



**HAL**  
open science

## From Press to Readers

Jean-Louis Haquette, Helga Meise

► **To cite this version:**

Jean-Louis Haquette, Helga Meise (Dir.). From Press to Readers: Studies in the Materiality of Print Culture. Jean-Louis Haquette & Helga Meise. Editions et presses universitaires de Reims, Cultures & Temporalités (2), 184 p., 2024, Cultures & Temporalités, 978-2-37496-217-7. 10.34929/yty8-v646 . hal-04547530

**HAL Id: hal-04547530**

**<https://hal.univ-reims.fr/hal-04547530>**

Submitted on 15 Apr 2024

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.



Distributed under a Creative Commons Attribution - NonCommercial - NoDerivatives 4.0 International License

edited by  
Jean-Louis Haquette  
and Helga Meise



CULTURES & TEMPORALITÉS

FROM **PRESS**  
TO **READERS**

Studies in the Materiality  
of Print Culture

l'epure  
ÉDITIONS ET PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE NÎMES

Published with the support of the CIRLEP (Centre interdisciplinaire de recherche sur les langues et la pensée) and the CRIMEL (Centre de recherche sur les modèles esthétiques et littéraires), University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne

Cover credits: After Charles Joseph Traviès de Villers (1804-1959), *Colporteur des Papiers Weymen*, Paris, Musée Carnavalet, G.18945 (public domain). Graphic design and layout : Éditions et presses universitaires de Reims

ISBN: 978-2-37496-217-7 (paperback)

ISBN : 978-2-37496-206-1 (PDF)

---



This document is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International Licence](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/). Unless otherwise stated in a footnote, all Internet links cited in this publication were last consulted on 30/01/2024.

---



ÉPURE - Éditions et presses universitaires de Reims, 2024  
Robert de Sorbon library, avenue François-Mauriac, CS40019, 51726 Reims Cedex  
[www.univ-reims.fr/epure](http://www.univ-reims.fr/epure)

Diffusion FMSH-CID, 18-20 rue Robert-Schuman, 94220 Charenton-le-Pont  
[www.lcdpu.fr/editeurs/reims](http://www.lcdpu.fr/editeurs/reims)

**CULTURES  
&  
TEMPORALITÉS**



## CULTURES & TEMPORALITÉS

La collection vise à explorer les différentes modalités d'articulation du temps et des productions culturelles. Il s'agit d'envisager tant l'épaisseur temporelle des œuvres artistiques que leur transmission à travers le temps. On accueillera aussi les études qui mettent en valeur au sein des activités artistiques et des productions culturelles les interactions entre différentes temporalités : de l'esthétique, des techniques artistiques et médiatiques, des publics, des représentations sociales. En somme il s'agit d'étudier l'œuvre culturelle dans son rapport à la diversité des temporalités qui la traversent ou qu'elle traverse.

*This collection aims to explore the different connections between time and cultural works. Both the representation of time in a work of art and the transmission of said work throughout time are to be considered. It also welcomes studies highlighting the interplay between different temporalities within artistic activities and cultural works, and thus relating to aesthetics, the media, audiences, artistic techniques and social representations. In other words, the aim is to study a cultural work in relation to the diverse temporalities it concerns itself with or through which it lived.*

FROM **PRESS**  
TO **READERS**

Studies in the Materiality  
of Print Culture

edited by Jean-Louis Haquette  
and Helga Meise

Cultures & temporalités ; 2

l'épure  
ÉDITIONS ET PRESSES UNIVERSITAIRES DE NIJMEÛEN



# CONTENTS

From Press to Readers, Studies in the Materiality of Print Culture .....	9
Jean-Louis Haquette & Helga Meise	
Second-Hand Books, Second-Rate Culture? The Library of a Bourgeois at the Dawn of the 15 <sup>th</sup> Century ( <i>Le Mesnagier de Paris</i> ).....	15
Karin Ueltschi	
Travelling Libraries. The Intertextuality of Sources on the Experience of Travel in Early Modern Journals of the Grand Tour .....	33
Jill Bepler	
Frankfurt's Book and Art Market in the 17 <sup>th</sup> Century. Annotations on Prices and Wages .....	57
Andrea Pühringer	
Johann Philipp Thelott and his Account-Book. A Previously Unknown Record for Mid-17 <sup>th</sup> Century Publishing and Book-Trade .....	85
Holger Th. Gräf	
“ <i>Ruiner la galanterie</i> ”. D'Aubignac's <i>Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation</i> (1666) and its Transfer to the German-Speaking Countries.....	109
Helga Meise	

<b>Milton in Veneto. The Circulation of the First Illustrated Italian Translation of <i>Paradise Lost</i>.....</b>	<b>143</b>
Jean-Louis Haquette	
<b>Knowing how to Acquire for Bern. Remarks on the Donation Policy for the Bernese Public Library (17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> Centuries) .....</b>	<b>161</b>
Thomas Nicklas	
<b>About the authors .....</b>	<b>179</b>

# FROM PRESS TO READERS

Studies in the Materiality of Print Culture

JEAN-LOUIS HAQUETTE

Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, CRIMEL

HELGA MEISE

Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, CIRLEP

**T**HE phrase “print culture” originally coined by E. Eisenstein in opposition to scribal culture, has been adopted widely in research publications seeking to overcome the gap between book history and the study of texts, as well as between the history of representations and the sociology of culture.<sup>1</sup> Book history has become a multi-disciplinary field and this approach informs the core of the project of this (small) book. The basic assumption is that texts, their meanings and equally their effects, cannot be severed from the material objects in which they are embodied.<sup>2</sup> In the Gutenberg galaxy,

- 
1. Elizabeth Eisenstein (1923-2016), *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe* (2 vols. ed.), Cambridge (UK), Cambridge UP, 1979.
  2. Cf., amongst others, Elizabeth Eisenstein, “Print culture and enlightenment



codices, namely books, are both intellectual representations and commercial goods, auctorial creations and editorial projects, linguistic structures and, possibly, luxury artefacts. In recent years, expanding perceptions of “the book” and the deployment of such approaches have led to a wide range of studies that shed new light on literary texts.<sup>3</sup>

The seven articles in this volume, written by English, French and German specialists in book history, address various aspects of the materiality of print culture, examining both the processes of text and book production and the paths of their circulation. They explore notions of composition, collection and circulation of texts and images, from manuscript to books designed for specific readers. They study a variety of sources, from archival documents to specific manuscript or printed copies. The perspective is transnational, taking Gutenberg’s Europe as a space for the circulation of print, and concerns itself with early modernity, from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

These contributions come from colleagues and friends who accompanied the years in which Helga Meise taught at the Université of Reims Champagne-Ardenne, from 2007 to 2022. They reflect the research interests that Helga Meise has followed in her many publications and her teaching, focusing on the literature and the history of ideas of the German-speaking lands in the early modern period, especially on the writing and reading practices of women, anchored in the social and cultural contexts of their time and documented by their manuscripts, printed texts and their libraries.

Several topics are encompassed within the pages of this collection of essays. The first theme is bridging the gap between manuscript texts and printed ones, showing how similar practices survive

---

thought”, *Réseaux*, 6, 31 (“L’écrit”), 1988, p. 7-38; and Frances Robertson, *Print Culture: From Steam Press to Ebook*, New York, Routledge, 2013.

3. To take but three very different examples in the objects they study, but linked by their similar approach: Evangelia Stead, *La Chair du livre. Matérialité, imaginaire et poétique du livre fin-de-siècle*, Paris, PUPS, 2012; Sandro Jung, *James Thomson’s The Seasons, Print Culture and Visual Interpretation, 1730-1842*, Lanham, Lehigh UP, 2015, 2015; Donna Harrington-Lueker, *Books for Idle Hours: Nineteenth-Century Publishing and the Rise of Summer Reading*, Boston, Amherst, Massachusetts UP, 2019.

along the ages. They deal with the creation of books literally from other books, making the texts themselves into a kind of a library. This was often the case in scribal culture, as *compilatio* was a basic intellectual practice. The case of the *Mesnagier de Paris*, presented by Karin Ueltschi-Courchinoux, is emblematic, as it exemplifies, in its materiality, this long-term practice, which runs contrary to the dominant modern idea of the book as the work of one single author. Around 1393, a wealthy and aging bourgeois from Paris wrote a book for his very young wife, combining religious and moral instruction, advice on household economics and a wealth of detailed recipes for cooking (which made him famous). These recipes come from other codices, notable the *Viandier* of Guillaume Tirel. In other areas, notably catechetical and moral instruction, *Le Mesnagier* gives multiple references to other useful works that went into its compilation.

Two centuries later, Hieronymus Hainhofer (1611 – ca. 1683), a travelling tutor, accompanied Robert Montagu (1634-1683), a young English nobleman, on his journeys on the continent. Hainhofer took with him a customized guide book to France interleaved with blank pages in which he noted further information, thus creating, as Jill Bepler shows, a hybrid book and a travelling library, for consultation both by the tutor and the traveller and use in his exercises in reading and translation. The process of transfer from these multiple sources into the manuscript travel journal, reveals the compilation process ‘in situ’ and the emergence of new texts. By contrast another traveller’s record of similar places show how the books he travelled with and engravings he collected led to textual omissions from his account. In both examples, a single reader becomes an “author” in a pre-modern sense, collecting pieces of previous texts and adding his own layer of textuality.<sup>4</sup> In the second case, a printed book is transformed by manuscript additions into a personal repository of information, nearly as varied as was the *Mesnagier de Paris*.

Like manuscripts, printed books are part of the trade of knowledge, but from the outset they were clearly part of an economic

---

4. Montaigne is of course a famous example of such a practice, in which reading and writing are interwoven.

process that was far removed from the monastic tradition of exchange.<sup>5</sup> The commercialization of books is a major characteristic of the incessantly expanding print culture of the early modern period, with book fairs developing quite soon after the invention of typography. Examining the prices and wages in the “city of books”, Frankfurt on Main, during the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) and comparing them with developments over the whole century, Andrea Pühringer draws a detailed image of the material conditions of book-making and selling. She underlines for example the role of funeral sermons or wedding *encomia*. These ephemeral publications (named *accidentia*), that were paid for by the sheet and easily sold, were an important contribution to the printer’s business. The essay shows how, in a broader sense, the fabrication of each book was related to its social context and the political situation (and its instabilities). Holger Th. Gräf concentrates on the increasing importance of book decoration in the editorial process, copper engraving becoming a valued feature both for printers and for discriminating readers.<sup>6</sup> The fragment of an engraver’s account book, found by chance in the guild-book of the bakers in Grünberg, a little town 60 kilometers north of Frankfurt, provides first-hand information on Johann Philipp Thelott (1639-1671), a copper engraver and etcher who worked in Augsburg and Frankfurt. These accounts reveal the successful strategies of an artist who managed to market his plates in different social contexts and in different sorts of publications. In both cases, the archival sources supply concrete insights in the economic materiality of the book, either on the large scale of book selling in the city of Frankfurt or within a narrower individual case of Thelott’s personal marketing strategies.

---

5. At least until the 14<sup>th</sup> century, when lay scriptoria initiated the selling of books to private clients.

6. The career of the luxury printed literary text embellished with copperplates started its career in the 17<sup>th</sup> century: “Tous les moyens sont mis en œuvre pour faire passer le livre d’instrument neutre de publication d’un texte en véritable scénographie de ce texte », Jean-Marc Chatelain, “Le livre contrôlé”, in *D’encre et de papier. Une histoire du livre imprimé*, Paris, Arles, Imprimerie nationale, Actes Sud, 2021, p. 159.

Whether in sheets, in printing barrels, or in bindings, in travelers' luggage, or thanks to the leaves of the periodicals that report on them, pre-modern Europe had a significant number of ways for books and their contents to travel from one country to another. Translation is of course a major means of circulation, as it combines foreign thoughts and familiar expression. This circulation of books is highlighted by Helga Meise and Jean-Louis Haquette. Helga Meise retraces the success of François Hédelin d'Aubignacs *Les Conseils D'Ariste A Celimene, sur les Moyens de conserver sa Reputation*, Paris 1666, in Europe via the translations for the German-speaking lands in 1696, 1711 and 1749. These translations adapt themselves to the context of their publication. The French book was republished in Germany under a new guise, as if it were a completely new book, presenting itself to the market with a new title and a new foreword, plates and the insertion of a little novel, especially invented and adapted for a new public. One sees the transformations that a text can undergo when incorporated in a new material form, including textual additions, foreign to its printed origin. Jean-Louis Haquette follows the paths of the first Italian translation of Milton's *Paradise Lost* from London to Verona, becoming on the way an illustrated book. The role of intermediaries (namely the translator, English aristocrats on their Grand Tour, and a clever printer in Verona) is of prime significance here, personal connections being as important as cultural affinities. Moreover, the book form is clearly linked to a cultural strategy of canonization; the illustrated folio edition translates (in every meaning of the word) the critical appreciation of Milton by Addison, against the criticism raised by Voltaire. Although banned by the Vatican, the book found its way into most of the convents in Veneto. The circulation of a text through translation in a foreign country raises the question of the intellectual or literary expectations of the host society, but this investigation can only be enriched by taking into account the often important transformations of the materiality of the book that contains a reshaped literary work. Both essays try not to separate these intertwined aspects.

Finally, Thomas Nicklas investigates a concrete situation of the assembling and the diffusion of books through reading by using the

case study of a Swiss library. Jean Rodolphe Sinner de Ballaigues was the reformer of the library of Berne in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. His way of dealing with books, his pride in enriching the collection by securing successful donations (from France and from Britain), are linked both to a personal ideal of knowledge and to the collective aim of “showcasing”, on a European level, the fame of the Swiss city-state of Bern. Books are thus considered as actors within a framework of civic life and public glory.

Beginning with books formed into libraries, ending with the life of books in a real library, the following pages offer different paths into the rich realm of print culture, hopefully bringing back to life individual figures, and particular books, enriching the broader picture of print culture in pre-modern Europe.

We would like particularly to thank Jill Bepler, who revised most of the English contributions in our volume.

# SECOND-HAND BOOKS, SECOND-RATE CULTURE?

The Library of a Bourgeois at the Dawn  
of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century (*Le Mesnagier de Paris*)

KARIN UELTSCHI

Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, CRIMEL

**Abstract:** Much attention has been paid to the libraries of the great princes and the aristocracy in general: this is because we have sources, catalogues, epistolary correspondence, and even the collections themselves to measure the respective tastes and culture of these microcosms. Now, there is a milieu that emerges in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the bourgeoisie, a caste that can be characterised by two features in particular: its relative material ease and its aspiration for education. Thus, taking an interest in the rise of the private libraries of the bourgeoisie, however incomplete our documentation may be, is also a way of questioning a major change in society which, in the long term, will make this population an essential vector of conservation and cultural transfer. It is true that our subject – the unusual case of a bourgeois household at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – is outside the scope of this book, which is part of early modernity. Let us therefore consider that the *Mesnagier de Paris*



constitutes a kind of antechamber, its premises and foundations; let us examine this foundation, even if we have to be content with dotted information because we have to distinguish a real library (containing object-books) from a virtual library (the numerous references in the text).

MUCH attention has been paid to the libraries of the great princes and the aristocracy by scholars in general;<sup>1</sup> pioneers have also looked at private libraries, particularly those of damsels and other princesses;<sup>2</sup> this is because we have sources, catalogues, epistolary correspondence, and even the collections themselves to measure the respective tastes and culture of these microcosms. Now, there is a milieu that emerges in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the bourgeoisie, a caste that can be characterised by two features in particular: its relative material ease and its aspiration for education. Thus, taking an interest in the rise of the private libraries of the bourgeoisie, however incomplete our documentation may be, is also a way of questioning a major change in society which, in the long term, will make this population an essential vector of conservation and cultural transfer.

It is true that our subject – the unusual case of a bourgeois household at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century – is outside the scope of this colloquium, which is part of early modernity. Let us therefore consider that the *Mesnagier de Paris* constitutes a kind of antechamber, its premises and foundations; let us examine this foundation, even if we have to be content with dotted information because we have to distinguish a real library (containing object-books) from a virtual library (the numerous references that pepper the text).

Let us quickly present the *Mesnagier de Paris*. What Mario Roques called “a curious domestic bible”<sup>3</sup> is the work of an ageing bourgeois

- 
1. Sarah Fourcade, *La noblesse à la conquête du livre. France, v. 1300 - v. 1530*, Paris, Champion, 2021.
  2. Reference to the works of Helga Meise, in particular *Sophie von La Roche Lesebuch*, ed. by Helga Meise, with Claudia Bamberg & Andreas Jacob, Frankfurt am Main, Ulrike Helmer, 2005; *Das archivierte Ich. Schreibkalender und höfische Repräsentation in Hessen-Darmstadt 1624-1790*, Darmstadt, Hessische Historische Kommission, 2002.
  3. Mario Roques, “Traduction française des traités moraux d’Albertano

who wrote it around 1393:<sup>4</sup> the author proposes to give a general education to the very young woman – she is fifteen – whom he has just married. The project outlined in the Prologue is to teach behaviour and general culture. This heterogeneous text deals with a host of subjects, most of which are conventional, and which echo an ancient and long-standing didactic tradition aimed at women. At once the antithesis of the monastic *scriptoria* and the seigneurial courts, we find ourselves in the midst of the great problems posed by the ‘popularisation’ of knowledge adapted to a lay, ‘bourgeois’ public. The text develops in the opening chapters the topic of theological virtues and mortal sins, but above all of their practical consequences. Thus, the reader is confronted with questions such as honest dress or shameless looks, domestic economy and the chastisement of chambermaids; he finds side by side and without any marked division, matters of canonical instruction and those of material and domestic culture: autorserie, cooking, gardening, but also the hunting of flies and other fleas, a marital and social morality, or a sumptuous collection of “tricks” we would say today, such as how to assess the age of a hare by the number of holes it has under its tail (II, iv, 22), how to prevent a dog from barking (III, ii, 4) or even how to change the colour of wine (II, v, 319). Useful knowledge is thus presented as an encyclopaedic whole whose coherence, or at least continuity, is ensured by reality itself.

But our manual has many dark sides that force us to handle it with caution,<sup>5</sup> starting with the problems related to books. How does cultural transfer function at the dawn of modernity in the absence of books in the sense of ‘objects’, or at least in a context of great scarcity? How does knowledge enter the home? For indeed, the whole

---

de Brescia – *Le livre de Mellibée et de Prudence* par Renaut de Louhans”, in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. XXXVII, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1936, p. 502.

4. *Le Mesnagier de Paris*, ed. by G. E. Brereton & J. M. Ferrier, trans. and notes K. Ueltschi, Paris, Le Livre de Poche, “Lettres Gothiques”, (1994) 2010.
5. See Karin Ueltschi, “Le Mesnagier de Paris : vers une écriture du quotidien ?”, in E. Rassart, *et. al.* (Ed.), *La Vie matérielle au Moyen Age. L'apport des sources littéraires, normatives et de la pratique*, Louvain-la-Neuve, Institut d'études médiévales, 1997, p. 245-260.

question is whether we are talking about the book in the material and corporeal sense of the term, or about an abstract entity that embodies what we call ‘culture’, ‘knowledge’, ‘knowing’. At the moment we grasp the problem, there is a step to be taken from one to the other.

## The appropriation of knowledge: the context

At the end of the Middle Ages, education was a real issue in the upper echelons of society, and learning to read was strongly encouraged in all circles, especially among girls.<sup>6</sup> But books were still rare and therefore very expensive; this would only change with the arrival of printed books and their penetration into all strata of society. Our author is concerned about his young wife’s reading in his educational programme. He recommends that she reads the Bible (meaning the Bible *historiale*),<sup>7</sup> the *Golden Legend*, the *Apocalypse*, and the *Life of the Fathers*: above all, he asks her to consult the “few good books in French that I have” without naming them, to our great regret:

May all this, dear friend, suffice for you in this matter. The natural intelligence with which God has endowed you, your good and pious disposition to obey God and his Church, the preaching and sermons you will hear in your parish and elsewhere, the Bible, the *Golden Legend*, the *Apocalypse*, the *Life of the Fathers* and a few other good books in French which I possess and which you are free to take as you wish, all of this will provide you with the rest and will complete

- 
6. Geneviève Hasenohr, “Les lectures religieuses des laïcs dans la France du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle : norme et pratique, lumières et ombres”, in Ead., *Textes de dévotion et lectures spirituelles en langue romane (France, xii<sup>e</sup>-xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Turnhout, Brepols, “Texte, Codex & Contexte”, XXI, 2015, p. 147-148.
  7. In Paris, between 1230 and 1260, the first translation or rather compilation of the Bible into French was undertaken, henceforth called the French Bible or *Bible historiale*. It was this Bible that was reproduced until the arrival of the printing press.

in depth my teaching according to the good pleasure of God who wills to lead you there and to incite you (I, iii, 118, p. 128).

Clearly, the question of the “body of the book” is asked.

The rise of the city – and therefore of the bourgeoisie (civil servants, merchants, lawyers) – does not only go hand in hand with that of the universities; from the twelfth century onwards, “elementary” schools multiply in the cities and also, to a lesser extent, in the countryside. Book production itself left the monastery and was organised in the city, at the same time as its content became more profane. This raises the question of the circulation of “culture” and the permeability of socio-cultural spheres: the famous practice of the *exemplar*<sup>8</sup> seems to be essentially academic, and the texts thus multiplied are primarily those on the faculty curriculum. In other words, those contents are unlikely to enter bourgeois homes: general culture and scientific specialisation are aimed at a distinct readership. Moreover, manuscripts continued to spread slowly, which led to a gap between the intellectual production of an era and the real penetration of new ideas and knowledge into the social fabric. The average figure is two to three volumes per household.

At the time of our Bourgeois, the rudiments of reading and writing as well as arithmetic were taught to children either within the household – the mother played a very important role in this learning process – or outside the family, from the age of about seven,<sup>9</sup> at the *Parva Schola*. By the age of nine or ten, a boy can read and

---

8. This is the principle of “lending by the booklet” or chapters: a carefully checked text is set up as an *exemplar* to be copied in large enough type to minimise transcription errors. This exemplar is then divided into booklets, the *speciae* (or *peciae*, pieces) loaned to students, which allows for the multiplication of the simultaneous copying of the same work and thus significantly accelerates its distribution.

9. See Thierry Dutour, *La Ville médiévale : origines et triomphe de l'Europe urbaine*, Paris, Odile Jacob, 2003, p. 223. For further reading: Pierre Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le haut Moyen Âge. Fin du V<sup>e</sup> siècle-milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, Picard, (1979) 1999; Danièle Alexandre-Bidon & Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Système éducatif et cultures dans l'Occident médiéval (XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, Gap, Ophrys, 1998; Jean-Michel Mehl, *Des jeux et des hommes dans la société médiévale*, Paris, Champion, 2010.

write Latin. Above all, he will memorise a large number of phrases and aphorisms, proverbs and sentences. Then, between the ages of ten and fifteen, he entered the *Magna scola* and studied Priscian (*Institutiones grammaticae*), Horace, Seneca, Juvenal, the *Distichs* of Pseudo-Caton, and Ovid (the “moralized”)<sup>10</sup> in depth. At the end of this training, most clerical schools dismissed their students, who then began their professional specialisation.

