptions) that turn out to be forgeries, no longer unique, or not so correct, lose their value. Cf. on the circulation, evaluation, and mediation of goods Güttler and Heumann: *Sammeln*, p. 15–16. On the re-evaluations of collections, see also Goeing, Grafton, and Michel: *Questions*, p. 9–10.



Fig. 6: Cesare Facchinetti:  
 Rime De Gli Academici Gelati Di Bologna,  
 Bologna: Rossi, 1597, p. 119.

sources. The interplay between these elements further enriched the dynamics between knowledge-seeking and economic endeavors in this context.<sup>88</sup>

As a final thought, I want to share a poignant excerpt from a poem composed by a member of the Accademia dei Gelati in Bologna, describing just such an unusual journey, through ice and frost. Despite the challenging route, the protagonist remains resolute and willing to embark upon the journey for, on the other side, awaits the beauty of his beloved (Fig. 6).

88 On recent studies and new methodological approaches on the mobility of objects, texts, and ideas, see also Paola Molino: »Moving textuality« in Early Modern Europe, in: Reimagining Mobilities across the Humanities. Volume 1: Theories, Methods and Ideas, ed. by Lucio Biasiori, Federico Mazzini, and Chiara Rabbiosi, Abingdon 2023, p. 7–21.

Hebbi tiepid'i i venti, e in mar bonaccia,  
 Ne spiegai vele. Hor ch'Orione armato  
 Empie di nevi il Cielo, e l'onde agghiaccia,  
 Armo veloce il piè DELIBERATO,  
 M'alletta un verde OLIVO,  
 E mi s'affaccia,  
 Ne me tarda il viaggio INVSITATO [...]<sup>89</sup>

When Vossius affectionately referred to the Laurenziana as »amica mea,« one gains insight into the extraordinary and costly journeys that 17th-century scholars were willing to embark upon. These intrepid voyages were driven by the desire to finally lay eyes on the exquisite beauty of their beloved and invaluable ancient manuscripts. Much like the poet, scholars fashioned a literary and idealized narrative around their scholarly expeditions, a narrative that became somewhat standardized, aimed at bolstering and confirming their esteemed status within the academic world. These journeys, accompanied by their inevitable expenses, held immense significance for aspiring philologists. Through such expeditions, they could acquire the necessary training and expertise in their field, amass a qualitative and original library, and ultimately establish themselves in the learned community. Owning a large and renowned library became a symbol of intellectual expertise, and scholars who presented new editions, enriched with profound knowledge, earned admiration and respect among their peers. These journeys represented an indispensable rite of passage for scholars, an arduous yet rewarding path towards scholarly prominence, if and because they were useful to the growth of one's collection of rare books and manuscripts.

89 »I had warm winds and becalmed sea, but I did not unfurl my sails. Now that armed Orion fills the sky with snow and freezes the waves, I quickly arm my determined foot. A green olive tree entices me, it faces me. And it does not delay me the unusual journey ...« Cesare Facchinetti: *Rime De Gli Academici Gelati Di Bologna*, Bologna 1597, p. 119, digitized: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/196-17-poet/start.htm> (accessed: 27 November 2023).