As specialists have pointed out, “the bourgeois turned their backs on the university”;<sup>11</sup> few attended university, cathedral or canonical schools to pursue the two cycles of the liberal arts; the limited role of the bourgeoisie in artistic development has also been emphasised.<sup>12</sup> However, if we have reason to believe that our Bourgeois evolved in the spheres of the royal administration, the judicial world or the army, we will never know concretely what his specialisation was: the author of the *Mesnagier* relies on an ancient didactic tradition which he adapts to his subject – the instruction of a wife – but which he sometimes simply copies. If he had access to books, he could copy them himself or have them copied, or buy them second or even third hand.<sup>13</sup> There were also public libraries such as that of the Sorbonne College; while it is unlikely that access to these collections was public, i.e., not restricted to clerics, academics and other students, a civil servant of the king (in the broadest sense) such as our Bourgeois perhaps was, could no doubt gain access to them from time to time by knocking on the right doors.

Our author certainly had the average general knowledge representative of his time and environment, with the remarkable feature that the teaching of morals was clearly shifted towards that

---

10. Marylène Possamaï-Pérez, *L'Ovide moralisé : essai d'interprétation*, Paris, Champion, 2006; L. Harf-Lancner, L. Mathey-Maille & M. Szkilnik (Ed.), *Ovide Métamorphosé. Les lecteurs médiévaux d'Ovide*, Paris, Presses de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 2009.

11. Jean Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Tallandier, 2012, p. 569.

12. It is confined “to the fields of popularised production and was essentially exercised in a collective manner”. Georges Duby, *Le Temps des cathédrales. L'art et la société, 980-1420*, Paris, Gallimard, 1976, p. 239.

13. See Geneviève Hasenohr, “L'essor des bibliothèques privées aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles”, in André Vernet (Ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, I, *Les bibliothèques médiévales*, Paris, Cercle de la librairie, 1989, p. 225.

of appearances and everything relating to behaviour in society. “Practical” subjects, in particular, were given a large place, announcing the spirit of the future peddling literature: household and domestic management, gardening, cooking. The wife must know everything: this is how the author justifies, and even apologises for, placing in his work a cruel *exemplum* like Griseldis, a literary reference in short rather than a model to follow<sup>14</sup> as he says. Indeed, we must now speak of the practice of reference which opens up the at least “virtual” library of our author.

### Which books? *Mesnagier*'s practice of reference

Although books were increasingly widespread in the Middle French period (14<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries) in professional bourgeois circles (doctors, lawyers, academics), private libraries remained poor, as we have seen: “only a tiny proportion of the wills of bourgeois, merchants and tradesmen refer to books, attesting to the scarcity of non-utilitarian writings and the existence of embryonic libraries in private homes”.<sup>15</sup> Thus, in wills, one to three books are usually bequeathed; this number will increase very slowly, even if there are exceptions, such as the case of doctor Astruc del Sestier who, in 1439, shared his library of 179 manuscript books between his two children:<sup>16</sup> grammars, specialised treatises in different professional disciplines such as medicine or law, and works of piety and edification.

---

14. The Bourgeois refers to Petrarch; however, it is possible that this cruel tale was invented from scratch by the Franciscans: the story is therefore of scholarly origin, and Latin. Philippe de Mézières also adapted it into French at the same time. See Marie-Geneviève Grossel, “Sainte paysanne et épouse fidèle : l’image de Griseldis à l’épreuve des Miroirs de mariage”, in D. Buschinger (Ed.), *Autour d’Eustache Deschamps*, Amiens, Centre d’études médiévales de l’université de Picardie-Jules Verne, 1999, p. 104.

15. G. Hasenohr, “L’essor des bibliothèques privées...”, (fn 13), p. 242.

16. Donatella Nebbiai, *Le Discours des livres. Bibliothèques et manuscrits en Europe, IX<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Rennes, PU Rennes, 2013, p. 203.



However, the medieval manuscript did not remain locked up in its owner's 'bookshop' but it was passed from house to house: we have concrete examples concerning the bookshop of the duke of Berry,<sup>17</sup> of which we know that he owned titles which are used by our Bourgeois author (in particular *Le Livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*, *Le Livre des propriétés des choses* by Jean Corbechon and *Le Viandier dit de Taillevent*);<sup>18</sup> the temptation is great to imagine that our author, in the service of the prince at least intermittently, borrowed them from him... But this does not solve our central question: what about his personal library? – First of all, it is made of titles and names.

### Names

Our author's bibliographical references are the "classics" of his time: The Bible, the *Golden Legend*, *The Lives of the Fathers*, Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory, Petrus Comestor's *History of the Bible*, Titus Live, the historian Flavius Josephus, the *Catholicon*, Gratian's *Decree*, the *History of Griselidis* (Petrarch), the *Seven Wise Men of Rome*, *Scipio's Dream*, the *Roman of the Rose*, Jacques de Cessoles, the *Chemin de pauvreté et de richesse* by Jean Bruyant, *Mélibée and Prudence*. We can add to this list some "mentions" such as Cerxès, Paul Diacre and Bertran le Viel.

By way of comparison, the master of Charles VI, Philippe de Mézières, compiled a study bibliography for his royal pupil (and here we can assume the existence of "real" books): the Old Testament for religious and political culture; Aristotle, Seneca, Boethius in philosophy; for history, Titus Livius, Valerius Maximus and Flavius Josephus, and finally, Saint Augustine. It is significant that our bourgeois author lacks any philosophical references. Nor is there any allusion to Arthurian works and other works 'full of blunders' as

---

17. "It passed from hand to hand" (*Il passait de main en main*): see other cases in Françoise Autrand, *Jean de Berry*, Paris, Fayard, 2000, p. 437-438.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 466 and 469.

expressed by the old master of Mézières, who firmly dissuaded his royal pupil from getting lost in them<sup>19</sup> (in vain, it seems, for we know that Charles VI greatly appreciated *Le Conte du Graal* and *Lancelot* by Chrétien de Troyes)! Nor does le Bourgeois make any reference to a work that was very much in vogue in his time, the *Grandes Chroniques de France*: yet it is hard to believe that he ignored them if we assume that he was in the royal administration or the army. Did he consider them to be of no interest for the instruction of a lady? And yet, a contemporary of the young wife, Christine de Pisan (1364-1430), proves that women can be passionately interested in the history of their country, and even in politics. Moreover, the Duke of Burgundy, uncle of Charles VI and brother of Jean de Berry, had the young wife of the king read the *Grandes Chroniques* to teach her her profession as queen!<sup>20</sup> But for the Bourgeois, this is clearly not a subject for ladies!

There are other great absentees, contemporary authors in particular, as has been said: the difficulties of distribution and circulation of books explain the chronological gap between the production and the penetration of a work in society – this will only really change with the rise of printed texts; manuscripts circulate with difficulty, and in closed environments. Did our author even read *Le Livre du chevalier de La Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles*? Did he read Eustache Deschamps, especially his *Miroir de mariage* (1381-1389)? In any case, he does not quote him; all these names probably do not constitute necessary or desirable cultural baggage for a young bourgeois wife, as little as the works dealing with love, a subject which occupies such an important place in the other medieval manuals of savoir-vivre.<sup>21</sup> Is this an indication of the specificity of bourgeois culture, and of bourgeois morality in particular, whose main concern is good reputation? There is nothing more dangerous than all these literary and courtly trends for the honourability of women and the

---

19. Françoise Autrand, *Charles VI*, Paris, Fayard, 1986, p. 28.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

21. Claude Roussel, « Le legs de la rose », in A. Montadon (Ed.), *Pour une Histoire des traités de savoir-vivre en Europe*, Clermont-Ferrand, Association des publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines, 1994, p. 3.

name, and several allusions to the harmful nature of the company of young damsels point in this direction! Thus, bourgeois literary culture, as presented here, stops at the gates of love. Finally, another characteristic of this library is that it is less diversified than the aristocratic examples we know.<sup>22</sup>

But above all, the question of which books our author actually held in his hands remains completely open: we will never know the names of these “good books in French that I have”. In order to compile his *Mesnagier*, did he, like his counterpart, the Chevalier de la Tour Landry, ask a secretary to prepare documents for him to use? Did he borrow documents from his entourage, or even from public libraries? In any case, our author accumulates names and titles as if to build the ideal catalogue of a private library, a sum of indispensable references. But very often, his quotations and references are imprecise: it is highly likely that he relied on approximate, second-hand copies, or syntheses, or, finally, on his memory and all the diffuse “cultural noises” that gravitate around him.

Conversely, our author regularly ‘borrows’ passages from authorities without saying so, just as the Chevalier de la Tour Landry<sup>23</sup> never mentions his main source, the *Miroir des Bonnes Femmes*. This may not be a deliberate omission, as the separation between ‘opinion’, personal culture on the one hand, and scriptural authorities on the other remains blurred. Third possibility, our Bourgeois can also attribute authorship to a person in a purely fictitious manner: the argument of authority functions in itself, as an act of language;<sup>24</sup> it is a vector of cultural transmission in its own right, undoubtedly as effective as a book of skin and ink. Besides, do we even have the means to check? – Thus, the Bourgeois perpetuates a practice inherited from the clerics of the Middle Ages and draws from a pool of *topoi* in free circulation, so to speak, as if in a common purse; of the “body of

22. G. Hasenohr, “Les lectures religieuses des laïcs...”, (fn 6), p. 155.

23. In the Prologue to his *Livre pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (1371-1372), the Chevalier de la Tour Landry explains that he asked two priests and two clerks to collect works for his enterprise that he had in his library: “*Si leur fiz mettre avant et traire des livres que j'avoie*” (4, 14-15), in short, a preliminary documentary work.

24. Cf. John L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 1962.

the book”, there is hardly any trace other than a name. The authors certainly do not feel that they are betraying or lying. They are simply making up for the absence of books.

### A second-rate book?

We can identify six practices – from our point of view – of reference as a substitute for the real possession of books, but which in reality are largely confused under the pen of our author: quoting, paraphrasing, alluding, summarising, adapting, and finally commenting. One might suspect that our author often writes from memory. This is the source of the famous instability or variance of medieval books, and of many confusions for each manuscript offers its own version of a text, never exactly the same. Thus, the treasure hidden in the field and the *bonas margaritas*, the precious pearls that symbolise the kingdom of heaven (Matt. 13:44-46) are transformed and become the good wife<sup>25</sup> in the *Mesnagier*: “By the treasure found in the field and by the precious stone we can understand every good and virtuous lady”. And if the Bourgeois refers to Saint Jerome, we do not know if we are to understand the Vulgate or the *History of the Bible* of Petrus Comestor, or even a *Historical Bible* (cf. note n° 7) – you see the referential jungle.<sup>26</sup>

It is probable that our author had in his possession a fragment of the Bible historiale, perhaps its completed version, i.e., the free adaptation into French of the text of Pierre le Mangeur, carried out by the canon of Guyart des Moulins between 1291 and 1295; Guyart prunes the text of the Comestor of the philosophical developments while

---

25. “Of each good woman Jesucrist says on chapter.xiii. of the gospel of saint Mathew: *Simile est regnum caelorum* [...]: The Kingdom of Heaven is like a man who walks looking for gemstones, and when he has found a good and precious one, he goes and sells all that he has and buys it. By the treasure found or field of earth and by the precious stone we can understand each good precious woman” (I, iv, 2, p. 132). It should also be noted that we may be dealing with an amalgam with another biblical passage, the Book of Proverbs, which says that “the valiant woman” is “infinitely more precious than pearls” (Proverbs, 31, 10).

26. I, v, § 16, p. 172.

preserving from his model the use of illustrations (*exempla*) outside the Scriptures. In any case, these eight hundred preserved manuscripts speak for themselves of the immense and lasting success of this work of popularisation and translation of the main books of the Bible, which provided, until the end of the Middle Ages, more than the Bible itself, the main references of sacred history: it is first and foremost a history in the eyes of the laity to whom it is addressed, a succession of stories, a historiated Bible; a Bible for the poor.<sup>27</sup>

This example shows the difficulty, or even the impossibility, of tracing the precise sources of our author and illustrates perfectly the practice of referencing as well as the didactic argumentation of this time: it says above all that the author did not have the original in his hands. Such practices can therefore very easily lead to “falsified” texts; it is not so much a clumsiness or “fraud” as a typical confusion between a text and its glosses. These second-hand transmissions can occasionally lead to pleasant curiosities such as the episode of the lentil dish conceded to Jacob by Esau in exchange for the birthright, which our author has adapted to his own taste:

The fourth branch of gluttony is when a person eats so greedily that he does not chew the food; he gobbles it up whole and fast. Thus, the Scripture records that Esau, the eldest of many brothers, was in such a hurry to eat that he almost choked to death.<sup>28</sup>

There is no trace of this strangulation in the Vulgate (Gen. 25:33-34), which only mentions Esau’s great hunger and exhaustion, which prompted him to make the deal we know: Esau sold his birthright to Jacob, who gave him bread and lentil stew. He ate and drank and rose up and went his way.

This free use of a thematic pool gives an air of déjà-vu to many texts without it being possible to identify either the original source or the number of intermediaries. Le *Mesnagier* thus echoes several

---

27. See Anna Loba, *Le Réconfort des dames mariées. Mariage dans les écrits didactiques adressés aux femmes à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Poznan, Adam Mickiewicz University, « Filologia Romanska », 46, 2013, p. 93.

28. I, iii, § 93, p. 106.

extracts from Robert de Blois's *Chaſtoisement des dames*; in both texts, advice is given on comportment on the way to church (or ailleurs): one refers to the measured gait that the lady should adopt (in particular, she should avoid trotting and cors), and look straight ahead (v. 81), to avoid any foolish look (v. 162), while the *Mesnagier* paints 'these madwomen who, shamelessly, go with their necks erect like deer in the undergrowth with the oblique look of a mad horse' (I, iii, § 117, p. 128). The same can be said of many passages in the *Livre du chevalier de la Tour Landry*. All these elements contribute to one of the main characteristics of the medieval book – in the concrete sense of the term: the great instability of its content, which consequently characterises cultural transmission by stamping it with the seal of variance.

Moreover, the frequent discrepancy between the source and the “paraphrase” or gloss that our author presents could also be the result of a pedagogical concern for popularisation of science: it is a question of being clear, and also incisive – even if it means inventing a scene of strangulation –, it is a question of making a choice, it is a question of drawing from the theories the only practical deductions: for our Bourgeois, culture, before being a *delectare*, is clearly a *prodesse*, a useful thing! It is also and above all a manageable and plastic thing, which can be adapted...

## An original cultural appropriation

Centuries before Balzac, everyday life in its nakedness (and even a certain “triviality”), enters with its whole body into the pages of the book; a new dimension of reality coincides with the ancestral bookish culture and thus writes – a nice pirouette while the lack of books remains chronic – a new page of libraries: rather than resorting to subtle, learned and theoretical argumentation, our author searches in the “book of the world” (cf. Saint Bernard), i.e. concrete reality able to feed the demonstration, and thus enriches the pool of references in a new way. In so doing, he gradually forges a real transfer



of knowledge and ‘culture’ by adapting it to his universe: we are no longer in the world of the fabliau, nor of satire, nor even in that of the wisdom of the *vilain* (i.e., the peasant). Let us develop three examples: the heroic virtues of everyday life; the dog rather than the lion; domestic happiness.

The gallery of classic, even stereotypical, heroic models is enriched in our textbook; thus, a simple bourgeois woman, Jeanne la Quentine, takes her place alongside the literary Lucretia and Susanna. This anecdote, which has the appearance of an *exemplum*, seems to be first-hand: not only do we know of no other literary occurrence of this story, but we are inclined to believe the author’s assertion that he got it from his father:<sup>29</sup> this wife of Thomas Quentin learned that her husband was fooling around, that he was having an affair with a poor girl working as a spinner. Instead of causing a scandal, this exemplary wife patiently suffered the situation without her husband noticing that her secret was no longer a secret to her. One day she managed to find the place where the girl was staying. When she discovered the poor room, with no furnishings, no wood, no candles, no oil, no coal, without nothing but a bed and a blanket, her spinning wheel and a lump of other stuff,<sup>30</sup> she decided to come to the poor woman’s aid: ‘My friend,’ she said to her, ‘I must preserve my husband from all bad rumours; so be discreet about your affair, in which he delights, in order to preserve his honour, but also mine and that of our children. I will do the same for you, determined as I am to love you and help you. In particular, it is important to me that we both look after his health and well-being’. New Sarah, new Rachel, she sends this young woman what is needed to properly equip the small household: toiletries, logs, bed and body linen, with a whole organisation to regularly change dirty for clean, without the husband’s knowledge. This greatness of heart, inspired both by a concern for honour and certainly by sincere compassion, was rewarded by the husband’s return home. Finally, and we are grateful

---

29. *Lequel exemple je oys pieça compter a feu mon pere, dont Dieu ait l’ame*. I, ix, § 3, p. 400.

30. I, ix, 4, p. 402.

for this, the author also reassures us about the fate of the poor young spinner girl!

Second example: if the heraldic code that developed from the 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards elected the lion as the emblem of nobility by excellence because of its symbolic richness (and also to some extent to counter the Teutonic bear),<sup>31</sup> our manual sets up the dog as a paragon of virtues, man's humble companion and embodiment of the virtue of fidelity. Clearly, our author knows and appreciates this animal, he does not need any esopic model or literary Husdent (Tristan's dog) to compose his lines; at most, his personal experience confirms the tradition.

By God, I saw in Nyort an old dog lying on the grave where his master had been buried ; he has benne killed by the English men; and my lord, the duke of Berry and a great number of knights were led there to see the marvel of the loyalty and love of the dog, which day and night did not leave the grave where his master was, whom the English had killed (I, v, 30, p. 182).

Finally, third example, the *Mesnagier* exalts not the amorous passion that drives people to all sorts of excesses, but the simple domestic and conjugal well-being, which can be likened to the definition of an ideal. The house, the *ostel*, becomes the centre of the universe created by our author, who provides us with valuable information on “domestic economy” and the “science of the house”;<sup>32</sup> what is conveyed here is not a copy of learned treatises. Let us admire the precision with which these humble scenes of daily life are described, where servants are called by name:

Have the bottoms of your wine, verjuice and vinegar barrels inspected by dame Agnes the beguine or master Jehan the intendant by candlelight to see that they are not leaking. Make sure that your cattle are well supplied with fodder for the night, and that the fire is

---

31. See Michel Pastoureau, *L'Ours. Histoire d'un roi déchu*, Paris, Le Seuil, 2007.

32. See A. Loba, *Le réconfort des dames mariées...*, (fn 27), p. 99.

well covered in all the chimneys, that the fire of the cheminées will be covered by all, give voz gens for their members time and space to rest (II, iii, 18, p. 458).

There are also these jubilant recommendations for catching fleas, mobilising glues and repellent potions: their validity has been verified by the author himself, he affirms, and we have the weakness to believe him, precisely because of the ‘rusticity’ of the subject and the stylistic marks of subjectivity:

In summer, make sure that there are no fleas in your room or in your bed. There are six ways to avoid this, from what I have heard. Some people say that you should scatter alder leaves around the room and the fleas will get stuck there. Item, I have heard that you can spread one or more slices of bread with glue or turpentine, place them in the centre of the room and stick a burning candle in the middle of each slice: the fleas will then get stuck in them. I have tried another method myself and it is effective: take a rough sheet and spread it out in your room on the bed; all the fleas that can get into it will be caught and you will only have to pick them up in the sheet to take them wherever you want. Item this also works with sheepskins [...]. But the most difficult thing is to protect yourself from the ones in the blankets, in the furs or in the clothes you wear. You should know that I have made the following experiment: when these blankets, furs or clothes are well isolated and locked in a trunk tightly fastened with straps for example, or in a well closed and compressed bag, the fleas, deprived of light, air and space, will perish and die on the hour (I, vii, 3, p. 298-300).

The chapter on ‘how to take care of one’s husband and the house’ is particularly touching:

All this [enduring the pains of external work] does not matter to him because he is comforted by thinking of the care his wife will take of him when he returns, of the caresses, joys and pleasures she will lavish on him or cause him to lavish in her presence: taking off

his shoes by a good fire, washing his feet, giving him clean shoes and slippers; and making him eat and drink well, serving and honouring him (I, vii, p. 294).

The care of the house is one of the expressions of conjugal tenderness. “And so guarantee him and keep him from all mischief, and give him all the ease you can think of” (I, vii, 6, p. 302). The book of our Bourgeois thus adds a new chapter to the traditional theological as well as literary and courtly chain! Culture is nourished by the humblest reality – the domestic reality.

## Conclusion

The *Mesnagier de Paris* is therefore a good indicator not only of the laborious transfer of the book from the clerical and then the aristocratic sphere to the bourgeoisie, but also of the irruption of a new theme that reflects a new conception of culture, extended to the realms of everyday life.

The *Mesnagier* can thus mark the passage from a practice of references inherited from an age where the book is a rarity and respect for the Authority a limit if not a brake on the free expansion of thought to an integration of material realities into the book, while awaiting its multiplication from the era of printing, some fifty years later. It was as a book-object that the *Mesnagier de Paris* was to enter the libraries, those of the bourgeoisie no doubt, little by little (but in this area we have hardly any inventories and therefore no formal proof), but also of great princes and illustrious princesses, Marguerite de Navarre in the first place – in the end, it is indeed thanks to this body that this old book has reached us!



# TRAVELLING LIBRARIES

## The Intertextuality of Sources on the Experience of Travel in Early Modern Journals of the Grand Tour

JILL BEPLER

Wolfenbüttel

**Abstract:** By a close examination of textual evidence of journeys by an English and German aristocrat and a professional travelling tutor of the mid-seventeenth century, this contribution uncovers the intertextuality of manuscript travel diaries. Hieronymus Hainhofer, who accompanied British travellers abroad over decades, provides a rare source of this knowledge transfer in the surviving copy of his interleaved guide book to France. In this he noted a vast amount of practical information on sights, accommodation and contacts in various towns and cities which, along with the books he used, informed the diary of one of his pupils. The diary of a young German duke and his entries on France reveals how the books he carried with him and his purchases of books and engravings as he travelled determined exactly what he recorded in or omitted from his diary, making his “travelling library” a composite documentation of his journeys.

THE following concentrates on one aspect of the genesis of travel diaries, on what might be termed early modern “travelling libraries” and their significance for the transfer of knowledge. It explores the intertextual nature of manuscripts that have come down to us as personal records of cavaliers’ tours of the seventeenth-century journeys by looking in particular at encounters with art and architecture.<sup>1</sup> For this, I focus on two figures: the travelling tutor Hieronymus Hainhofer (1611-ca. 1683) and the traveller Duke Ferdinand Albrecht of Braunschweig-Lüneburg (1636-1687).

The first example looks at the essential role of the travelling tutor as the prime provider of information to his charges, whether in the form of printed materials or in the form of conversation and tuition. His tasks included the supply and use of books as exercises in reading and translation and on building a network of useful contacts to facilitate personal encounters, interaction and the verbal communication of knowledge and language acquisition.<sup>2</sup>

Hieronymus Hainhofer, a German and native of Augsburg, was the nephew of the famous collector and purveyor of artworks Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647), one of the most important agents supplying German courts and in particular the Wolfenbüttel book collector, Duke August the Younger (1578-1666).<sup>3</sup> The main sources

- 
1. On the connection between archives, collections and travel journals see Jill Bepler, “Travelling and posterity: the archive, the library and the cabinet”, in Rainer Babel & Werner Paravicini (Eds.), *Grand Tour: adeliges Reisen und europäische Kultur vom 14. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, Thorbecke 2005, p. 191-203. On travel narratives in German princely journals of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see Andrea Voß, *Reisen erzählen: Erzählrhetorik, Intertextualität und Gebrauchsfunktionen des adligen Reiseberichts in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Winter, 2016.
  2. Recent publications on travel and language acquisition are John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 2019, especially p. 157-207; Arturo Tosi, *Language and the Grand Tour: linguistic experiences of travelling in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2020; Richard Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen. Educational Travel and Family Strategy 1650-1750*. Oxford, Oxford UP, 2022. On German noble travel in general, see Antje Stannek, *Telemachs Brüder: die höfische Bildungsreise des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt, New York, Campus, 2001; Matthis Leibetseder, *Die Kavalierstour: adlige Erziehungsreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, Böhlau, 2004; R. Babel & W. Paravicini (Ed.), *Grand Tour...*, (fn 1).
  3. Michael Wenzel, *Philipp Hainhofer, Handeln mit Kunst und Politik*, Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2020 with a full bibliography; For the digital

on Hieronymus Hainhofer's life are to be found in the collections in Augsburg and at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, where since the seventeenth century the bulk of the papers from Philipp Hainhofer's estate have been housed. After Philipp Hainhofer's death in 1647, Hieronymus is regularly mentioned in letters to the Wolfenbüttel duke from his other agents in Augsburg and he also corresponded with him directly, procuring books for him from France and England and functioning as *cicerone* to his youngest son, Ferdinand Albrecht (1636-1687) during the latter's time in London from 1664 to 1665.<sup>4</sup>

In his youth, Hainhofer was sent by his parents to Geneva for two years to learn French, during which time he was lodged at the house of the famous theologian Johann Diodati (1576-1649). Afterwards, he spent prolonged periods at various merchant houses in Lyon, Nuremberg and Vienna. In 1630, his uncle Philipp acquainted him with the English diplomat Sir Robert Anstruther at Ratisbon, after which he served as *Hoffunker* (valet) to Axel Oxenstierna, before moving to England in 1634 on Anstruther's recommendation. He is registered successively as a language tutor in the households of Mary Sackville, Countess of Dorset (c. 1586-1645) in 1634 and of Elizabeth Devereux Countess of Essex (c. 1590-1656) in 1637. In 1638, he demonstrated his competence in English by publishing an English translation of a letter collection by Jacques Du Bosc, which he dedicated to Countess of Dorset.<sup>5</sup> He also published an English transla-

---

edition of Philipp Hainhofer's travel reports as a diplomat for various courts, see *Philipp Hainhofer: Reiseberichte & Sammlungsbeschreibungen 1594-1636: Edition und Datensammlung zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Michael Wenzel, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 2020: <https://hainhofer.hab.de>

4. On Hieronymus Hainhofer and his career, see Jill Bepler, "Augsburg – England – Wolfenbüttel. Die Karriere des Reishofmeisters Hieronymus Hainhofer", in Jochen Brüning & Friedrich Niewöhner (Ed.), *Augsburg in der Frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zu einem Forschungsprogramm*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1995, p. 119-139. On his services for Ferdinand Albrecht in London: Jill Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg. A traveller and his Travelogue*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1988, p. 182-195.
5. Scholars working on English sources have regularly failed to identify any information on Hainhofer, most recently Diana Barnes, "The Secretary of Ladies. Feminine Friendship at the Court of Henrietta Maria", in Erin Griffey (Ed.),



tion of the core Lutheran text, the Augsburg Confession, although no copies seem to have survived. This translation is mentioned in a letter from Augsburg to the Wolfenbüttel Duke August the Younger in 1656:

*welcher [Hainhofer] auch vor diesem in Engelland die Augspurg. Confession in die Englische Sprach transliret, und etlich 1000 Exemplaria in Engelland haben trucken lassen, so aber mehrenteils alle aufgekauft, und man schwerlich ein Exemplar mehr darvon erlangen werde, ausgenommen etwa per Courtoisie bey einem oder andern guten freunde.*

([Hainhofer] who some time ago in England translated the Augsburg Confession into English and had some 1000 or more copies printed, all of which have for the most part been bought up and it would be hard to get hold of a copy unless by the courtesy of one good friend or another.)<sup>6</sup>

As he was employed in aristocratic circles loyal to the King, life in England became increasingly difficult for Hainhofer and his patrons during the Civil War and the Commonwealth. From the early 1640s up until he was well into his late fifties and probably beyond that, he travelled through Europe as a professional tutor with a series of young English charges. In 1641, at Knowsley Hall, the residence of the

---

*Henrietta Maria. Piety, Politics and Patronage*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, p. 39-56, who discusses his translation of Jacques Du Bosc's letter collection *Nouveau recueil de lettres des dames de ce temps* into English (*The Secretary of Ladies*, London, Hope, 1638) without any reference to his biography or his career, neither of which call his Augsburg Lutheran identity into question, positing that his translation of a Catholic author was a "conduit for implicitly Roman Catholic values" in the circles around Henrietta Maria (p. 43). In view of his translation of the Augsburg confession and the travel handbook presented here this seems highly unlikely. In his native Germany many Protestant authors translated and published Catholic works of literature and devotions that became popular with their readership, avoiding only polemical works. Hainhofer sent a copy of his Du Bosc translation with a manuscript dedication to the Lutheran Duke August in Wolfenbüttel by way of recommendation (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Kc 23).

6. Letter Johann Georg Anckel to Duke August the Younger, 18<sup>th</sup> December 1656. Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 83 Novi, fol. 16r.

Stanley family, he married Susanne d'Asnoy, a French woman from the lesser nobility who belonged to the household of Charlotte de la Trémoille Countess of Derby (1599-1668), a daughter of the prominent Huguenot, Claude de Trémoille Duke of Thouars. Hainhofer's own education, his family background in Lutheran Augsburg and his marriage all place him firmly within a broadly Protestant milieu.<sup>7</sup> His wife also provided Hainhofer with a further foothold outside England and Germany, this time in France, where he had already started his career as a travelling tutor. His young clients were often sent abroad with him for several years at a time, clearly in order to safeguard them in a turbulent political climate. Hainhofer's journeys took them through France to Italy via a house belonging to his wife near Thouars and his uncle's house in Augsburg. In 1665, towards the end of Hainhofer's activities as a tutor, the Augsburg agent who worked for Duke August of Wolfenbüttel characterised Hainhofer and his unusually lengthy career as a travelling tutor, employment that was often only a stepping stone to a later calling:

*dieser Hainhofer ist gewiß ein rechter Hofman und von allen qualiteten, sehr devot und Gottesfürchtig, redlich ehrlichen und stillen gemuetes, der trunckenheit und allen andern lastern überauß spinnen feind und gram, [...] in Französisch, Italianisch Englisch und [...] Latinischer Sprach [...] feßt und erfahren, Seines Alters in 54. Jahre [...]; seine Commission Handel und Wandel beßtehet biß dahero nuer im peregriniren [...]*

(this Hainhofer is certainly a proper courtier and has many qualities, very devout and God-fearing, of an upright, honest and quiet nature, a fierce foe of and grieved by drunkenness and all other vices, [...] firm and experienced in the French, Italian, English and Latin

---

7. The details of Hainhofer's education, marriage and his wife's biography are contained in the Hainhofer family *Stammbuch*, Stadtbibliothek Augsburg, Cim. 66, fol. 82<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>. On the Countess of Derby, see most recently Sandy Riley, *Charlotte de La Tremoille, the notorious Countess of Derby*, Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars, 2017, without mention of Hainhofer.

languages. He is 54 years old [...]; his profession, trade and way of life up to now has consisted solely in peregrination.)<sup>8</sup>

Unlike other travelling tutors, Hainhofer does not seem to have kept diaries, which, along with manuscript letters reporting back to their employers or their later published travelogues or guidebooks, provide the basis of much research on early modern travel. However, as Richard Ansell recently claimed, “historians rarely examine tutors directly, leaving their role at once underexplored and overestimated.”<sup>9</sup> Ansell points to the French expert on travel Jean Boutier as one of the few to have written about the development of the profession of travelling tutors to the nobility in the seventeenth century.<sup>10</sup>

A unique source has survived for documenting Hainhofer’s working practices as a tutor in France. In Orléans in 1641, he bought a copy of the second edition of Claude de Varennes’ *Le Voyage de France*, printed that year by Olivier de Varennes in Paris.<sup>11</sup> At a later date, he recorded this purchase in an entry in the inside cover, adding that he had had the book specially customized with interleaved blank pages on which he could make his notes as he travelled:

*Dißes buch hab Ich Hieronjmus Hainhofer von Augspurg ao 1641 zue Orleans erkhaufft umb 36 L. eingebunden, und solches in allen meinen 8 unterschiedlichen reijßen, umb und durch ganz Franckreich allezeit mit mir gefüret, umb meine eigene obsegnationes<sup>12</sup> iedes ortts darein zueschreiben.*

---

8. Johann Georg Anckel to Duke August the Younger, 26. January 1665. Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 85 Novi 2°, fol. 227v.

9. Ansell, *Complete Gentlemen* (fn 2).

10. Jean Boutier, “Compétence internationale, émergence d’une ‘profession’ et circulation des savoirs : le tuteur aristocratique dans l’Angleterre du xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle”, in Maria Pia Paoli (ed.), *Saperi a confronto nell’Europa dei secoli XIII-XIX*, Pisa, Normale, 2009, p. 151-179.

11. Claude de Varennes, *Le Voyage de France: Dressé pour l’instruction et commodité tant des François, que des Estrangers*, Paris, Varennes 1641. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wt 1015. Digital copy: <http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/wt-1015/start.htm> Referred to in the following as *Varennes*.

12. *segnare* – Italian: note, underline, write down.

(I, Hieronymus Hainhofer from Augsburg, bought this book in 1641 in Orleans and had it bound for 36 livres, and I took it with me on all my 8 different journeys around and through the whole of France, in order to write in it my own notes on every place).<sup>13</sup>

His printed guide book thus became an individualised hybrid object.<sup>14</sup> As Arndt Brendeke points out, the early modern practice of having books interleaved was most common for almanachs or for emblem books that were to be used as *alba amicorum*, and such copies with insertions of blank pages were also commissioned from binders by scholars engaged in the process of editing, translating or exegesis.<sup>15</sup> Hainhofer's interleaved *Varennnes* is unusual in that it was intended to be portable tool for personal reference and instruction purposes, but now it provides valuable evidence of how a travelling tutor actually worked on a very basic and practical level.

Hainhofer's notes are not dated and they are not a record of specific journeys, instead they served to provide an on-going accumulation of diverse professionally useful information directly linked to places described in the printed text. We know of at least 12 tours through France undertaken by Hainhofer during which he clearly carried his copy of *Varennnes* with him.<sup>16</sup> The journey I should like to concentrate on is that with the young Robert Montagu, later Earl of Manchester (1634-1683), with whom Hainhofer was on the continent for a total of five years, from 1649 to 1654. His charge was 15 when the journey began. They were in France for the first three years.

---

13. Letter from Johann Georg Anckel to Duke August, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1665, quoted in Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht* (fn 4), p. 183-184.

14. On interleaved books see Arndt Brendeke, "Durchschossene Exemplare: Eine Schnittstelle zwischen Handschrift und Druck", *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens*, 2005, 59, p. 50-64; Petra Feuerstein-Herz, "Seitenwechsel. Handschrift und Druck in durchschossenen Buchexemplaren der Frühen Neuzeit", *Kodex. Jahrbuch der Internationalen Buchwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft*, 9, 2019, p. 9-26, here p. 9.

15. Brendeke, "Durchschossene Exemplare" (fn 14), p. 53-55.

16. In 1657, the Augsburg agent Johann Georg Anckel wrote to Duke August in Wolfenbüttel informing him that Hainhofer had travelled through France 12 times, through Italy 7, England 5, Holland 4 and Germany 5. Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 83 Novi 2°, fol. 88<sup>r</sup>.

Montagu's diary of his journey has survived and its contents are relatively well known. It was used by John Stoye in his seminal study *English Travellers Abroad*<sup>17</sup> and by Michael Wiemers in his book *Der Gentleman und die Kunst*.<sup>18</sup> Stoye sees Montagu's diary as an opportunity "to come closer to the average youth who was sent to the continent for his education and experience."<sup>19</sup> Wiemers uses the diary as a source for tracing the uncritical reaction to art works by an adolescent, whereby he considers it unlikely that Montagu copied much from printed guidebooks.<sup>20</sup> The manuscript is in the Bodleian Library<sup>21</sup> and the text was edited and commented on by Michael Brennan in the Hakluyt series in 2004.<sup>22</sup>

None of these scholars knew any details of Hainhofer's biography, although they surmised that he was related to the Augsburg art dealer. What Brennan did identify in his excellent introduction was the fact that the text of Montagu's diary is heavily reliant on Varenne's *Voyage de France*, although it is never mentioned directly in the young man's manuscript.<sup>23</sup> Our knowledge of the entries made by Hainhofer in his interleaved copy of *Varennes*, which he presumably also used in conversation with his charges, uncovers a second layer of textual input into Montagu's diary.<sup>24</sup> *Varennes* was not the only guide book that accompanied Hainhofer, and his "travelling library" contributed more layers to Montagu's text. Hainhofer's own notes refer to Martin Zeiller's German-language *Itinerarium Galliae*, which

---

17. John Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad 1604-1667. Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (Revised edition), New Haven, London, Yale UP, 1989, p. 282-290.

18. Michael Wiemers, *Der "Gentleman" und die Kunst. Studien zum Kunsturteil des englischen Publikums in Tagebuchaufzeichnungen des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim, Zürich, New York, Georg Olms, 1986, p. 13-27.

19. Stoye, *English Travellers* (fn 17), p. 283.

20. Wiemers, *Der „Gentleman“* (fn 18), p. 15.

21. Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D. 76. The manuscript is a fair copy in two hands, neither of which belong to Hainhofer.

22. Michael G. Brennan (Ed.), *The Origins of the Grand Tour. The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654) William Hammond (1655-1658) Banaſter Maynard (1660-1663)*, London, The Hakluyt Society, 2004.

23. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 57-79, here p. 62.

24. There are also a significant number of anecdotes and ribald, misogynist punning jokes and entries in French that seemed aimed at their extracurricular entertainment and language practice.

was both a well-annotated compilation and based on Zeiller's own journey to France in 1621, first published in Strasbourg in 1634.<sup>25</sup> As far as routes and sights are concerned, Zeiller mainly cites Justus Zinzerling's *Itinerarium Galliae* (Leiden 1616),<sup>26</sup> of which *Varennes* is a translation, and Abraham Gölnitz's Latin work, *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus* (Leiden 1631).<sup>27</sup> *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus* was translated into French and modified by Louis Coulon under the title *L'Ulysse françois, ou Le voyage de France, de Flandre et de Savoye*, published at Paris in 1643.<sup>28</sup> It is Coulon's version that Hainhofer references in his own notes, whereas his pupil Montagu uses the Latin version by Gölnitz as well, making this another work that the travellers clearly carried with them. Thus, a rich array of printed travel texts in various languages fed into each journey Hainhofer supervised and into the narratives produced by his charges. How important this was is stressed by the fact that at the back of his copy of *Varennes* Hainhofer kept a running list of books that he wanted to acquire and that had been recommended to him.

Hainhofer's closely written entries in his copy of *Varennes* vary greatly, both in content and in language. Like the book itself, they are primarily written in French, but he switches into German and English, often in mid-sentence, according to the subject matter or the nationality of those he is writing about.<sup>29</sup> The entries also contain smatterings of Italian and Latin. German is his preferred

---

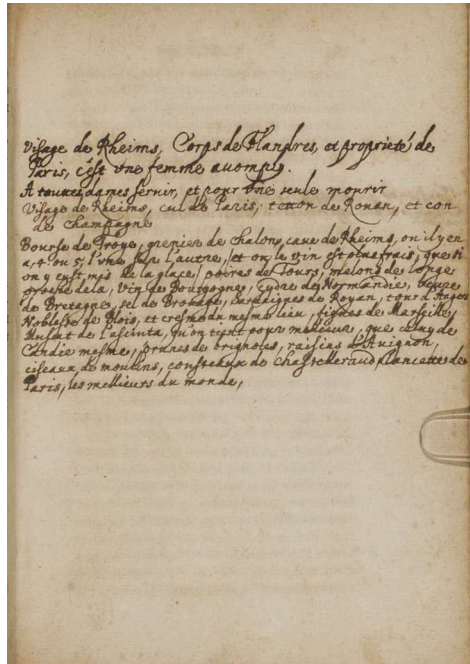
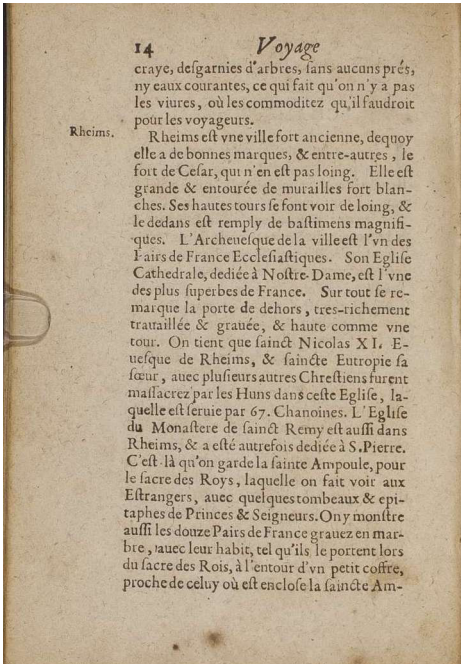
25. Martin Zeiller, *Itinerarium Galliae, et Magnae Britanniae Oder der Raißbeschreibung durch Franckreich/ Groß Britannien/ oder Engelland/ unnd Schottland*, Strasbourg, Zentzner 1634. Hainhofer's entry in his *Varennes* opposite a description of Lyon reads: "H. Zeiller sagt daß er au Lyon d'or de la laterne seinerzeit beyhm H. Christoff Pregel einem gueten dienstthafften man aus Tyroll eingekehrt (Mr. Zeiller says that in his time he stayed at the Lyon d'or des la Laterne with Mr. Christoff Pregel a good and obliging man from Tyrol)." *Varennes*, Scan 00430. Hainhofer is referring to Zeiller, *Itinerarium*, p. 241.

26. Justus Zinzerling, *Jodoci Sinceri Itinerarium Galliae: Ita accomodatam, et eius ductu mediocri tempore tota Gallia [...]*, Leiden, Du Creux, 1616.

27. Abraham Gölnitz, *Ulysses Belgico-Gallicus, fidus tibi dux et achates per Belgium, Hispan. regnum Galliae ducat [...]*, Leiden, Elzevier, 1631.

28. Louis Coulon, *L'Ulysse françois, ou Le voyage de France, de Flandre et de Savoye*, Paris, Clousier 1643.

29. On language switching in travellers' diaries, see John Gallagher, *Learning Languages in Early Modern England*, Oxford, Oxford UP, 2019, p. 174-179.



**fig. 1** Hieronymus Hainhofer's entries opposite the city of Reims in his copy of *Varennes*. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Wt 1015.

language for noting supplementary information on the practicalities of his profession for which he relied on a network of personal contacts that had to be kept up to date. Having noted the exact address of a doctor in Lyon: “*M<sup>r</sup> Du qué medecin de Lyon, a present medecin de M<sup>r</sup> le Marechal de Turenne, loge chez Mad<sup>e</sup> de bois volant au chesne d’or a la rue de la grenelle*”, he later added: “*Diser ist nunmehr in teutschlandt todteß verblichen*. (He has now died in Germany)”.<sup>30</sup> Hainhofer’s notes, whether on lodgings, apothecaries, merchants, musicians or tutors nearly always name those who have recommended them, for example: “*ce me dit M. Carisius, gentilhomme*

30. *Varennes*, Scan 00434.

*Dannois*”,<sup>31</sup> “*welchen Mr Gibson gegen mir sehr gerühmbt (whom Mr Gibson has highly praised to me)*”,<sup>32</sup> “*ce dit M. Ponchesné, medcin fameux de ce lieu.*”<sup>33</sup> Particular mention is always made of people of German or English origin or those who are Protestants, with a clear preference to taking lodgings in Protestant houses: “*Bey M. Richard a la Croix Blanche alhier So von der Religion sagt mir M. Mouchard soll man auch nicht übel umb ein billiches gehalten und losfired sein (The Croix Blanche here, owned by M. Richard who is of our religion, as M. Mouchard told me, is also not bad and you can be cheaply fed and lodged).*”<sup>34</sup> This ever-expanding interpersonal network, very often composed of other travelling tutors like Hainhofer’s fellow German, Henry Oldenburg, is also aimed at providing his charges with “conversation”: “*M<sup>r</sup> Bonchereau auch ein prediger diß ortts soll ein mann von guetem gespräch sein und sehr wol gereißt haben, wie M<sup>r</sup> Oldenburg mir zuverstehen geben (M. Bonchereau, a preacher in this place is said to be a man of good conversation und has travelled very widely, as Mr. Oldenburg gave me to understand).*”<sup>35</sup> The preponderance of French for his extra information on the sights to be visited or particularities of the town indicates that this is the language in which the tutor was striving to communicate with his charges.

The *Varennes* guidebook, both its printed text and Hainhofer’s notes, was a central source for Montagu’s diary, which he wrote entirely in English, making the diary primarily an exercise in translation and paraphrasing from French and an important part of his

---

31. *Varennes*, Scan 00136.

32. *Varennes*, Scan 00150.

33. *Varennes*, Scan 00150.

34. *Varennes*, Scan 00150.

35. *Varennes*, Scan 00254. Hainhofer and Oldenburg remained close friends after Oldenburg established himself in London and later became secretary of the Royal Society. See Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht* (fn 4), p. 184-185. Hainhofer also belonged to the circle of Samuel Hartlib, with whom he corresponded and he had been recommended to Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, Secretary for Foreign Tongues, by his uncle Philipp Hainhofer. See Bepler, “Augsburg” (fn 4). On Henry Oldenburg as a travelling tutor who laid the groundwork for his later career as Secretary of the Royal Society during his European travels, see Boutier, “Compétence” (fn 10), p. 173-178.



language instruction, as Michael Brennan has stressed. I should like to examine the transfer of information from Hainhofer's "travelling library" and his hybrid guidebook to the entries in Montagu's diary by looking at how Montagu records his visit to Lyon, where the travellers stayed for 6 months in 1651/52.

Montagu's diary devotes 6 folio pages to the city, about 1400 words.<sup>36</sup> Of these, only 820 words are not translations or paraphrases either directly from *Varennes* or of Hainhofer's supplementary notes. This figure is reduced again by the fact that a lengthy anecdote, about bad orators in Roman times having to avoid being thrown in the river, is translated exactly from the Latin of Gölnitz *Ulysses Belgico Gallicus* (1631),<sup>37</sup> indicating that this text was also used in language practice by Hainhofer.

This shows that less than half of Montagu's text can be attributed to personal experiences gathered during his stay in Lyon and his own entries are primarily event-related impressions: he mentions the central square of the city, Bellecour, as a hive of social activity in the summer, the best wines, the quality of singing by the nuns of St. Ursula that was bettered by that at the Jesuit church, relics shown at Saint-Just on holy days, processions of the *Penitants blancs* on Good Friday, or the number of poor kept at La Charité. Thus, the bulk of the description of Lyon written up by Montagu in his travel diary is a highly derivative text and an exercise in translation, culled from at least three written sources and probably oral information from Hainhofer.

Of the 750 words of perhaps "original" notes made by Montagu, 415 describe one single subject, namely items he saw on a visit with Hainhofer to the Kunstkammer of Nicolas Grolier de Servières,<sup>38</sup> a retired lieutenant colonel who had served in the Imperial army. In his notes, Hainhofer describes the collection of mainly technical inventions in Servière's three display rooms in general terms, claiming that an account of them would fill a folio volume. His entry reads:

---

36. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 124-127.

37. Gölnitz, *Ulysses* (fn 27), p. 350.

38. On Servières: François-Alexandre Aubert de La Chesnaye Des Bois, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, Vol. 7, Paris, La veuve Duchesne, 1774, p. 477.

*Chez M<sup>r</sup> de Cervierre, a la rüe de S<sup>t</sup> Jean, (qui a par cy devant servi l'Emperure en Hongrie sous la conduite du Comte de Buquoy et naguerres esté Lieutenant Collonel du Regiment D'Aiguebonne) se trouvent trois beaux cabinets remplis de beaucoup de curiosités et gentillessees tournees d'yvoire, mais surtout quantité de belles petites machines artificielles, et inventions mattematiques tant pour l'usage de la guerre, et la recreation, qu'autres employs necessaires, le tout artistement faiçt et controuvé luy seul, pour son propre divertissement seulement depuis dix ans, et qui pour sa grande ingénuité, et feconnté d'esprit en telles choses, merite bien le nom d'un second Archimede, ne se pouvant rien voir de pareil, ny de plus admirable de ceste nature non seulement en reste de la France, mais aussy par tout ailleurs: Le recit particulier du tout, avec les figures contiendroyt un grand livre in folio, et par consequent ne se peut specifier icy.<sup>39</sup>*

After writing an English paraphrase of the general information given here by Hainhofer, Montagu actually details some of the machines and devices in the three rooms housing his collection that Servières had personally demonstrated to him. In his case, these included a chair lift he had invented that was said to be in use by both the Duchess de Trémoille and Cardinal Mazarin:

A cheare in the which one goes up and downe into what chamber of the house on[e] desire and that is by the help of some springs in which are hiden. The Cardinal Mazarin hath one in his house, as also Madame La Duchesse de La Trimoille.<sup>40</sup>

Montagu also records visits to four other private collections in Lyon, summarizing and translating Hainhofer's French entries on them, in part almost verbatim. For example, he translates directly from Hainhofer on an otherwise undocumented collection owned by a woman. Hainhofer's notes read:

---

39. *Varenes*, Scan 00445.

40. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 127.

*Proche du dit pont du Rhosne, chez une bonne veufve, appelee madame Marc Antoine se voyent tous les Roys de france tailles tres artificiellement dans du buys tout d'une piece, come aussy l'histoire de la passion de nostre seig<sup>r</sup> en forme de pyramide, et une piece de mort de mesme faits par un ouvriez allemand de nation en l'espace de 8 ans, quelle estime 300 pistoles ensemble.<sup>41</sup>*

Montagu's diary entry summarizes this:

Hard by the bridge of the Rhosne in a widowe's house caled Madame Marc Antoine. One sees all the kings of France curiously done in box all of one peece in a frame of ebony. Also the passion of our Saviour done in wood like a Pyradmide, with a dead man's head cutt in the wood, the which all together she esteemes at 300 pistols and not under.<sup>42</sup>

As far as the artistic education of his charges is concerned, the most important feature of Hainhofer's additional notes in his copy of *Varennes* is his concentration on documenting privately owned "curiosity cabinets", libraries and collections along his various routes and, in some cases, whom to address in order to gain access to them, especially those in Paris.<sup>43</sup> A typical entry in this respect reads for Nantes:

*M<sup>r</sup> de la Senecherie riche bourgeois de ceste ville doit estre un esprit fort curieux, principalement en beaux livres, comme avant faiçt un voyage tout expres en Italie pour en acheter pour 2000 livres, wie mir Sr Juilliers Tresorier de la Magdalene de Vitry saget, welchen er wol khant und soll ein gueter man sein den er mich gebetten zu besuchen (whom he*

---

41. *Varennes*, Scan 00446.

42. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 127.

43. On curiosity cabinets in France in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see the contemporary listing in Pierre Borel, *Les Antiquitez, Raretez, Plantes, Mineraux et autres choses considerables de la Ville, et Comté de Castrès d'Albigeois, [...] Avec le roolle des principaux cabinets et autres raretez de l'Europe [...]*, Castres, Colomiez, 1649, p. 137-145. An essential reference source is the online listing *Curiositas. Les cabinets de curiosités en Europe*: <https://curiositas.org/chronologie/17e>

*knows well and he is meant to be a good man and whom he asked me to visit).*<sup>44</sup>

In all, Hainhofer's entries in his hybrid guidebook list 38 private collections not belonging to royalty or the high aristocracy. This type of information is not found in any measure in the guidebooks by Zinzerling, Göllnitz or Zeiller, who focus above all on ancient monuments, public buildings and princely and ecclesiastical treasures, or in the printed *Varennes*. The attention to non-academic collections in private houses reflects a paradigmatic shift in catering to the acquisition of knowledge, at best to be obtained through personal conversation with collectors and inventors. This is in evidence again in Montagu's diary when Hainhofer takes him to Feydeau's collection in Paris,<sup>45</sup> or to the architect Joseph Furttenbach's house in Ulm to see his display of machines and inventions,<sup>46</sup> where in both cases he describes individual items in great detail. In all, Montagu records visits to 10 collections in private houses in France, most of his information stemming from Hainhofer's notes with added details of particularly memorable objects that he was shown by their owners. His notes show him engaging in a very under-developed manner, whether by noting what Hainhofer or the owners of collections have pointed out, or in a process of highlighting selected objects. When writing of Balthasar Monconys's own textual production in the exhibition catalogue on the Monconys curiosity cabinet in Lyon, also visited by Hainhofer and Montagu, Miriam Marrache-Gouraud sees this act of selection from an abundance of detail as a narrative process that ultimately informs the critical judgement of the connoisseur.<sup>47</sup> Hainhofer's notes seem to fulfil the function of "feeding" the text of his charges with such individual detail that was then supplemented by their personal observations. This reinforces the now

44. *Varennes*, Scan 00242.

45. *Varennes*, Scan 00484; Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 96-97.

46. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 140.

47. Myriam Marrache-Gouraud, "C'est un amas d'une infinité de choses rares et recherchées", *Le Journal* de Balthasar de Monconys, *des cabinets de curiosités aux curiosités du texte*, in *Dans la chambre des merveilles* [exhibition catalogue] *Musée des Confluences*, Paris, Flammarion, 2014, p. 117-125, here p. 122.

standard idea of the early modern “curious traveller” whose mode of perception was determined by the matrix of the curiosity cabinet, the *Wunderkammer*, as Anne Hultzsch has also stressed in her book *Architecture, Travellers and Writers. Constructing Histories of Perception 1640-1950*,<sup>48</sup> by using among others the example of John Bargrave.<sup>49</sup>

In revisiting the journey that Ferdinand Albrecht of Braunschweig-Lüneburg made to France at the age of 22, ten years after Montagu, I would like to shift the focus away from the curiosity cabinet as an undeniable central determinant of perception and return to the “travelling library”.

In a monograph I traced the theme of travel from the cradle to the grave via the duke’s biography and collections.<sup>50</sup> An education in Wolfenbüttel was an intensive course in preparing to become a traveller-collector, a central part of which was visual training through books. In 1645, Hieronymus Hainhofer’s uncle, Philipp Hainhofer, wrote to Duke August of Wolfenbüttel, saying that he had various books in stock, including a volume that would form part of the young princes’ education in art and architectural appreciation:

*L’histoire de fontaine bleau, vnd ist dise historie, alß Ichs nur ein wenig durchblettere, ain schönes kurzweyliges buch, die mahlerey vnd khunst Cammer lib. II. gar wakher beschriben; Cap. 3 . im Cabinet sonderlich ainer hydra mit 7. köpfen, umb welche die veurdingen m/6. duc. geben, vnd dem Kunig Francisco de Valois verehrt, beschihet auch meldung imaginis cuiusdam virginis, welche 18. monat nichts gessen oder trunkhen hatte. Die picturae werden beschriben vil vil tausent scudj werth, vnd muß dises fontaine bleau wol ain küniglicher lust und Erdischer paradysß sein, welche beschreibung die löbliche Prinzen gern lesen werden, umb wan Sie in Frankhreich rajsen, dises fontaine bleau desto mehr in acht zu nemmen.*

---

48. Anna Hultzsch, *Architecture, Travellers and Writers. Constructing Histories of Perception 1640-1950*, Oxford, Legenda, 2014.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 54-85. On Bargrave’s travels see also Stephen Bann, *Under the Sign. John Bargrave as Collector, Traveller and Witness*, Ann Arbor, Michigan UP, 1994.

50. Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht* (fn 4).

(The history of fontaine bleu, and this history, which I have just leafed through briefly, is a beautiful and entertaining book, the paintings and the khunst Cammer in volume 2 are very well described; Chapter 3 in the cabinet in particular a hydra with seven heads, for which those who commissioned it paid 6000 ducats and gave it as a gift to King Francois Valois, it also describes the picture of a certain virgin who did not eat or drink anything for 18 months. The paintings are described as being many many thousand scudis in value, and this fontaine bleu must really be a delight for a king and an earthly paradise, whose description the praiseworthy princes will be pleased to read, so that when they travel to France, they will be better able to observe this fontaine bleu.<sup>51</sup>

Duke August did indeed buy Hainhofer's 1642 edition of the splendid folio volume *Le Trésor des Merveilles de la Maison Royale de Fontainebleau*<sup>52</sup> and it can stand for the way in which the young dukes were supplied with books and engravings that acquainted them with the literature, architecture and politics of France, before they even set out on their journeys. Likewise, their instruction in French and Italian had already taken place and was only to be perfected by travel.<sup>53</sup> These basic premises affected the way in which the textual account of the journey undertaken by Ferdinand Albrecht referenced not just other printed and written sources, but also engravings, making his travel journal the centrepiece of a network of material documentation.<sup>54</sup>

The keeping and textual layout of the journal itself was something that had been part of his education at home, where shorter journeys provided "practice runs". These early journal entries were also accompanied by the use of printed books as secondary record-keeping. Parallel to his travel diary, the young Duke's copy of Merian's folio

51. Ronald Gobiet (Ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d.J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984, p. 767.

52. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, A: 10.5 Geom. 2°.

53. On the princes' comprehensive preparation for travel, see Bepler, *Ferdinand Albrecht* (fn 4), p. 43-109.

54. Ferdinand Albrecht travel journal, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 4.

*Topographia* of his native territories of Braunschweig and Lüneburg contains his extensive marginalia for a trip through the Harz mountains in 1654.<sup>55</sup> He thus combined his own notes with the printed information in Merian and, above all, with a visual record of his trips via the engravings of the locations he visited, thereby producing a hybrid text. This was a combination of documentation that the duke probably replicated in France. In many cases his entries on a particular town or site in his diary end with a reference to the individual volumes and page numbers for Merian's *Topographia Galliae* (Frankfurt 1655-1658) and he appears to have taken all eight parts with him on his journey. His library is recorded in his estate inventory of 1687 and lists the *Topographia Galliae* bound together in 4 volumes, but these copies are unfortunately not in the Wolfenbüttel or Braunschweig collections today.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps he made notes in the Merian volumes he carried with him in France, but his diary entries clearly link his own observations to the textual and visual information they contained. The guide book he took with him, the 1649 edition of Justus Zinzerling's *Itinerarium Galliae*, is the other text frequently referenced in the travel diary with exact pages.<sup>57</sup> The duke's entry on his way to Orléans, for example, has multiple page references to Merian and Zinzerling "(vide Merians Topog: Gall: VII Tom: pag: 67); (vide Sinceri Itin: Gall: pag: 32)".<sup>58</sup> Unlike Montagu, the Duke does not copy or translate passages from his guidebooks, but references them to supplement his own entries. His travelling library does not feed into the text, but rather determines what he leaves out of his own written account. In the case of Blois, he merely gives the page references in Merian and Zinzerling that describe the location and sights. His own text concentrates mainly on his impressions of the exiled and infirm Gaston d'Orléans (1608-1660), whom he saw having to lean on his marshal as he walked "*weil er so alt und, wie man sagt,*

55. Martin Zeiller, *Topographia und Eigentliche Beschreibung der Vornembsten Städte [...] und Örter in denen Herzogthümer[n] Braunschweig und Lüneburg*, Frankfurt, Merian, 1653, Herzog August bibliothek: Cd 4° 87 (2).

56. Estate inventory, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 68, fol. 128.

57. Justus Zinzerling, *Jodoci Sinceri Itinerarium Galliae [...]*, Amsterdam, Jansson, 1649, Herzog August Bibliothek Cc 661.

58. Ferdinand Albrecht travel journal, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 4, fol. 96.

mit Podagra behafft (because he is so old and, as they say, plagued by gout)” and of his suite of rooms in the chateau, which the Duke judged to be “*gantz schlecht, mit alten tapeten behencket* (quite simple, hung with old tapestries).”<sup>59</sup> In Lyon, he writes in his diary: “*Die folgenden Tage habe die meisten örther in Lyon besehen, welche in der Topog: Galliae V. Part: pag 8 et seqq: zu finden* (The next day I saw most of the places in Lyon that are to be found in Topog. Galliae Part V, page 8 and following).”<sup>60</sup> Martin Zeiller, who wrote the texts for Merian’s *Topographia* based on a revision of his own *Itinerarium Galliae* and other publications, was unable to provide a proper textual description of the contents of the new town hall at Lyon, which had only recently been completed when the duke arrived. Merian’s engravings reproduce the facade of the entrance, a detailed ground plan of the entire building and the gardens, accompanied by a bird’s eye view of the entire complex, but Zeiller’s entry on the town hall reads in its entirety: “*Das Rath-Hauße wird in daß Alt/ unnd Neue getheilet. In dem Newen/ ist deß Königs Bildnuß/ Wappen/ unnd andere schöne Sachen/ zusehen.* (The Town Hall is divided into the new and the old building. In the new one, the King’s portrait, his coat of arms and other beautiful things can be seen.)”<sup>61</sup> This is the only sight in Lyon that the duke describes in intense detail in his diary. After commenting briefly on its beauty and expense: “*das prächtige, kostbahre und in gantz Franckreich beste Maison de ville, darzu die steine alleine 10mahl 100.000 Francken gekostet* (the superb and sumptuous and best Town Hall in the whole of France, whose stones alone cost 10 times 100.000 francs)” and praising the breadth of the steps leading up to it and the light of the main hall, he concentrates on listing the rooms and their art work.<sup>62</sup> His text can be seen as direct extension of the visual information of the exterior that he carried with him in his Merian volumes. Otherwise, his diary entries for Lyon concentrate

59. *Ibid.*, fol. 93<sup>v</sup>.

60. *Ibid.*, fol. 90<sup>r</sup>.

61. Martin Zeiller, *Topographia Galliae oder Beschreib: und Contrafaltung deß Mächtigen Königreichs Franckreich* [Vol. 5]: *Die fürnehmste und bekantiste Stätte und Plätze in den Ländern Lyonnais. Foreßt. Beauolois, und Bourbonnois, Abhandelt und für gestelt*, Frankfurt am Main, Merian, 1657, p. 18.

62. Ferdinand Albrecht travel journal, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 4, fol 89<sup>v</sup>.



mainly on the reception and the lavish entertainments staged for Charles Emanuel of Savoy by Louis XIV to which the duke was a witness.

Not just the books he took with him, but also those he purchased as he travelled fulfilled the function of supplementing his diary. Like Montagu, in Paris Ferdinand Albrecht visited Saint Denis. Montagu's diary contains a very long entry detailing the history and the funeral monuments of Saint Denis,<sup>63</sup> which is a shortened but literal translation from *L'Ulysse Francois* by Coulon,<sup>64</sup> not recognized as such by Brennan in his edition. He also gives a long description of the treasury, not described by Coulon, and refers to "a whole book that treats onely of the singularities of this church intituled Le Thresor sacrè de S<sup>t</sup> Denis."<sup>65</sup> Montagu's text translates directly from the *Trésor*, his reading and translating feeding into his text. Having now switched to keeping his diary in French, Ferdinand Albrecht by contrast makes short work of St Denis, which he describes in a paragraph calling its funeral monuments "*magnifiques et precieuses*", selecting for mention those of Henry II and Catherine de' Medici as

*tres bien faiçt en marbre. Charle le chauve en bronze, au milieu de l'Eglise. Louis 12 est si bien representé mort qu'on l'admire. Entre autres sont aussi là enterré Pepinus, Carolus Martellus, Hugo Capetus, bien fait de Pilo excellent maïstre comme on peut voir dans cette petite livre imprimé, qu'on vend devant l'Eglise.*<sup>66</sup>

For the other monuments also he refers to a "*petite livre imprimé, qu'on vend devant l'Eglise.*" His entry on the Wolfenbüttel copy of the

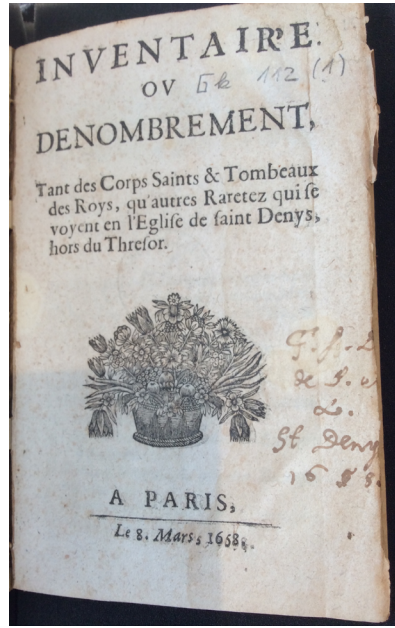
---

63. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 98-103.

64. Coulon, *L'Ulysse* (fn 28). Montagu uses sections from pages 261, 263, 265, 266.

65. Brennan, *Origins* (fn 22), p. 101, identifies this as Simon Germain Millet, *Le trésor sacré, ou inventaire des sainctes reliques, et autres precieux loyaux qui se voyent en l'Eglise, & et au Thrésor de l'Abbaye Royle de S. Denys en France*, first published in Paris 1634, which went through many editions. Montagu is thought to have used an edition from 1645.

66. Ferdinand Albrecht travel journal, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 4, fol. 110<sup>r</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>, here 110<sup>v</sup>.



**fig. 2** Ferdinand Albrecht's copy of the *Inventaire* purchased at Saint Denis 1658. Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Gk 112 (1).

*Inventaire* reads “F. A. D. de B. et L. St Denys 1659.”<sup>67</sup> He mentions the religious order responsible for administering the treasury, “*qui est un miracle de France, à cause de sa valeur et pretiosité, les choses qui sont dedans, on trouve imprimé dans cette petite livre*”. He describes none of the objects, referencing as a second printed work the *Trésor*. The Duke obviously bought both booklets at the church for future reference.<sup>68</sup> The diary entry shows him highlighting some items that had struck him as particularly noteworthy while referencing his own book collection as the locus of information on the sight as a whole, a narrative pattern of the traveller-collector.

67. *Inventaire ou denombrement, tant des Corps saints & tombeaux des roys, qu'autres Raretez qui se voyent en l'eglise de saint Denys, hors du Thresor*, Paris, 1658, Herzog August Bibliothek Gk 112 (1).

68. The Herzog August Bibliothek has two copies of *L'inventaire abrégé due thrésor de S. Denys*, one published 1656 and one 1659, both by Pierre de Bats in Paris, but it is not clear which one belonged to Ferdinand Albrecht, as the original binding is lost. Herzog August Bibliothek 354.6 Quod; 354.2 Quod.

This is also the case when it comes to the transcription of epitaphs and inscriptions. In Basel, for example, the duke sees the epitaph for Erasmus in the cathedral and “many others”, writing in his diary “so in dem Buch [...] Grossi [...] in 4to zu lessen.” He bought the 1624 edition of Johannes Gross *Urbis Basil. Epitaphia et Inscriptiones* at Basel in 1658,<sup>69</sup> feeling the need to have it to hand even though he already owned the 1625 edition, which had obviously remained in Wolfenbüttel.<sup>70</sup>

This process of supplementing his own observations is even more striking with the engravings he bought as he travelled. Like Montagu, Ferdinand Albrecht visited Richelieu, famous for the fact that the Cardinal had built the town and its chateau as a dynastic monument, and as Hanno-Walter Kruft writes, a utopian manifestation of reasons of state, which despite its lack of inhabitants immediately became a tourist attraction.<sup>71</sup> Merian’s *Topographia Galliae*, with its texts by Martin Zeiller, does not describe Richelieu in detail, as indeed nearly all travel handbooks are too out-dated for a proper description of the recently developed site, but the text does mention four engravings newly published at Paris, from which Merian obviously took his own depictions of the town and the exterior of the chateau.<sup>72</sup> Ferdinand Albrecht’s travel diary provides one of the best and most detailed descriptions of the interior of Richelieu, its art-work and its library, based on the tour he was given by the Governor of the chateau, Augustin de Buisine.<sup>73</sup> On an otherwise undocumented visit to Richelieu in 1658, probably en route from Lyon to Angiers,

---

69. Herzog August Bibliothek, Hl 52.

70. A copy belonging to his juvenile library, Herzog August Bibliothek, Hl 53.

71. Hanno Walter Kruft, *Städte in Utopia. Die Idealstadt vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert zwischen Staatsutopie und Wirklichkeit*, Munich, Beck, 1989.

72. Martin Zeiller, *Topographia Galliae, Oder Beschreibung und Contrafäitung der vornehmsten, und bekantisten Oerter, in dem mächtigen [...] Königreich Franckreich* [Vol. 7]: *Die fürnehmste vnd bekantiste Städte vnd Plätze in der Provinc Beausse. Chartrain. l’Angou.* [...], Frankfurt, Merian, 1657, p. 58.

73. Ferdinand Albrecht travel journal, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 4, fol. 103<sup>v</sup>-104<sup>r</sup>. See the 2011 exhibition catalogue *Richelieu à Richelieu: architecture et décors d’un château disparu*, Milan, Silvana Editoriale, 2011. On Buisine and his term as governor, see Louis-Augustin de Bossesboeuf, *Histoire de Richelieu et des environs au point de vue civil, religieux et artistique*, Tours, Péricat, 1890, p. 280-282.

he had acquired the small-format suite of 15 engravings of the chateau and the church, marking it as he did with all his books with his initials and the place and year of acquisition.<sup>74</sup> On his second visit that he describes in his diary in 1659, he purchased the larger suite of engravings of *Le magnifique chasteau de Richelieu en General et en Particulier*,<sup>75</sup> again inscribing it with place and year. The suite comprised 20 large-format engravings by Jean Marot of the chateau and its gardens. He had them bound and customized by the addition of a view of the town of Richelieu by Israel Sylvestre and four engravings of the church taken from the small suite. Ferdinand Albrecht certainly bought this volume directly from Augustin de Buisine (d. 1662), who dedicated the work to the Cardinal's heir, the Duke of Richelieu, and who owned the plates. Ferdinand Albrecht does not refer to the engravings in his diary explicitly, but in analogy to the town hall in Lyon, his long entry on the chateau hardly describes the exterior of the building or the gardens at all and concentrates on detailing the interior. This indicates that he saw his purchase of a visual documentation of the architecture as sufficient. In Paris, the Duke visited the shop belonging to Israel Henriot and Israel Sylvestre and purchased 194 engravings, which he had bound and a title page inserted "*Ferdinand Albert Duc de Brouns. et Lüneburg à acheté ces perspectives de L'Autheur à Paris 1659*".<sup>76</sup> The volume contains engravings of all the major sights in Paris and those the duke saw both outside Paris and in other regions. He also made his own index of place names that was bound at the back in order to better navigate the volume. Again, he references the visual documents he had purchased in his diary. His account of a trip to Liancourt summarises: "*Liancourt est le plus beau jardin de France, des belles magnifiques allées et 122 iette d'eau, un jeu de longue paulme, comme on peut voir dans les pourtraicts de Sylvester*."<sup>77</sup> The volume with engravings he bought

74. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig: KK 8° 1623, see the description in *Richelieu à Richelieu* (fn 73), p. 215, fn. 12.

75. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig: KK 8° 1493. See Kristina Deutsch, "*Le magnifique chasteau de Richelieu par Jean Marot*" in *Richelieu à Richelieu* (fn 73), p. 415 ff.

76. Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum Braunschweig: KK 8° 1509.

77. Ferdinand Albrecht travel journal, Landesarchiv Wolfenbüttel, 95 Alt 4, fol. 110r.

from Sylvestre contains two suites of 10 engravings of Liancourt, large and small, with their separate title pages. The duke's diary thus continually references his own textual and visual resources in his "travelling library". Even when, as in the case of the hundreds of other engravings he bought, these are not explicitly mentioned, they provide the background for the way he chose material for his diary. His diary, standing alone, would lead us to conclude that his perception of the buildings and monuments he saw in France was mainly determined by a preoccupation with their contents and interiors – a "curiosity cabinet" view – and that he had an underdeveloped appreciation of architecture. However, the totality of the documents he collected and their interplay with his diary show him compiling a comprehensive lasting visual and textual record of his travels.

\*

\* \*

The deconstruction of the textual layers of Montagu's diary reveals its typical character as an educational exercise, with his tutor Hainhofer and his "travelling library" in effect as its guiding hand and the provider of its texts. Ferdinand Albrecht's diary and its textual and visual extension in his ever-expanding "travelling library" is a witness to a holistic approach to the media associated with travel and connoisseurship that by the 18th century produces the aristocratic Grand Tour collector-traveller who, on his return, placed himself at the centre of a network of objects displayed as documents of his taste and discernment in the face of which a personal travel diary was gradually relegated to a much more minor role as proof of "successful" travel.

# FRANKFURT'S BOOK AND ART MARKET IN THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

Annotations on Prices and Wages

ANDREA PÜHRINGER

**Abstract:** Frankfurt as the centre of book production is the focus of the study. Due to the poor state of the sources and especially due to the effects of the Thirty Years' War, which affected Frankfurt in the long term, statements on the organisation of the book and art market in the 17<sup>th</sup> century can only be made conditionally. The connections between the book market and the art market are an important aspect of the presentation. The increase in illustrations, initially woodcuts, later increasingly copper engravings, not only accelerated book prices, but also production costs. At the same time, they made the books more attractive. This raises the question not only of income, but also of production costs, expenditure on raw materials and labour costs. In addition, an attempt is made to place these expenses in relation to the general price and wage developments in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In this way, it can be determined whether the book and art market deviated from the general development.

THE focus of the following is on Frankfurt as the centre of book production in economic terms.<sup>1</sup> On the one hand, it is important to ask about the prices and, on the other, about the production costs, the expenses for raw materials, but also the wages. Not only the different qualities of printing and paper, but also the higher quality of books, which were often illustrated – initially with woodcuts and later increasingly copper engravings – raised the costs. In this respect, beyond the book market, we must also ask about the art market, about the production conditions for prints, their prices, costs, and performers. These specific questions are embedded in the general development of wages and living costs in the long 17<sup>th</sup> century in order to put them in relation to the book and art market.

## The baseline situation – *la longue durée*

In both economic and monetary terms, the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a particularly complicated and tense period. Not only had the turmoil of the Thirty Years' War catastrophic consequences, but the galloping inflation of the Kipper and Wipper period at the beginning of the 1620s also caused serious repercussions.<sup>2</sup> But Frankfurt had already been exposed to troubled times before, culminating in the so-called Fettmilch Rebellion (1612-1616). But – and here we need to go even further back in time – the Fettmilch Rebellion and the Kipper and Wipper period were both events that could be traced back to the economic trends beginning to emerge since the middle of the

- 
1. My contribution is intended as a tribute to Helga Meise's time in Hesse, and particularly in Frankfurt. Some of the results of this paper have already been published in Andrea Pühringer, "Werke, Löhne und Preise in Frankfurt im 'langen' 17. Jahrhundert", in Holger Th. Gräf & Andreas Tacke (Ed.), *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt. Der Kupferstecher Johann Philipp Thelott (1639-1671)*, Marburg, Historische Kommission für Hessen, 2022, p. 37-50.
  2. Generally see Wilhelm Abel, *Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur. Eine Geschichte der Land- und Ernährungswirtschaft Mitteleuropas seit dem hohen Mittelalter*, Hamburg, Berlin, Parey, 1978, p. 104-195; Moritz J. Elsas, *Umriss einer Geschichte der Preise und Löhne in Deutschland. Vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. 2, Part B, Leiden, Sijthoff, 1949, p. 6-7.

16<sup>th</sup> century – with continuous price increases and rather stagnating wages.

In Frankfurt, another reason for the unrest was added: the consolidation of the patrician regimen since the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Mismanagement by the council and little participation rights for the guilds were the consequences.<sup>3</sup>

Part of the reason for the conflict were also grain price increases since the end of 1609, when the average price for 1 malter<sup>4</sup> of grain rose from 2 ¼ – 2 ½ to 3 florins and almost doubled to 4 florins by 1611. This price persisted through the period of turmoil and fuelled it, only to fall to the amount of 2 ½ florins in mid-1613.<sup>5</sup> From the beginning, the political demands of the rebellious guilds were linked to anti-Jewish resentment and led to looting in the Judengasse and to the fleeing and expulsion of the Jewish population. They only returned to Frankfurt after the execution of Vinzenz Fettmilch, the gingerbread baker who gave the rebellion its name, in 1616. The unrest and the mismanagement of the city council that became apparent at that time, with debts, embezzlement, and corruption, also burdened the reputation of the Frankfurt trading centre in general and the fairs in particular. In 1613, Nuremberg and other trading cities asked the Frankfurt council whether the safety of foreign merchants could be guaranteed at all.<sup>6</sup>

Only a few years later, from 1620 onwards, the Kipper and Wipper period led to rapid coin devaluation throughout the empire,

---

3. The mismanagement caused a debt burden of around one million. See Alexander Dietz, *Frankfurter Handelsgeschichte*, 3 vols., Glashütten im Taunus, Detlev Auvermann, 1970, here Vol. 2, p. 47; see also Georg Ludwig Kriegk, *Geschichte von Frankfurt am Main in ausgewählten Darstellungen*, Frankfurt am Main, Heyder und Zimmer, 1871, p. 237-239, 254-256 on the patrician city regimen; p. 239-241, 290 on the debt and corruption allegations against the city council.

4. About 109 Liters.

5. See Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 2, p. 95. This was accompanied by hunger, destitution and disease as well as correspondingly high mortality rates: 1608: 524, 1610: 906, 1611: 1.135, 1612: 1.072, 1613: 1.140 und 1614: 664.

6. See Kriegk, *Geschichte* (fn 3), p. 305. This is the most detailed account of the Fettmilch-revolt, p. 237-417; see also Gerald Lyman Soliday, *Community in Conflict. Frankfurt Society in the seventeenth and early eighteenth Centuries*, Hanover/NH, New England UP, 1974.



which peaked in 1621 to 1623. In the process, large quantities of low-grade coins were minted, which contributed significantly to the rise in inflation. As a result of this practice of decreasing the value of money, wide parts of the population impoverished, locked in a fixed wage whose increase did not keep pace with the decline in the value of money. Whereas before the 'Thirty Years' War the regional kreuzer was still equivalent to one ninetieth (1/90<sup>th</sup>) of a well-heeled Reichstaler, by the end of 1621 it was worth less than one three hundred and ninetieth (1/390<sup>th</sup>), a situation that continued to get worse in many places until 1623.<sup>7</sup>

In addition to inflation rates and a fleeing or decimated population, the Thirty Years' War had another fatal consequence: the plague. While Frankfurt was relatively spared the consequences of the war in the first decade, the situation worsened in 1631. The conclusion of a protection and defence pact with the Swedes led to the invasion of the Swedish troops under king Gustav Adolf (1594-1632), for whom the city represented an ideal base of operations in terms of geostrategy and economic policy.<sup>8</sup> Despite Gustav Adolf's death in 1632 at the Battle of Lützen, the troops remained in the city, where they took up quarters and demanded provisions, until Frankfurt's accession to the Peace of Prague in July 1635. Shortly after the arrival of the Swedes

- 
7. Konrad Schneider, *Frankfurt und die Kipper- und Wipperinflation der Jahre 1619-1623* (Mitteilungen aus dem Frankfurter Stadtarchiv 11) Frankfurt, Kramer, 1990, p. 61-70; Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 2, p. 55, 57. Niklot Klüßendorf, *Numismatik und Geldgeschichte. Basiswissen für Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Peine, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2015, p. 93-95. He points out that the Thirty Years' War led to a period of good money from 1623 onwards, as payments to the military in bad coin could provoke violence. That the lessons learned were short-lived became evident in the period from 1675 to 1695, which is considered the Second Kipper and Wipper Period, when numerous estates minted mainly light florins, bought up good-quality coins according to plan and melted them down, *ibid.*, p. 96. See Achilles August von Lersner, *Der Weitberühmten Freyen Reichs- Wahl- und Handels-Stadt Franckfurt am Mayn Chronica Oder Ordentliche Beschreibung der Stadt Franckfurt Herkunft und Aufnahmen, wie auch allerley denckwürdiger Sachen und Geschichten, so bey der Römischen Königen und Käyser Wahl und Crönungen, [...] vorgegangen, nebst denen Veränderungen, die sich in Weltlich- und Geistlichen Sachen, [...] zugetragen haben*, Vol. 1, Frankfurt, Self-published by the author, 1706, p. 444-448, the new coinage regulations of the city of Frankfurt of 27 October 1623.
  8. See Lersner, *Chronica* (fn 7), p. 396-403, on passage of troops, quartering and provisional deployment.

at the end of 1631 the plague and other diseases had already broken out, initially among the soldiers and subsequently spreading through the city. The most severe outbreaks occurred in 1634 and 1635 with 3,421 and 6,943 deaths respectively. In the period from 1625 to 1646, 34,678 deaths contrasted with only 20,204 births. But further waves of the plague were to hit the debilitated population even after the end of the war – especially in the mid-1660s.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, the population decline was enormous. Whereas Frankfurt had about 20,000 to 25,000 inhabitants around 1600, their numbers dropped to about 12,000 in 1638, increased only slightly to 14,728 in 1663 and only rose again to about 23,000 in 1700.<sup>10</sup>

## The sources

Based on a genre of source rather rarely preserved, which are household books, some prices and wages in Frankfurt can be obtained for a certain period. They have the advantage that they cover a longer period due to their chronological sequence. These are the budget books of patrician households, which were kept in the years 1642 to 1648 – the last years of the war, 1686 to 1695 as well as 1734 to 1736 – to look at the 18<sup>th</sup> century in comparison.

The earliest book belonged to Johann Maximilian zum Jungen (1596-1649), a member of the more distinguished of Frankfurt's two patrician societies, the Gesellschaft Alten Limpurg.<sup>11</sup> Zum Jungen had attended university, completed his educational journey and, at

---

9. Friedrich Bothe, *Geschichte der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt, Englert & Schlosser, 1929, Reprint Frankfurt, Weidlich, 1977, p. 174-178; Kriegel, *Geschichte* (fn 3), p. 418 *sq.*, he points out, on the one hand, that the figures could be higher, since only the Protestant population and neither the Catholic nor the Jewish population were taken into account, and, on the other hand, the already increased mortality since the early 1620s, i.e. since the Kipper and Wipper period.

10. Elsas, *Umriss* (fn 2), Vol. 2 A, p. 51-53.

11. Karl Bräuer (Ed.), *Studien zur Geschichte der Lebenshaltung in Frankfurt a. M. während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, auf Grund des Nachlasses von Gottlieb Schnapper-Arndt*, Vol. 1: Darstellung, Frankfurt am Main, Kramer, 1915.

the age of 29, married Marie Salome Stalburg. She came from an old patrician family in Frankfurt that belonged to the same society. From 1633 onwards, zum Jungen held numerous positions as a councillor, younger and elder mayor, and lay assessor. His extremely extensive library became the foundation of the later city library. He also travelled several times on diplomatic missions on behalf of the city – for example to the county council in Worms or to the peace negotiations in Münster and Osnabrück in 1646. He started the household book relatively late. Interestingly, however, there is also a list of expenses from his wedding in 1625.<sup>12</sup>

The second household book of Johann Balthasar Kaib (1637-1697) came from the next generation. Kaib had a similar educational background and held corresponding positions in the city council and was also member of the society of Alten Limpurg. Like Maximilian zum Jungen he also married a Stalburg in 1666 and, after her death in 1673, Justine zum Jungen, Maximilian's granddaughter. These marriage circles already demonstrate the close ties between Frankfurt's patrician families and their isolation from the outside world. His budget book, which was also started late, covers the longest period of nine years.<sup>13</sup>

The author of the third source, written another generation later, is Nikolaus von Uffenbach (1682-1744). He was one rung lower down on the social ladder, as he belonged to the patrician society of the Frauenstein. He had also been to university and in 1705 went to the court of Philipp Wilhelm von Boineburg, governor of the Electorate of Mainz in Erfurt, as a secretary. He returned and married Antonie Lersner in 1721. This shows his social advancement, because the Lersner family belonged to the Alten Limpurg society. When Antonie died in 1751 a general inventory of the estate was drawn up, because the children still were minors. In it, the inventory was appraised and prices or appraised values and auction results were recorded accordingly and serves us as a further informative source.<sup>14</sup>

---

12. *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 21-23.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 23-25.

Since the books of zum Jungen and Kaib do not give any information about their income, it is difficult to estimate. However, both paid a tax rate of 25 florins, which was customary for assets of 15,000 florins or more. The notations show that, based on the tax rate, zum Jungen's assets amounted to 44,000 and Kaib's to 20,000 florins. Capital investments such as loans, bills of exchange and real estate are not included, so the tax assessment capital was presumably much higher than that stated.<sup>15</sup>

It is only with the example of Nikolaus Uffenbach that income can also be determined. The improved visitation regulations of 1726 already make it clear that the income of a mayor had previously come from various sources. In addition to the salary with the attendance fees and the usual payments in kind – here in the form of wine and firewood, among other things – these were so-called “*Gefälle*”, i.e. penalties, taxes from Jews, servants, etc., and the “*Verehrungen*”, gifts on the most diverse occasions, which were extraordinarily important in the early modern period. As a councillor, Uffenbach received an annual salary of 1,200 florins, later as a lay assessor of 1,500 florins, increased by further “*Sporteln*” and “*Emolumenti*”, court fees or charges for official acts, in cash and kind.<sup>16</sup>

Further information, especially on wages and prices in the publishing and book trade, can be found in the business records of the publishing houses of Merian in Frankfurt and Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp, which date from somewhat earlier times.<sup>17</sup> While the Merians worked directly in Frankfurt, the *Officina Plantiniana* maintained intensive business connections and trade relations with Frankfurt for decades. In order to trace prices for works of art, be they paintings, copper engravings or etchings, the correspondence of the Augsburg art agent Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647) with Duke

---

15. *Ibid.*, p. 33-44.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 27, see also p. 28-29, listing what a mayor's salary consisted of in 1727.

17. See Karen L. Bowen / Dirk Imhof, “Reputation and Wage: The Case of Engravers Who Worked for the Plantin-Moretus Press”, *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 30, ¾, 2003, p. 161-195.

August the Younger of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1579-1666) was also consulted.<sup>18</sup>

Although the time period seems broad, it is due to the overall source situation, which unfortunately must be described as rather fragmentary. Especially for the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which was rich in crises and wars, records of everyday life and daily needs appear to be rarities.

## Prices and wages

The sometimes contradictory economic developments of the time can be seen, for example (table 1<sup>9</sup>), in the number of taxpayers and their tax rate.

From the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the number of taxpayers increased until the turn of the century, after which it declined first slightly and then rapidly until the end of the war. The percental share of the highest taxpayers, however, rose continuously even during wartime, from which can be concluded that a small but steadily growing upper class was able to increase its wealth considerably – regardless of increasing prices, war, and inflation.

The highest prices for an “*Achtel*”<sup>20</sup> of grain were reached in Frankfurt in 1571 with 4 florins, in 1572 with 3-3 ½ florins, and in 1575 with 3 ½ florins. Only in 1639/40 was this development exceeded

---

18. Johann Heinrich Eckardt, *Matthaeus Merian. Skizze seines Lebens und ausführliche Beschreibung seiner Topographia Germaniae nebst Verzeichnis der darin enthaltenen Kupferstiche*, Basel, H. Georg, 1887; Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, *Das druckgraphische Werk von Matthaeus Merian d.Ae.*, Vol. 3: *Die großen Buchpublikationen I*, Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 1993; Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp*, 2 Vols., Amsterdam, Vangendt, 1969/1972; Ronald Gobiet (Ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984.

19. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 2, p. 45.

20. One “*Achtel*” are 114,74 Litres. Grain quantities were given in hollow measures in early modern times.

**table 1** Taxpayer in Frankfurt

Year	Number of Taxpayers	Highest tax rates
1556	2.400	24 = 1 %
1567	2.556	39 = 1,5 %
1578	2.800	51 = 1,8 %
1590	3.200	69 = 2,16 %
1598	3.000	90 = 3 %
1612	2.280	118 = 5,18 %
1618	2.470	125 = 5,06 %
1629	2.140	140 = 6,5 %
1648	1.450	87 = 6 %

with 4 florins, in 1641/42 with 4 ½ and in 1675 with 5 ½ florins.<sup>21</sup> This development, however, was completely disconnected from prices and wages. For in the period from 1513 to 1621 the price of rye increased tenfold or had already increased fivefold by the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Only after the plague in 1636 did prices fall sharply, but from the 1660s onwards they rose again, although this was also linked to the increase in population.<sup>22</sup> From 1512 to 1621, the price of rye in Frankfurt increased by 9 ½ times, of wheat, butter, salt, and meat by five to six and a half times, and of beer by 2 ½ times.<sup>23</sup>

Although wages also changed, there are only a few comparable examples. For example, weaving wages increased by 50 % in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, only to double in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>24</sup> Wages did rise, but not to the same extent as prices. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, for example,

21. Elsas, *Umriss* (fn 2), Vol. 2 A, p. 51-53.

22. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 B, p. 10. Wheat prices had not risen as much. Meat prices had a similar development, they had increased 5-fold and only decreased by a third. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

23. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 B, p. 67-69; see also Lersner, *Chronica* (fn 7), Vol. 1, p. 511-519, on the development of grain and wine prices from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

24. Elsas, *Umriss* (fn 2), Vol. 2 B, p. 59; see also p. 65 on the wages of carpenters, joiners, vineyard workers and bricklayers.

hourly wages for labourers increased by 70 %, for vineyard workers by 3-4 times, while for carpenters, joiners, and bricklayers they roughly tripled. In the following years until 1657, prices dropped, rye fell to  $\frac{1}{4}$ , wheat to  $\frac{1}{3}$ , meat to  $\frac{2}{3}$ , salt by half, beer to  $\frac{3}{4}$ . Presumably due to the loss of population and the resulting decline in demand, prices fell while wages continued to rise. In 1650, for example, the earnings of henchmen (Handlanger) were at twice the pre-war level, while those of others were a quarter higher. Although wage rates must also be considered, there was an increase in real wages due to falling prices.<sup>25</sup>

The list of expenses on the occasion of the wedding of Johann Maximilian zum Jungen to Maria Salome Stalburg on 24 October 1625 – i.e. after the inflation – offers insight into the food prices of the time. But even the total expenditure of 935 florins is astonishingly high, as it was equivalent to more than three quarters of an alderman's annual salary.<sup>26</sup>

## Living expenses

To give an impression of the price-wage gap, let's start with the aforementioned wedding of Johann Maximilian zum Jungen. The event caused a total expenditure of 935 florins – almost a councillor's annual salary. The highest expenditure was on bread and bakery products at nearly 200 florins, ahead of meat at 170 and tame poultry – half of which were the Welsh chicken, the turkeys, at 100 florins.

But there are also wages stated here that are hardly to be found elsewhere: Musicians received 5 florins per person, the bandmaster 6 florins, the table servants  $\frac{1}{3}$  florin. Day labourers of various occupations received an average of 62 pennies per day.<sup>27</sup>

---

25. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 B, p. 67-69; Vol. 2 A, p. 5-9. From 1548 the florin was calculated in shillings and pennies, then from 1634 in kreuzer and pennies. The coinage regulations of 27 October 1623 set the imperial thaler at 1 florin 30 kreuzer.

26. Bräuer, *Studien* (fn 11), Vol. 2, p. 19.

27. One florin had 240 pennies.

**table 2** Selected Prices in Frankfurt<sup>28</sup>

Measures <sup>29</sup>	Goods	Pennies
1 Achtel 1 Litre	Grain	960-1.380 8,3-12
1 Achtel 1 Litre	Wheat flour	1.080 9,4
1 Pfund	Beef	16,2
1 Pfund	Veal or Pork	12,6
1 Litre	Beer	5-11,7
1	“Welsh Cock” (Turkey)	1.920
1	Egg	3,2
1	Goose	260
1 Litre	Wine	16,7
1 Achtel	Rye flour	720
1	Calf	1.380
½	Ox	24.480
1	Westphalian Ham	320
1	Lemon or Bitter Orange	25
1 Pfund	Waxlight	130
1 Pfund	Copper	72

If one compares these prices with the hourly wages of craftsmen and day labourers, or with what contract printers or copper engravers received per bale or copper, on the one hand, and the incomes of

28. Prices according to Elsas, *Umriss* (fn 2), Vol. 2 A, p. 19, 21, 52-53, 102, 122, 125, 129, 166, 191, 240; Bräuer, *Studien* (fn 11), Vol. 2, p. 5-16.

29. 1 Achtel = 114,74 Liter; 1 Pfund = 467,8 or 505,3 Gramm. Elsas, *Umriss* (fn 2), Vol. 2 A, p. 19, 21, 26.



higher and middle-class urban servants, on the other, the income gap becomes impressively clear. If we take the daily wages as a basis, the half ox for 34 florins was equivalent to more than 131 daily wages and even the “Welsh cock”, the turkey, equalled 31 daily wages.

## The Book Market

The Officina Plantiniana will be briefly included in this study. It had already its heyday in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but a consideration seems appropriate for two reasons: On the one hand, it stands for the close connections to Frankfurt, because already after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, 70 merchants and 30 goldsmiths had moved here, and by 1589, 275 Antwerp citizens had acquired citizenship. This large influx led to price increases in Frankfurt, with real estate prices doubling in the 1580s, and those patricians with urban property making the best deals. In 1585, for example, the bookseller Robert Cambier paid 4,825 florins for the Rüstenberg house in Mainzergasse. But prices subsequently rose to around 10,000 florins and more.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, Christoph Plantin (1520-1589), the founder of this printing and publishing house, also from the beginning had intensive business relations with Frankfurt. Plantin himself or his son-in-law Jean Moretus (1543-1610) attended the Frankfurt fairs from 1558 onwards, where they maintained their own book warehouse.<sup>31</sup> Moreover, de-

---

30. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 2, p. 64. After that, many went to New Hanau. But some of the richest Walloons, such as the three du Fay brothers, their partner Johann de Famars, the silk merchant Quintin Couvreur and his son Jakob did not want to leave Frankfurt – presumably for tactical business reasons. *Ibid.*, p. 69. On the art trade connections between Antwerp and Frankfurt see Berit Wagner, “Flämische Kunst für deutsche Sammlungen: Cornelius Caymox d.Ä. (gest. 1588) und andere schildervercoopere im Frankfurter Kunsthandel”, in *Crossroads. Frankfurt am Main as market for northern art 1500-1850*, Miriam Hall Kirch, Birgit Ulrike Münch, Alison G. Stewart (Ed.), Petersberg, Michael Imhof, 2019, p. 104-127.

31. Max Ziegert, “Christoph Plantin”, *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, t. 26, 1888, p. 237-241; Frank Switala, “Christoph Plantin. Verleger des Königs, der Kirche und der Humanisten”, in *Ein Gelehrten-Netzwerk im 16. Jahrhundert. Mercators Nachbarn*, Duisburg, Mercator, 2020, p. 106-113. Karen L. Bowen, “Frankfurt

spite the different time period, the account books are a unique source on prices as well as wages in the profession of publishers and book printers. As Plantin's only son had died young, Jean Moretus became the main heir to the Antwerp business, which he presided over until 1610. His sons Balthasar (1574-1641) and Jean (1576-1618) were also active in the business from 1592 and increased the fortune of the house enormously. At his death, Plantin's asset was estimated at 175,000 florins. By the time of Balthasar's death, the value of the company had doubled. However, the manufacturing costs had also increased continuously. Plantin's expenses amounted to 65,000 florins in 1588, rose to 85,000 florins under Jean Moretus in 1609 and to 115,000 florins under Balthasar in 1637. Under his successor Balthasar II (1615-1674), his brother's son, the estate in 1662 amounted to 341,000 florins. He was succeeded by his son Balthasar III (1646-1696), who was raised to the peerage by the King of Spain. Balthasar II was one of the richest men in Antwerp and probably the richest printer of his time. He inherited about 75,000 florins, which he increased to 195,000 in 1651 and to 341,000 florins by 1662.<sup>32</sup> The fair catalogues document the participation of Balthasar I. Moretus' involvement in the German fairs, which at the time were still experiencing a noticeable upswing. Despite the unfavourable conditions of the time, he delivered around 600 works to Frankfurt from 1610 onwards, with a total production of 736 prints.<sup>33</sup>

The inventory of the estate, which was drawn up on Plantin's death, also gives an insight into the working capital, for ten presses worth 50 florins each are mentioned, i.e., a total of 500 florins. 50 florins was about one third of the annual income of a printer or

---

in the sixteenth century. The Antwerp Plantin Press and the distribution of images", in *Crossroads* (fn 30), p. 67, assumes contacts since 1558 and regular shipments since 1566. As a rule, six barrels, so-called tonneaux, of 700-900 pounds each were shipped every six months. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

32. Ziegert, "Plantin" (fn 31); Voet, *Golden Compasses* (fn 18), Vol. 1, p. 221-222. However, from a publishing point of view, the 16<sup>th</sup> century was the heyday of the company. Although the family's wealth continued to increase in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, this was due to real estate and other investments as well as speculation, and no longer because of the publishing business.

33. Ziegert, "Plantin" (fn 31). For the relations to Frankfurt see Bowen, "Frankfurt" (fn 31).

typesetter. Whereas 500 florins was roughly the amount that Plantin had spent on cinnabar and printing ink between 1586 and 1589.<sup>34</sup> Comparable wages are also found in Plantin-Moretus, because drawings, woodcuts or engravings caused different costs. According to the length of time, the draughtsmen received the lowest wages, as they were the fastest in execution, followed by the woodcutters. On the other hand, copper engravings were considered the most labour-intensive. Even Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) was paid less as a draughtsman than the engravers. Between 1610 and 1640 he received 20 florins for a drawing in folio, 12 florins for a quarto and 8 florins for an octavo. The figures for engravers ranged from 75-100 florins for a folio, 30-40 florins for a quarto and 25 florins for an octavo. The payment was thus directly proportional to the speed with which the work could be done.<sup>35</sup> The engraver Theodor Galle (1571-1633), who also produced engravings after designs by Rubens and maintained his own workshop, earned a total of 13,500 florins between 1600 and 1610, i.e., an average annual income of 1,350 florins, of which, however, “only” 6,170 florins were for engraving – including overstretching, retouching and some drawings – and 7,300 florins for printing.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, different wages resulted for folio plates in the 1570s, as can be traced from the Polyglot Bible. For example, Pieter van der Heyden (c. 1530-after 1572) received twice as much as Pieter Huys (c. 1519/20-1581/84) or Jan Wierix (1549-c. 1620), who received about 30 florins. This corresponded to about 50 days’ wages for a master mason or 85.7 days’ wages for an unskilled worker.<sup>37</sup>

Differences in pay could be due to age and experience, but also to the reputation of the artist. This was shown, for example, by the

---

34. Voet, *Golden Compasses* (fn 18), Vol. 2, p. 133. This is an average value; Plantin had also spent around 60 fl. on presses. In comparison, Johann Lechler the Younger, son of Martin and brother-in-law of Johann Sauer, bought the Bassée printing presses consisting of three presses with all the typefaces in Frankfurt in 1599 for 990 florins. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 3, p. 87.

35. Voet, *Golden Compasses* (fn 18), Vol. 2, p. 225. However, in the case of the woodcarvers and copper engravers, it is not clear whether wood and copper were included.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 227. It is not known how much of this his staff received.

37. Bowen / Imhof, “Reputation” (fn 17), p. 164.

rising wages of younger artists when they were employed for a longer period, i.e., when their experience, and perhaps also their quality, increased. In 1600/1601 Theodore Galle (1571-1633) received 18 florins per engraving and about 20 to 24 florins if he also supplied the copper or if someone from his workshop made a drawing for it, the wage naturally depending on the size and complexity of the design. In 1609 Galle received 30 florins per engraving and 4 florins for the drawing, Carel de Mallery [Karel van Mallery] (1571-1635?) even 36 florins. Although masons' wages had doubled since the 1570s, they remained the same since 1600 at 24 florins. So, the remuneration of the engravers increased in value from 15 to 25 daily wages of a master mason. In 1615 Wierix received 6 florins per drawing and 60 florins for the engraving, which seems enormously high, but corresponded to the quality. The other workers at the same factory received a total of only 32 florins for drawing, engraving and copper. The exploding demand and the simultaneous pressure of competition led to the increased use of unsigned, presumably poorer quality engravings, which were also more in line with the budget of the profit-oriented printing company.<sup>38</sup>

One of Frankfurt's best-known book and copper trading partnerships was that of the Merians. When the business, which was run in joint heirship after the death of Matthaeus Merian the Elder (1593-1650), had an inventory drawn up in 1672 after the death of the partner Thomas Matthias Götz, the husband of Margarethe Merian, who died in 1671, this revealed a publishing fortune of 50,000 florins with 5,000 florins outstanding accounts. There were 39,115 volumes of 50 works, among them 2,420 complete volumes in folio and 2,334 text volumes of the *Theatrum Europaeum* (Vol. 1-9) with 500 copper figures as well as 7,987 complete and 5,822 text volumes

---

38. See for example Ludwig Beutin, *Simon Peter Tilmann 1601-1668. Ein bremisch-niederländischer Maler*, Bremen, Schönemann, 1950, p. 19, he assumes that in the Netherlands in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century painters received an average of 40 to 50 florins for a large painting. Exceptions were at most Rubens, van Dyck or Jordaens. Bowen / Imhof, "Reputation" (fn 17), p. 165, 171. However, it is noticeable that a wood engraver who was highly valued at the time was better paid than the engravers, while Wierix, the lowest paid, became the highest paid in 1616. *Ibid.*, p. 172-174, 176, 181, 183-184.

of the 15 topographies with about 1,000 figures as well as 6,600 printed coppers of 60 publishers' works. The bale of topographies was estimated based on the copper engravings at 42 florins, the bale of ordinary books at 7 ½ – 12 florins. With 150 bales of *Theatrum Europaeum*, 460 bales of topographies and 400 bales of miscellaneous items, this results in an estimated value of about 30,000 florins, while the sales value was probably at least three times that amount. The outstanding accounts were for 115 customers, illustrating the internationality of the publishing house; they came from Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Zurich, Lucerne, Geneva, Venice, Copenhagen, Salzburg, Rostock, Königsberg, Szczecin etc. Merian the Elder did not publish a large number of books – hardly 50 – mainly medical and natural sciences, geography and contemporary history.<sup>39</sup> How variable the prices were and what their composition was must remain an open question, but the scope, number of illustrations, size, and quality as well as the number of editions certainly played a decisive role. Some, such as the two works by the chemist Johann Rudolf Glauber, were highly priced at around 20 florins each,<sup>40</sup> while *Arcadia* by Martin Opitz,<sup>41</sup> with 21 copper engravings, cost only 2 ½ florins in 1629. In those years, geographical as well as historical publications began to flourish, in 1630 Johann Ludwig Gottfried's *Historische Chronica*<sup>42</sup> appeared with 346 engravings, in 1631 the *Neue Welt*<sup>43</sup> with 177 engravings in the first volume and 303 engravings in the second volume – resulting in a price difference of 7 and 18 florins respectively, depending on the engravings. In 1633 and 1635 the first two volumes of the *Theatrum Europaeum* were published for 8 florins each, in 1638 the new *Archontologia Cosmica* with 121 views of cities in copper by Johann Ludwig Gottfried for 20 florins, in 1641 the new

39. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 3, p. 120, 127-128.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

41. Philip Sydney, *Arcadia der Gräffin von Pembrock, Das ist, Ein sehr anmüthige Historische Beschreibung Arcadischer Gedicht und Geschichten mit eingemängten Schäffereyen und Poesien*, Frankfurt, 1629, translated by Opitz.

42. *Joh. Ludov. Gottfridi Historische Chronica, Oder Beschreibung der fürnehmsten Geschichten, so sich von Anfang der Welt, biß auf das Jahr Christi 1619 zugetragen*, Frankfurt, 1630.

43. *Neue Welt und Americanische Historien*, Frankfurt, 1631.

edition of the main work by the Magdeburg city solicitor Dr. Johann Angelius Werdenhagen *De rebus publicis Hanseaticis* for 10 florins, 1646 and 1650, in two volumes at 5 florins each, a contemporary German history (*Rerum Germanicarum sub Matthia, Ferdinandis II. & III. Imppp. Gestarum*) by the Imperial Councillor Dr. Johann Peter Lotichius, who also wrote the fifth volume of the *Theatrum* in 1647, which was to cost 15 florins.<sup>44</sup>

As in general, the prices for the topographies varied and were usually between 3 and 4 florins. Depending on the production costs, however, they could also be considerably higher, for example Austria costs 7, Brunswick 9, and France 21 florins.<sup>45</sup>

Thomas Matthias Götz (1623-1671), Merian's son-in-law from Leipzig, may be considered one of the most prominent Frankfurt examples. In addition to the publishing house in Frankfurt, he also ran trading branches in Jena and Leipzig and was probably one of the wealthiest booksellers of his time. The inventory of his estate compiled on his death shows 26,700 publishing copies of about 140 works in 324 bales worth 4,876 florins and 20,200 assortment books worth 21,022 florins in Frankfurt. In addition, in Jena there were 8,800 copies of 62 works worth 1,800 florins and 15,895 copies worth 19,834 florins, and in Leipzig 3,700 copies of 100 works in 32 bales worth 490 florins and another 8,132 copies worth 7,362 florins. This meant a total of 35,500 copies of 302 printed works of the own publishing house at 7,166 florins and a further 44,227 assortment books worth 48,218 florins.<sup>46</sup> Although the average values of the various items only add up to small sums for a single copy, the total figures add up to a respectable sum and are at the same time proof of the flourishing book market.

Other isolated prices can be determined, for example, from Johann David Zunner, who around 1680 was the first Frankfurt

44. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 3, p. 122 sq. Michael le Blon, painter and engraver, was a brother of the son-in-law.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 133-135. Shares in several bookshops and outstanding debts were added, resulting in an estimated fortune of 86,484 fl. In addition, he had a picture collection with 77 pictures and an armoury, as well as a stock of books with 83,000 volumes, 140 of which were published works.

publisher to take on the printing of Hebrew and Oriental works. He cooperated with Balthasar Christoph Wust after the latter had lost his publishing rights and privileges for financial reasons.<sup>47</sup> He became, so to speak, Zunner's contract printer. The Hebrew Bible by Professor Clodius in quarto and octavo, the first edition of which appeared in 1677, is worth mentioning. The second edition of 1683 costs 1,200 florins for the Hebrew script alone and 4 ½ florins for a single copy of the Bible. Other printed works by Wust commissioned by Zunner were by Charles du Fresne, Seigneur du Change *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*, in folio, printed in 1,000 copies, half on white paper and half on medium paper, and sold for 10 florins, as well as the *Geographia sacra* in two parts in quarto by Samuel Bochart (1599-1667), edited by David Clodius (1644-1687). These two works caused printing costs of 3,520 florins.<sup>48</sup>

From the estate of the printer and publisher Matthias Andrae, who died in 1721 and whose family had come to Frankfurt from Strasbourg in 1653, raw material prices have also been handed down. 170 bales of paper worth about 5 florins, 45 kreuzer per bale. 18 published works amounting to 234 ½ bales, most of which were older theological works, were estimated at 12 florins per bale, only Johann Arndt's *Vom wahren Christentum* in large octavo at twice that amount.<sup>49</sup>

As mentioned before, Johann Maximilian zum Jungen was an avid bibliophile, which is also evident from his household book. However, he did not only buy on the Frankfurt book market, but also had books sent to him from Spain, France, Italy, or Sweden. As a man of vast reading with a wide range of interests, he often bought the latest publications and apparently spared no expense. The expenditure only on books from 1642 to 1646 was between 350 and 550 florins per year, equivalent to the value of at least 5 to 8 whole oxen. In the last two years of the records, the expenditure even rose to over 1,000 florins. Although not all works are listed, there are

---

47. See below.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 156-159.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 177-178.

rarely works that exceed 10 florins, and only few acquisitions stand out. Here are some examples that could also be identified:

Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentarius in Josue*, Antwerpen 1642 in folio: 5 florins, 12 schillings

*Württembergischen ganzen Landes kurze Beschreibung*, 1642 in folio Man.: 3 florins and 8 florins for writing it on

Lopez Gregorio, *Las Siete Partidas del Sabio Rey Don Alonso*, Madrid 1611 in folio: 12 florins

*Chronica van der billiger Stat Coellen*, 1466:<sup>50</sup> 2 florins<sup>51</sup>

*Biblia cum glossa ordinaria Nicolai de Lyra*, Duaci 1617 in 6 Tom folio: 30 florins<sup>52</sup>

Ciaconii Alphons, *Vitae et res gestae Pontificum Romanorum*, Rom 1630, „zwei Teil gebunden und eines sauber illuminiert“ (two parts bound and one neatly illuminated): 36 florins

Irenaeo Eubulo, *Pro pace perpetua*, 1648: „zu trucken sampt Papier“ (for printing including paper: 22 florins and 2 florins, 16 schillings „vor ein Ries Schreibpapier zu Exemplaren dieses Discurs“ (for a ream of writing paper for copies of this discourse)<sup>53</sup>

Zum Jungen paid the publisher Hans David Zunner only 40 florins of an invoice for 91 florins. For, he explained, the rest was paid to him with the book of Pallavicino Ferrante, *Il Divortio Celeste*, which Zunner had printed, and exchanged for the copy.<sup>54</sup> Zum Jungen was thus also involved in publishing, and financed – at least in part – the printing of certain works. Unfortunately, we do not know the extent of edition.

Alexander Dietz assumes that in the 1560s the printer's wage per bale was 5-8 florins and rose to 15-28 florins in the 1590s. The price

---

50. Printed only in 1499.

51. Bräuer, *Studien* (fn 11), Vol. 2, p. 88 sq.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Pallavicino Ferrante, *Il Divortio Celeste*, 1643. The fact that part of the price was also made up of transport costs was revealed by the book shipments from Sweden and Spain in 1646 and from France and Italy in 1647. *Ibid.*, p. 89-90, 93-94.



for a bale of printing paper doubled from 4 to 8 florins. He assumes that 66 bales could be printed per year with one press, and up to 100 bales if the press was stretched. At the same time, the separation of publisher and printer increased, the latter increasingly becoming a contract printer, while publishers with their own print shop became fewer and their businesses smaller.<sup>55</sup>

A separate form, but still belonging to the book market, are funeral sermons, which differed from normal book production not only in size and circulation, but above all because of the urgency of their appearance. Therefore, an attempt will be made to determine proportional costs. However, printing costs and the number of copies of funeral sermons are hardly known. One of the few funeral sermons of which the expenses are known was for the Hesse-Kassel general Georg Friedrich von Auerochs, who died on 31 October 1731. The Meiningen court printer Jonas Christoph Hassert charged a total of 171 Reichstaler and 16 Groschen. Of this, 88 Reichstaler were estimated for the printing of the sermon with 196 pages and 300 copies, 55 Reichstaler and 22 Groschen for the paper costs, for the engraving of the coat of arms including alterations and 8 Reichstaler and 12 Groschen for the postage. The painter received 1 Reichstaler and the correction of the sermon required 6 Reichstaler and 4 Groschen. In comparison, the city clerk Dr. Christian Sigismund Hofmann received an annual salary of 450 florins in 1733, so the expenses for the funeral sermon, which was not very elaborately designed, corresponded to more than half a year's salary.<sup>56</sup>

Funeral sermons were perceived as an organ printed and reproduced at rapid speed and fell under the so-called *Accidentia* (commercial printing) like wedding carmina, disputationes, epigrammata, etc.<sup>57</sup> Whereas the printer's fee was normally calculated per bale at

---

55. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte*, (fn 3), Vol. 3, p. 71. The Merian publishing house is the best example of this.

56. Rudolf Lenz, "Gedruckte Leichenpredigten – Quellen zur Frankfurter Stadt- und Kulturgeschichte", *Archiv für Frankfurts Geschichte und Kunst*, 1978, t. 56, p. 13.

57. Gert-Rüdiger Koretzki, "Leichenpredigten und ihre Druckherstellung", in Rudolf Lenz (Ed.), *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, Marburg, Schwarz, 1979, Vol. 2, p. 334, 336.

around 1,000 to 1,500 impressions, *Accidentia* were paid by sheet – with a maximum of 500 impressions, but usually in smaller print runs of no more than 200 and therefore entailing more advantageous payment.<sup>58</sup> Because of this, *Accidentia* were a popular and sought-after source of income. The Electoral Saxon Tax Regulations of 1623 stipulated a bale price of 5 florins for prints in 1,000 copies, and 1 florin for 100 prints in the case of commercial prints, also because of the high labour intensity involved. The decorative forms used, such as vignettes, framing, initial ornamentation, etc., as well as portraits, opened further opportunities for printers, typesetters, and form cutters to earn money that were beyond the control of the authorities.<sup>59</sup> Although as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century there were accusations that printers were earning particularly well, their advantage was not only immediate payment but also a lower demand for paper. In this respect, they also received preferential treatment, while some normal prints were put on the back burner.<sup>60</sup>

## The Booksellers' Association

An interesting case in this context is the booksellers' association founded in 1661. This illustrates how difficult and complex the book market was from a financial point of view. Eight publishers or booksellers, whose names were not unknown in the Frankfurt book market scene, joined forces to stabilise the market: Johann Wilhelm Ammon, Simon Beckenstein, Johann Beyer, Georg Fickwirdt, Thomas M. Götz, Christian Hermsdorff, Wilhelm Serlin and Caspar Wächtler. Merian's heirs, Gottfried Schönwetter, Christian Klein and Balthasar Christoph Wust did not participate. They justified this with the poor economic situation triggered by the war and the poor sales conditions that still existed. The company was contracted for

---

58. *Ibid.*, p. 338-339.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 346-347.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 349-351.

six years and its aim was to print one capital book per year, correctly and on fine paper. A selected partner, in this case Beckenstein, had the publishing books under lock and key and negotiated them. Any partner who sold more than ten copies at the fair was to receive a six percent discount “*like the strangers*”. In the first year, 1,200 copies of the *Florilegium* by Tobias Magirus and 1,367 copies of the *Cellius Concordanz Fesselii* were printed. However, no more than 300 copies of either work were sold by 1672. The *Corpus iuris* with annotations by the Heidelberg professor Dionysius Gothofredus was more successful. However, the Lucerne bookseller David Haut had received the printing privilege for all formats from Emperor Leopold I in 1662, who sold it to the Society for 12,000 florins. The *Corpus* was printed in 1663 in 400 copies, which were sold within three years. In 1664, a quarto printing of 2,025 copies and a folio edition of 812 copies were risked simultaneously. At the same time, however, Daniel Elzevier, who had also received an imperial privilege, published a folio and an octavo edition in very high-quality print. The partnership then complained to the Council and the President of the Imperial Council – but to no avail. After Ammon, Fickwirdt and Serlin had left the eight partners and Beyer and Götz had died, Balthasar Christoph Wust, known as a Bible printer, decided to print the *Corpus iuris* again with the permission of the others and in the name of the Society and had the privilege extended in 1686. Since lawyers had a great interest in correct printing, Wust arranged for the faculties of 13 universities to each take 20 sheets for correction. Although the edition was completed in 1688, the copies were confiscated by creditors due to debts. Because of financial difficulties, however, Wust was unable to produce any further prints and ceded his rights to his brother-in-law Friedrich Knoch. After numerous problems with the privileges, the *Corpus* finally appeared in Leipzig in 1705 and the partnership thus came to an inglorious end. Wust had ruined himself financially with this venture.<sup>61</sup>

---

61. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 3, p. 141-143. On Frankfurt's enormous importance for the printing of legal treatises since the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see also Fried Lübbecke, *Fünfhundert Jahre Buch und Druck in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, H. Cobet, 1948, p. 70-72.

## The Art Market

Like the book market – but with an even wider price range – the art market also developed. While quality, technique and material costs were certainly decisive factors, it also played a role whether the work was commissioned directly from the producer, purchased, or acquired in the trade.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the contemporary renown of certain artists was already price-determining. Around 1647, for example, the value of an *Ecce Homo* in watercolours by Albrecht Dürer was estimated at 150 Reichstaler, a *Judith* by Lucas Cranach, however, at only 6 Reichstaler. Both were to be found in the fine-art repository of Abraham de Neufville in the house on Frankfurt's Hirschgraben.<sup>63</sup>

After the death of her father, Duke George III of Silesia-Liegnitz-Brieg in July 1664, Dorothea Elisabeth of Nassau-Dillenburg (1646-1691) commissioned a good dozen portraits at 4 Reichstaler each from the court painter Ezechiël Paritius (1622-after 1688), mostly of herself, but also of her deceased parents, which the painter was to send directly to the members of the Brieger court and relatives in Liegnitz and only a few exceptions to Dillenburg. For 14 Reichstaler Paritius also delivered the portrait of “*Christmildester Gedachtnus Fraw Elisabeth. Maria Charlotta halb lebensgroß bey einer Fontainen*”, the stepmother of Dorothea Elisabeth, a born Countess Palatine of Simmern.<sup>64</sup> It can be assumed that the difference in price was also due to the size of the pictures, i.e., the corresponding expenditure of working time and material.

The case of Duke Johann Wilhelm of Saxe-Weimar (1513-1573), who acquired a complete consignment of paintings by the Antwerp painter Peeter/Pieter Goetkind/t (1530/40-1583) at the

---

62. For numerous other prices of paintings as well as comparative studies of market prices and appraised values, giving details of which would go too far here, see Andreas Tacke (Ed.), *Kunstmärkte zwischen Stadt und Hof. Prozesse der Preisbildung in der europäischen Vormoderne*, Petersberg, Michael Imhof, 2017.

63. Dietz, *Handelsgeschichte* (fn 3), Vol. 3, p. 267 sq.

64. Holger Th. Gräf, “Oranierbildnisse – ihre Funktion für Dynastie und Politik”, in Rouven Pons (Ed.), *Oranien und Nassau in Europa. Lebenswelten einer frühneuzeitlichen Dynastie*, Wiesbaden, Historische Kommission für Nassau, 2018, p. 240, footnote 68.

Leipzig Autumn Fair in 1572, is different. The paintings had reached Leipzig via Frankfurt. They consisted of 15 paintings of various formats for 90 Reichstaler. “*Darunter 12. Kaiser zu 5. Thaler / 3. Grosse Stück vonn Oelfarb zu 10 t / thutt 30. Thaler, / Der von Egmundt und sein Gemahl mit ii kindern / Der könig vonn Franckreich mitt seinem Gemahl* (Among them 12 emperors for 5 Taler, 3 large oil paintings for 10 Taler, total 30 Taler. Egmundt with his wife and 2 children and the king of France and his wife)”. Images of famous contemporaries, celebrities of their time in a manner of speaking, were apparently already sold without commission at that time.<sup>65</sup>

Zacharias Geizkofler (1560-1617), Imperial Penny Master and General Provost of the Imperial Army in Hungary, who lived in Augsburg, paid “*Zacharias Schembl Mahlern alhie for 2 meines gnedigen Herrn vnd 2 meiner G: frawen Wappen 40 kr.*” On 8 June 1602, so he paid 40 kreuzer for 4 coats of arms. In 1603 he purchased 6 silver bowls for 135 florins and 39 kreuzer, of which again 2 florins and 24 kreuzer were charged for the coats of arms to be engraved on them.<sup>66</sup> In December 1604, he paid “*Hanß Freyberger Mahlern für drey Conterfet als des alten Herrn Michael Geizkofl. ers dann des Herrn Marx Rehlingers seligen, vnnndt noch eines so mir unbekannt bezahlt 18 fl[orin]* (the painter Hans Freyberger for three portraits 18 florins)”. Two of the portrayed were Geizkofler’s uncle and father-in-law, the third unknown. Apparently, Geizkofler was satisfied with the work, for he ordered four more portraits for 24 florins, for the same price.<sup>67</sup>

Meanwhile, Duke August the Younger of Brunswick-Lüneburg (1579-1666), the founder of the library of the same name in Wolfenbüttel, entrusted the art agent Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647) not only with the procurement of art objects, books, and curiosities, but also with negotiations with individual artists. One draughtsman

---

65. Wagner, “Flämische Kunst” (fn 30), p. 118.

66. Alfred Sitte, *Kunsthistorische Regesten aus den Haushaltungsbüchern der Gütergemeinschaft der Geizkofler und des Reichspfennigmeisters Zacharias Geizkofler 1576-1610* (Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 101), Straßburg, Heitz, 1908, p. 32-33; see also p. 21. In 1599 the same painter received 48 kreuzer for two coats of arms.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.

and engraver he commissioned several times was Lucas Kilian (1579-1637) from Augsburg, who also supplied engravings for the works written by the duke himself. Based on the correspondence, the individual steps in the collaboration between the patron and the artist can be traced very well – from the first drawings to test engravings and prints, the use of the copper plates to the repeated sending due to the corrections that had to be made. For example, Hainhofer was to negotiate with Kilian to add diagrams for the duke's chess book of 30 to 40 coppers, for which Kilian demanded a total of 340 florins, i.e., between 11 and 8 ½ florins per piece.<sup>68</sup> This seemed too much for the duke, who was prepared to pay 129 florins, 12 schillings for thirty large pieces, i.e., 4 florins, 3 schillings per piece, and thought that Kilian should have the lines torn by journeymen, which would be cheaper. In return he offered Kilian to engrave the frontispiece and demanded the copper plates and 3 prints to be delivered.<sup>69</sup> However, Kilian subsequently asked for 46 florins for the frontispiece, which again seemed too high to the Duke and he called on Hainhofer: „*Der Kilian hat seine Arbeit ziemlich tewr angerechnet: Jhr werdet ihm ewer discretion nach, in etwas abziehen und defalciren [...]*.”<sup>70</sup> Accordingly, because of the expensive frontispiece, Kilian received only 36 florins for two further portraits engraved from pictures instead of the 40 florins demanded.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, the business relationship continued and the duke ordered another copper for his secret script book. This was a veiling of ciphers in a landscape picture, whereby the eyes of celestial bodies, people and animals count as dots and the vertical distance from the lower edge of the picture indicates the letter value. As agreed, Kilian received 36 florins. However, Hainhofer did not negotiate only with Kilian, but from Rome in 1614 he

68. Gobiet, “Briefwechsel” (fn 18), p. 134, 139.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 157, 159-160, 162.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 177. “Kilian has overcharged, you will deduct something from him in discretion.”

71. *Ibid.*, p. 314. See also Beutin, *Tilmann* (fn 35), p. 27. Kilian was not the only artist who was confronted with stingy nobles. In 1653, for example, Landgrave Friedrich of Hesse-Eschwege-Wahnfried received 13 paintings by the Bremen-Dutch painter Simon Peter Tilmann, who demanded 289 Rtl. for them, but only received a good third, namely 100 Rtl.

reported on other offers in the art trade or from artists whose works were still in progress.<sup>72</sup>

In contrast to his high expenditure on books, Johann Maximilian zum Jungen made rather few and mostly affordable purchases of works of art. For example, a painter received 12 schillings for two coats of arms. The engraver and draughtsman Sebastian Furck (1589/98-1655) received 1 florin for a crucifix and to engrave coats of arms on his silver-studded prayer book.<sup>73</sup> The painter Lorenz Müller received 3 florins to paint the coats of arms of zum Jungen and his wife “green gilded” on an iron box. An artistic stucco of Herodias with the head of S. John, painted by Wax, costs 12 florins. Glass cutters, whom he used several times to have the two coats of arms mentioned above cut into glass, were somewhat higher in price. Once he paid for two coats of arms 3 florins, 18 schillings and “*das Glas mit dem Tod und mein, wie auch meiner herzlichsten Hausfrau sel. Wapen zu schneiden*” (to cut the glass with the death and my, as well as my dearest housewife’s, own coat of arms) 16 florins, 12 schillings.<sup>74</sup> In December 1643 Jeremias van Winghe (1578-1645) received 37 florins, 12 schillings for a portrait of Maria Salome zum Jungen, née Stalburg.<sup>75</sup> The portrait of Johann Maximilian himself by van Winghe, on the other hand, is not recorded in the household book, although it is dated 1642.<sup>76</sup> In the same year, Van Winghe had successfully negotiated that he should receive 300 florins for his painting of *Bathseba* offered for the city’s Wahlstube.<sup>77</sup>

---

72. Gobiet, “Briefwechsel” (fn 17), p. 52.

73. Bräuer, *Studien* (fn 11), Vol. 2, p. 85-86. The prayer book in question was Johann Arndt’s *Paradiesgärtlein voller christlichen Tugenden*, Leipzig, 1612.

74. Bräuer, *Studien* (fn 11), Vol. 2, p. 87. Zum Jungen’s wife had died in 1646. The multiple production of their two coats of arms may also be interpreted as a sign of commemorative and sepulchral culture.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

76. The portrait by Sandrart dates from 1636, while the undated drawing by Sebastian Furck resembles van Winghe’s painting.

77. Almut Pollmer-Schmidt, “Maler in Frankfurt 1550-1800. Eine Bestandsaufnahme”, in *Crossroads* (fn 30), p. 242. See also Gerhard Kölsch, “Die Gemäldesammlung der Prinzessin Henriette Amalie von Anhalt-Dessau sowie ihre weiteren Sammlungen im Überblick”, in *Sammlerin und Stifterin. Henriette Amalie von Anhalt-Dessau und ihr Frankfurter Exil*, Frankfurt, Haus Giersch, 2002, p. 79 with price quotations for paintings purchased at auctions.

The household books of Uffenbach and Kaib also recorded only extremely low expenditure on the acquisition of art. More interesting, however, is the collection of paintings listed in the inventory of the Uffenbach family estate, which was compiled in 1752 on the death of Marie Antonie Uffenbach, née Lernser, the year before. Here 109 paintings and copperplate engravings are listed, estimated at a total of about 240 florins. However, only very few can be attributed to an artist, as those are rarely named. For example, the paintings by Johann Georg Ziesenis (1716-1777) of Elisabetha Maria Augusta (1677-1734) and Margaretha Rebecca von Uffenbach cost 7 florins, 30 kreuzer each. The portrait of Philipp Ludwig Lernser was estimated at 6 florins, of Johannes Ochs at 15 florins, "*Herr Schultheiß Lernser von Merian with a glass*" at 15 florins and "*Herr Ochs*" at 12 florins. The numerous other portraits of the family were mostly around 4 florins. Only "*Ein auf Holz perspectivisch gemalde Kirch* (A church painted in perspective on wood)" exceeded the estimated value of 15 and fetched 35 florins at the auction.<sup>78</sup> These paintings are therefore less of an art collection and more likely to be "commercial art".

## Conclusion

Due to the poor state of the sources and especially due to the effects of the Thirty Years' War, which affected Frankfurt in the long term, statements on the organisation of the book and art market in the 17<sup>th</sup> century can only be made conditionally. Rather, it became apparent that in order to fit the requirements of the topic, a broader perspective must be taken. Production costs, print runs and prices of the books should be put into perspective. Furthermore, it became apparent, especially in the case of the copper engravers, that here, too, the question of raw materials, especially the copper plates, necessitates further research. In general, the entire publishing and

---

<sup>78</sup> Bräuer, *Studien* (fn 11), Vol. 2, p. 344-346.



letterpress industry, including the raw materials – paper, typeface, and printing – should be considered, as this influenced the overall calculation, in addition to the wages of engravers and draughtsmen. In this way, statements could also be made about the socio-economic situation of all those involved in these markets.

# JOHANN PHILIPP THELOTT AND HIS ACCOUNT-BOOK

A Previously Unknown Record for Mid-17<sup>th</sup> Century  
Publishing and Book-Trade

HOLGER TH. GRÄF

Hessisches Institut für Landesgeschichte, Marburg

**Abstract:** Account and work books of artists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century are rare. Most times the coincidence of tradition was seldom merciful to them. The present case is different: although it is an anonymous fragment, its author could be identified. This makes it possible not only to shed light on the personal network of his clients, business partners, authors and other artists. Moreover, this source enriches our knowledge of the book and publishing industry after the Thirty Years' War in general and provides special insights into the intellectual and cultural life in the Main metropolis during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which was characterised by multi-confessionalism and heterodoxy.

**T**HANKS to the increasingly institutionalized and professionalized correspondence, the communication between author, editor, publisher, and printer in the Enlightenment period is comparatively well documented. This was recently shown by the contributions to the conference volume on *Verlegerische Geschäftskorrespondenz im 18. Jahrhundert*.<sup>1</sup> For the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the situation looks considerably different. I quote Hans Joachim Koppitz, the long-time holder of the Gutenberg-Chair at Mainz University (*Lehrstuhl für Buchwissenschaft, Schrift- und Druckgeschichte*):

Anyone who wants to deal with the [...] history of printing and the book trade, including the history of publishing in the Baroque period [...] encounters limitations everywhere as soon as he wants to consult files and archives: many such documents have not been preserved at all, many have been destroyed, many have been buried; some can certainly still be found among undiscovered files.<sup>2</sup>

Everybody working in this field will still be able to confirm this sobering observation from almost 25 years ago. With most surviving printed works of the Baroque period, as is well known, the authors themselves, their circumstances or even the production contexts of their books – i.e., the interaction of author, printer, publisher, bookseller and, if applicable, funder or client – all too often remain in the dark. This lack of written sources has several trivial reasons: Everyday business records, especially those of private individuals, rarely found their way into public archives. In private households, most of them were lost or simply thrown away after a few years. Even for the 17<sup>th</sup> century Frankfurt engraver and publisher par excellence – Matthaeus Merian the Elder – the handwritten source material is easy to survey: letters yes, a few dozen survived with his addressees,

- 
1. Thomas Bremer, Christine Haug & Helga Meise (Eds.), *Verlegerische Geschäftskorrespondenz im 18. Jahrhundert: das Kommunikationsfeld zwischen Autor, Herausgeber und Verleger in der deutschsprachigen Aufklärung*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2018.
  2. Hans-Joachim Koppitz, “Die Vermittlerrolle schlesischer Verlage für die Verbreitung der Barockliteratur”, *Jahrbuch der schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Breslau*, 38/39, 1997/98, p. 405-432, here 411.

but business documents or invoices from his company are virtually unknown.<sup>3</sup> This means that our knowledge depends very much on the “coincidence of tradition” (“*Überlieferungszufall*”).<sup>4</sup> There are, of course, a few exceptions, such as the contacts between the artists Joachim von Sandrart and Philipp Kilian, which are documented in the diaries of Sigmund von Birken.<sup>5</sup> Or, to give two further examples, those between the poet and linguist Justus Georg Schottelius and the publisher and engraver Conrad Buno in Wolfenbüttel, and those between the historian and scholar Matthias Bernegger and the engraver Jacob van Heyden in Strasbourg.<sup>6</sup> Still, against this background, the source we are dealing with in the following deserves our attention, despite its fragmentary character and problematic transmission.<sup>7</sup> First, I will present the source, then follow with some brief remarks on the problems in dealing with this source. In more detail I will finally look at the family and the networks in which Thelott was brought up and working. Finally, an anatomic illustration and a frontispiece should provide a first impression of the range of his opus, beside the portraits, and his business contacts.

- 
3. Lucas Heinrich Wüthrich, *Matthaeus Merian d. Ä.: Briefe und Widmungen*, Hamburg, Hoffmann und Campe, 2009, p. 18-137; see for example Holger Th. Gräf, “weil in letzt usgegangenener Edition Topographia Helvetiae von dem Land Walis ... nit vil gefunden wirt das Notable seye...”. Briefe aus dem Stockalper-Archiv zum Buch- und Verlagsgeschäft im 17. Jahrhundert”, *Blätter aus der Walliser Geschichte*, 31, 1999, p. 153-167.
  4. Arnold Esch, “Überlieferungschance und Überlieferungszufall”, *Historische Zeitschrift*, 40, 1985, p. 529-570.
  5. John Roger Paas, *Effigies et Poesis. An Illustrated Catalogue of Printed Portraits with Laudatory Verses by German Baroque Poets*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1988, p. XI-XIII.
  6. Paul Raabe, *Der Wolfenbütteler Kupferstecher und Zeichner Conrad Buno (1613-1671). Ausstellung vom 26. Mai bis 25. Juni 2006*, Wolfenbüttel 2006; Alexander Reifferscheid (Ed.), *Briefe G. M. Lingelsheims, M. Berneggers und ihrer Freunde, Quellen zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens in Deutschland während des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, t. 1, Heilbronn, Henninger, 1889, p. 833; Erich Trunz, “Das Opitz-Porträt des Jacob van Heyden”, in Barbara Becker-Cantarino, Jörg-Ulrich Fechner (Eds.), *Opitz und seine Welt: Festschrift für George Schulz-Behrend zum 12. Februar 1988*, (Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis 10), Amsterdam, Rodopi, 1990, p. 527 - 539.
  7. See now Holger Th. Gräf & Andreas Tacke (Eds.), *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt. Der Kupferstecher Johann Philipp Thelott (1639-1671)*, Marburg, Historische Kommission für Hessen, 2022.

## The source and its tradition

It is an anonymous fragment of the account-book of a copper engraver and etcher, shelved as part of the guild-book of the bakers in Grünberg, a small town roughly 60 kilometres north of Frankfurt.<sup>8</sup> In order to reconstruct the original scope and to outline its problematic history of tradition, a codicological description is actually necessary, but I will forego that at this point.<sup>9</sup>

Therefore, only a few notes on its structure. First of all, the fragment includes an alphabetical index with almost one hundred names of booksellers, printers, publishers, gold- and silversmiths, patricians, noblemen and merchants, most of whom are referred to as “*alhier*”. Since well-known Frankfurt names appear among them, such as Merian and Zunner as publishers or von Glauburg and von Stetten from the patriciate, it is clear that the author must have been resident in Frankfurt at the time. In addition to Frankfurt, the names of Copenhagen in the north, Breslau and Jena in the east, Geneva and Munich in the south and Strasbourg in the west are also mentioned. Some names were entered by a later hand.

The alphabetical index is followed by six folios of tabular records of individual “customer accounts”, dated from the Easter Fair of 1665 to the end of 1671. According to the entries under the letter “P”, these accounts probably filled at least 47 folios. This means that, unfortunately, 41 folios have been lost. In these account folios, the pages facing each other are numbered. On the left side the date, the customer, the respective work and the price are given; on the right side again the date, the customer’s name and the payment, occasionally the name of the payer if this differs from the customer. Payment by instalments or occasional price reductions are also noted here.

38 other names mentioned in this index come from a later hand and refer to the members of the bakers’ guild in Grünberg. The guild had obviously acquired the volume sometime after 1671 and

---

8. Stadtarchiv Grünberg XXIII, 5F, 2I,6 (Laufzeit 1675–1762, mit Nachträgen zu den Jahren 1659–1675).

9. See Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), p. 197–200.

continued to use it as a guild book for almost 90 years from 1675 until 1762. It was only through this later use that this source was preserved at all, as a previously completely unnoticed prefix to the guild book in the municipal record office in Grünberg. A contemporary connection through which Thelott's workbook could have reached Grünberg is provided by the then scribe Johannes Raab (1644–1681) in the chamber of accounts in Frankfurt. He came from a family of councillors and officials in Grünberg that can be traced back to the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>10</sup> From 1664 he worked as an adjunct in the town's chamber of accounts.<sup>11</sup> The following year he applied for admission to the burghership,<sup>12</sup> transferring his service to the "Holzgraben" on the northern outskirts of Frankfurt.<sup>13</sup> On May 29, 1665, he married Anna Katharina (1636–1667), a daughter of the council clerk Georg Büttner, widow of the poor box clerk and above all sister of the preacher Johann Georg Büttner.<sup>14</sup> His portrait, engraved by Thelott for his funeral sermon, also contains an epicedium from his brother-in-law Raab.<sup>15</sup> Above all, however, Raab is mentioned in Thelott's customer index as a "writer [... in] Holsingraben" („*Schreiber [... im] Holsingraben*“).<sup>16</sup> It seems quite possible that Raab was therefore not only personally acquainted with Thelott, but also perhaps picked up the inventory after his death as part of his job and in this received the account-book from Thelott's widow. The

---

10. Holger Th. Gräf, Ekart Rittmannsperger (Eds.), *Die Chronik der Stadt Grünberg von Viktor Habicht*, Neustadt a. d. Aisch, VDS – Verlagsdruckerei Schmidt, 2008, p. 31, 129, 165, 179.

11. Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt (Recordoffice), Best. H.02.14, Sign. 1.664, Bd.: II, Bl/S. 168 f.: Gesuch um Adjunction zum Rechenschreiberdienst, 1664.

12. Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt, Best. H.02.14, Sign. 1.665, Bl/S. 6 f.: Gesuch um Aufnahme in die Bürgerschaft, 1665.

13. Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt, Best. H.02.14, Sign. 1.665, Bl/S. 360–365: Gesuch um Conferierung des Dienstes auf dem Holzgraben, 1665.

14. Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt, Heiratsbücher 8, fol. 104v–105r.

15. Johann Grambs, *Imbecillium Cordialia* [...] (Leichenpredigt auf Johann Georg Büttner), Frankfurt, Zunner, 1666, p. 59–60, Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), Cat. n° 1.06, p. 274.

16. Cf. Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), p. 202–227 (Index) and p. 252–264 (biographies of Thelott's clients).

inventory was still known to the Frankfurt art historian Zülch in the early 1930's, however it was presumably destroyed in Second World War.<sup>17</sup>

After the left-hand page of account sheet 34, the account-book breaks off. Judging by the looseness of the seams in the spine, at least ten to twelve more double leaves are missing here. Then follows the title page of the guild book.

Regarding the watermarks, it should be noted that the paper of the account-book up to account sheet 10 comes from the important Heusler paper mill in Basel and can be dated to the 1650s. The last double sheets of the account-book then have a watermark which has not yet been identified and which, appropriately enough, probably shows a papermaker at work. The paper of the subsequently added or sewn-in layers of the bakers' guild is of lower quality and has no watermarks.

Among the surviving accounts is one for Caspar Merian (fol. 9 left and 9 right). It fills an entire double page. This was probably also true for the accounts of the Frankfurt publishers and printers Cholinus, Götz, Serlin and Wust, who were among the most important clients, as can be shown by the examination of the detectable works of Thelott and the reconstruction of the accounts, at least by name. Most of the remaining clients share a page among two or three, occasionally even four.

The account sheet for Merian also provides a good impression of Thelott's products. Running from the Easter Fair of 1666 to 19 February 1670, it lists 28 commissions, comprising a total of 67 "kanderveht" or "chanderveht", i.e., portrait engravings, but also a "Zeichnung von der Stadt Cantia" (drawing of the town of Cantia), two maps and other items. Quite possibly some of these works were printed unsigned in the *Theatrum Europaeum*. In particular, volumes 8 and 9, which appeared in 1667 and 1672 respectively, would come into consideration here. In addition, Thelott has "aufgestochen" various coppers, i.e., he re-engraved worn copper plates. This is not

---

17. Walther Karl Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler: 1223-1700*, Frankfurt, Moritz Diesterweg, 1935, p. 565.

	Der Caspar Merian alpin	Soll man	
14 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		
30 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 60
23 Augusti	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		1 30
1 Septembris	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		10 60
3 Octobris	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		6 60
13 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 -
18 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		4 -
1667	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 60
22 Febr	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 60
		Somme	32 60
1668	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		
30 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		1 60
1669	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		
2 April	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 -
30 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 -
2 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		1 30
7 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		1 30
15 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		8 -
22 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		4 -
27 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		6 -
4 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		4 -
12 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		4 -
30 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		7 60
10 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		12 -
2 August	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		10 -
14 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		5 30
12 Octobris	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		5 -
1670			
8 Junij	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		3 -
15 Febr	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		40 -
14 Dec	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		3 -
1671-22	Substanz a Banden das gelinthe ad infimo die hoch gestoffen		2 10
Decembris			

fig. 1 Account for Caspar Merian (only left side) (Stadtarchiv Grünberg XXIII, 5F, 21,6)



surprising, given the high circulation of Merian's works. In addition, he also modified copper plates, for example, in one plate "*die Schriefftaus gdan und anre rein gestochen*" (see the entry April 30<sup>th</sup> 1669). The Merians also reused copper plates, for example, when a view from the *Topographias* was reused with a new inscription or legend as the scene of a battle or another historical event in the *Theatrum Europaeum*.<sup>18</sup>

## Problems and clients

A brief note on the problems we are facing in dealing with this record. The first problem, the question of the author's identity, was quickly resolved. "*Wilhelmus Curtius einglischer resideins albier*" (Wilhelm Curtius, English envoy here) is named under "C". In fact, his portrait is not only preserved, but also signed. So Thelott could be identified as the author of the record.



**fig. 2**

Wilhelm (William) Curti(us)  
(1598–1678), Münster, LWL-  
Museum für Kunst und Kultur  
(Westfälisches Landesmuseum):  
Inv. n° C-592638 PAD

18. Ulrike Valeria Fuss, *Matthaeus Merian der Ältere: von der lieblichen Landschaft zum Kriegsschauplatz*, Frankfurt/Main, Peter Lang, 2000, p. 144-147.

Once it was clear that a cross in front of the name was an obvious indication that the person in question had died, the “*GESamt-Katalog*” of funeral sermons recorded by the “*Forschungsstelle für Personalschriften in Marburg*”, proved very helpful.<sup>19</sup> This also revealed an interesting aspect about the circle of Thelotts clients, as I was able to establish that many of the funeral sermons for which he produced the portraits of the deceased came from none other than Philipp Jakob Spener, the “founder” of Pietism. Moving from Strasbourg, he was active in Frankfurt from 1666 to 1686. In his correspondence with theology professor Kortholt in Kiel, I found a reference that Spener had recommended Thelott to him as the engraver for his portrait in a planned publication.<sup>20</sup>

However, neither Spener nor Kortholt appear in Thelott’s account-book. Who does appear in the index, however, is the publisher of Kortholt’s work, namely Wilhelm Serlin. This example also shows the limits and deficits of the fundamentally indispensable digital offerings. The frontispiece and the title page of this publication by Kortholt can be found in the VD 17 (*Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*), but as with most volumes that have not yet been fully digitised, only the so-called key pages (“*Schlüsselseiten*”) are available online.<sup>21</sup> These are usually the frontispiece and the title page, sometimes also the table of contents or the first page of the text. The preceding author portraits or the portraits of the dedicatees, on the other hand, are often not available. Conversely, the digital portrait index<sup>22</sup> only rarely indicates where or from which publication the portrait actually originates.

It is similarly complicated with the funeral sermons. Although one can basically be sure that delivered portraits of the persons marked with a cross for their funeral sermons, they are usually missing. In fact, as is well known, many portraits in funeral sermons ended up

---

19. <http://www.personalschriften.de/datenbanken/gesa.html>.

20. Johannes Wallmann (Ed.), *Philipp Jakob Spener. Briefe aus der Frankfurter Zeit 1666–1686*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 1992, p. 368–369.

21. <http://www.vd17.de>.

22. <https://www.portraitindex.de>, run by the *Bildarchiv Foto Marburg* in cooperation with the most important libraries and collections in Germany and Austria.

in the portrait collections. Thus Sigmund Jakob Apin, professor at the Gymnasium in Nuremberg and member of the “*Leopoldina*”, in his *Anleitung wie man die Bildnisse berühmter und gelehrter Männer mit Nutzen sammeln [...] soll* (Instructions on how to collect the portraits of famous and learned men with benefit), published in 1728, quite bluntly advised cutting them, i.e., the portraits, out of printed works: “If you find portraits in front of books, lecture sermons, calendars, disputations, take them out without hesitation and put them in your collection.”<sup>23</sup>

Another problem is Thelott’s handwriting and orthography. Today one would probably speak of a massive spelling deficiency. Presumably his grandparents and parents were still using French or Flemish. In addition, Thelott grew up in Augsburg, a region that until today is caught between different dialects: the “*Schwäbisch-Alemannisch*” in the west and the “*Baierisch*” in the east, not to mention the “*Lech-Rainisch*” in the southeast. Accordingly, his written language is also rather vernacular. For example, the distinguished merchant and head of the Dutch parish in Frankfurt, Servatius (Servaz) Pick, is spelled in Thelott’s account-book: “*Serffes Bückh*”.

## Thelott, his family and his network

What is known about this artist so far? The first glance at the *Thieme/Becker* was sobering.<sup>24</sup> Johann Philipp Thelott is apparently one of the hundreds of artists of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries on whom we often have only scanty data, occasionally only via a handful of signed works. Yet he had the good fortune – or misfortune respectively – to come from a prominent artistic family. The most important

---

23. Sigmund Jakob Apinus, *Anleitung wie man die Bildnisse berühmter und gelehrter Männer mit Nutzen sammeln und denen dagegen gemachten Einwendungen gründlich begegnen soll [...]*, Nürnberg, Adam Jonathan Felfecker, 1728, p. 32.

24. Norbert Lieb, “Thelott (Thelot), Künstlerfamilie französ. Herkunft”, in Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker (Eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig, Seemann, 1938, t. 32, p. 590-594.

representatives were accordingly mentioned in the older relevant artists' encyclopaedias.<sup>25</sup> The well-known Augsburg goldsmith and engraver Johann Andreas Thelot[t] (1655-1734), who was renowned around 1700, even got monographic appreciation.<sup>26</sup> The first garden city in Germany, the *Thelott-Viertel* in Augsburg, was named after him and his family in 1905. The misfortune, however, lay precisely in the relative prominence of better-known younger relatives, from whose shadow Johann Philipp had apparently never been able to escape. It was only in the 1930s that he was located in Frankfurt.<sup>27</sup> The art historian Walther Zülch (1883-1966) was able to draw on the Frankfurt tradition, which was considerably depleted during the Second World War. According to him, Thelott came from a Dutch exile family whose first two representatives in Germany can be traced to Frankfurt in 1563, but later settled in Augsburg. However, Zülch did not take into account the detailed family relationships and above all the long-lasting family connections to Frankfurt. However, they are of crucial importance in order to be able to properly assess the biography and above all his network as well as his social or intellectual environment.

For this, research in the municipal archives in Augsburg was necessary. I will not go into the details here. Only this much: Johann Philipp's grandfather, Philipp the Elder,<sup>28</sup> was awarded a doctorate from the University of Padua. He had already taken over an Augsburg trading company together with Johann Mattsperger. At this time, he was married to a daughter of the Augsburg watchmaker

---

25. Hans Rudolph Füssli, *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, oder: Kurze Nachricht von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister*, 2. Teil, 9. Abschnitt, Zürich, Orell & Füssli, 1816, p. 1851; Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, Munich, Fleischmann, 1848, t. 18, p. 300-304.

26. On him Heidi Prael-Himmer, *Der Augsburger Goldschmied Johann Andreas Thelot*, Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1978.

27. Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler* (fn 17), p. 565.

28. On the following Anonymus, "Das Künstlergeschlecht der Thelott", *Münchener Neuëste Nachrichten*, 260, 1927, p. 19-20 and 261, 1927, p. 22; Wolfgang Reinhard (Ed.), *Augsburger Eliten des 16. Jahrhunderts. Prosopographie wirtschaftlicher und politischer Führungsgruppen 1500-1620*, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1996, p. 835-837 and Holger Th. Gräf, "Künstlervita", Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), p. 3-12.

and goldsmith Martin Marquard. In his second marriage to Sara Brecheler, Israel (?-1637) his first child was born, who also became a goldsmith and became prominent in 1628 with a work on combating the plague. On its title page, he was tagged as an *Augustanum Spagyrum chymicum*, i.e., as an Augsburg follower of spagyric, a pharmaceutical branch of Paracelsian iatrochemistry.

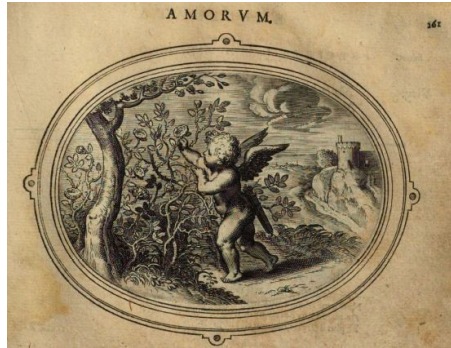
The fourth child of this marriage was Abraham, who married Veronica Stenglin in 1627. She came from one of the most important Augsburg patrician families.<sup>29</sup> Probably on the occasion of their marriage, he built a garden house with a magnificent banqueting hall at his estate in the Kohlergasse near the cathedral, decorated with stuccoes and frescoes, including a depiction of Cupid fitting for the occasion.<sup>30</sup>



**fig. 3** Matthias Kager (?): *Nulle rose sans espines*, c. 1627, after restoration (Foto: Holger Th. Gräf)

29. Reinhard, *Eliten* (fn 28), p. 796.

30. Stadt Augsburg, Baureferat, "Amor im Hinterhof. Ein Gartenhaus mit ausgemaltem Festsaal Kohlergasse 8a", *Das Bürgerhaus in der Altstadt, Tag des offenen Denkmals 1997*, p. 12-13: [http://www2.augsburg.de/fileadmin/www/dat/06st/splan\\_o/Service/Pub/ODenkmal/OffenesDenkmal\\_1997.pdf](http://www2.augsburg.de/fileadmin/www/dat/06st/splan_o/Service/Pub/ODenkmal/OffenesDenkmal_1997.pdf).



**fig. 4** Otho Vaenius [Otto van Veen], *Amorum Emblemata*, Antwerpen, Venalia apud Auctorem (self-published), 1608, fol. 161

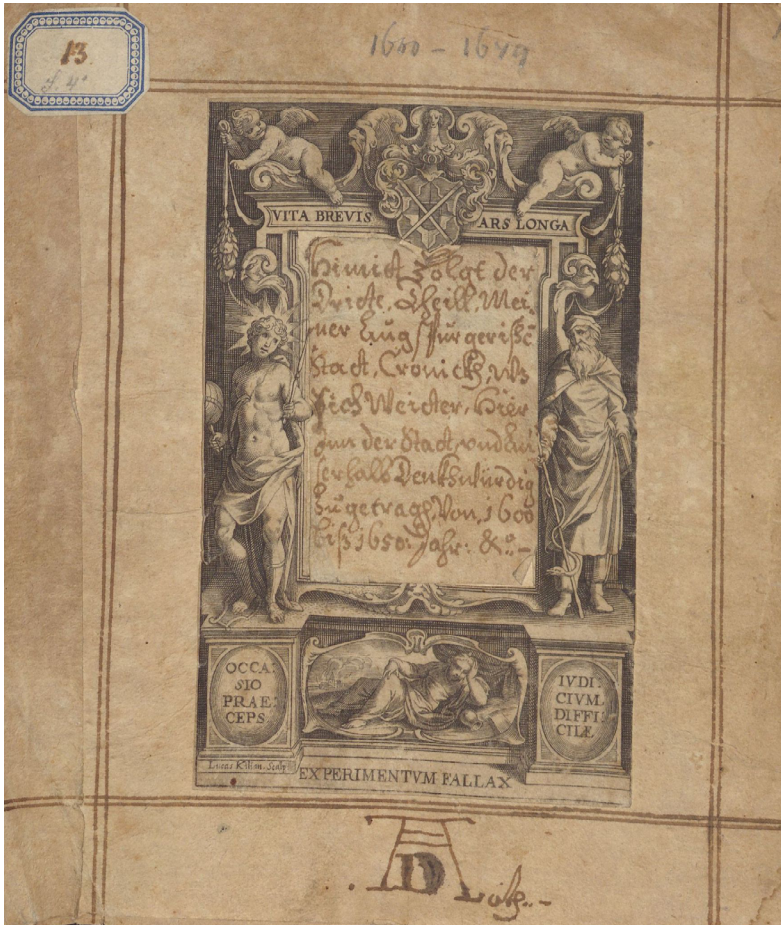
The motifs were executed by the former town painter Matthias Kager and are quite obviously taken from a work by the Neo-Latin poet Otto van Veen (1556-1629) which was very popular at the time. Raphael Custos (c. 1590-1664), a stepbrother of Lucas Kilian, had published parts of the Antwerp poet's emblem book in two volumes in 1622 and 1631 and dedicated the first volume to the Augsburg politician, diplomat and most influential art agent Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647).<sup>31</sup> This also gives an indication of the intellectual milieu in Thelott's parental home.

A further hint of the intellectual climate in his parental home is provided by the chronicle of Thelott's father Abraham, continued until 1677/78.

The five volumes comprise about 2,500 folios and deal primarily with the history and events in the city of Augsburg, but also report on events in the Empire, in Europe and in the New World. Sources mentioned include the *Theatrum Europaeum*, the *Ungerische Chronik*, probably the one published by Wilhelm Serlin in Frankfurt,

---

31. Raphael Custos, *Emblemata amoris*, [...] consecrata [...] Philippo Heinhofer, 2 vols., Augsburg, Schulthes, 1622 and 1631. On Hainhofer see <https://hainhofer.hab.de/informationen-zur-edition/ueber-philipp-hainhofer>.



**fig. 5** Lucas Kilian/Abraham Thelott: Title of t. 3 (Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, Thelott, Chronik, 4° Cod S 13, fol. 1r.)



and Paracelsus is expressly referred to as a “well-experienced man and master”. Particularly interesting is the frontispiece, an engraving by Lucas Kilian in which the author inscribed his own title. Particularly noteworthy is the treatment of the Dürer monogram, which in a sense has been developed into the Thelott monogram. It is particularly noteworthy because with Adam Elsheimer and with Philipp Uffenbach, the so-called Dürer Renaissance played a certain role in Frankfurt at least until the 1630s.

So far, we can only speculate about Thelott’s childhood and youth or his education. The first years of his life were probably overshadowed by the events of the war, which did not spare Augsburg. An apprenticeship as a goldsmith or silversmith or as an engraver with one of the numerous Augsburg masters, to some of whom he was related, is probable. An apprenticeship as an engraver with the Kilians, the most important engravers in Augsburg at the time and immediate neighbours of the Thelott family in the *Kohlergasse*, is also likely. Lucas was also known to have been in business contact with Philipp Thelott the Elder, the grandfather of our artist, and engraved, among other things, the company logo for his paper workshop.



**fig. 6**

Lucas Kilian: *Augsburger Papier ex officina Philippi Thelotti senioris* (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, HB 52 (1) 2, fol. 164, Foto: Ulrich Hei)



However, a brother-in-law from his father's first marriage to Veronica Stenglin may have been decisive for Thelott's further life. After studying in Strasbourg, Jena, Leipzig and Wittenberg, her brother Zacharias (1604-1674) received his doctorate in Tübingen and was appointed city lawyer in Frankfurt in 1637.<sup>32</sup>

In 1639 he took over the sponsorship of his step-nephew only in absentia. But his outstanding position and the great reputation he enjoyed in Frankfurt must have made it considerably easier for Johann Philipp to settle on the Main. After all, Stenglin had represented the imperial city at the Peace Congress of Westphalia and the "Nürnberg Exekutionsstag" 1649/1650.

It is not possible to determine exactly when Johann Philipp moved to Frankfurt. In any case, his first known copper engravings were published in 1664 by Thomas Matthias Götze, one of Merian's sons-in-law and heirs.<sup>33</sup> For this standard work on horsemanship and the teaching of horses, he provided not only several illustrations with equestrian figures and anatomical engravings, but also the frontispiece. And not later than the Easter Fair of 1665, Thelott began to keep his workbook.

On October 16<sup>th</sup> of the same year, Thelott married Susanna Elisabeth Mylius in Frankfurt.<sup>34</sup> She was the only daughter of a professor of mathematics at the University of Marburg who was already deceased at the time.<sup>35</sup> Mylius had studied in Wittenberg, Leipzig, Jena and Rostock and perhaps also met Zacharias Stenglin there. One year after his appointment to Marburg in 1636, he married the daughter of the Frankfurt merchant Gerlach Beck.<sup>36</sup> The family's

---

32. "Stenglin, Zacharias", *Hessische Biografie*, <https://www.lagis-hessen.de/pnd/115886206>.

33. Johann Christoph Pinter von der Au, *Vollkommener ergänzter Pferd-Schatz: Aufs reiffer Erwekung der Natur/ Vernunft und oftmahligen Erfahrung enstānden [...]*, Frankfurt, Thomas Matthias Götze, 1664, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition 1688. On Götze, at that time the most important and richest German bookseller and publisher, see Adalbert J. Brauer, "Goetze, Thomas Matthias", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, t. 6, Berlin, Duncker & Humblot, 1964, p. 592.

34. Institut für Stadtgeschichte Frankfurt, Heiratsbücher 8, fol. 112v.

35. Johann Carl Mylius, *Geschichte der Familien Mylius*, Buttstädt, self-published, 1895, p. 212; Menno Hannekenium, *Christliche Leichpredigt [...] M. Erneßtii Mylii*, Marburg, Chemlin, 1641, p. 35.

36. The family may have been among the Protestant exiles who came to the Empire

house stood between *Kornmarkt* and St. Leonhard's Church, i.e., the area known as *Buchgasse*, where many publishers and booksellers were based.<sup>37</sup>

Nothing is known about the first child of this marriage, a son of the same name. Two daughters, on the other hand, are known definitely, and their well-known godparents attest to Thelott's connections to the publishing scene and imperial office-holders in Frankfurt.<sup>38</sup> Thelott died in August 1671 at the age of just 32.

As already mentioned, his account-book allows us to reconstruct his clientele. His godfather Stenglin probably played a considerable role in this, as he was in contact with the leading circles of the city's patrician class, but also with foreign diplomats, scholars, artists and publishers. I will mention only one example, which clearly shows the closeness of the relationships.

The already mentioned diplomat Wilhelm (von) Curtius (1598-1678) came from a Lombard exile family. After his studies in Herborn, he was appointed Resident in the Empire by King Charles I of England. After the king's execution, Curtius was first in Swedish and then in Electoral Palatine service. In 1664 he was again accredited by Charles II as English Resident in Frankfurt. Jean Hoeffft (1578-1651), a banker, arms dealer and resident of the Dutch States General in Paris, was the godfather in absentia of one of Curtius's daughters, born in Frankfurt in 1650. However, he was represented at the christening by Zacharias Stenglin. Jean Hoeffft, Curtius and Stenglin had met in the course of their diplomatic activities, not least at the Westphalian peace congress in Münster. In 1667 Curtius was admitted as a member of the Royal Society in London, which perhaps gave rise to his portrait of Thelott.

What takes shape here as a network of people is basically the trusteeship of intellectual life around the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century

---

from Austria in the 1620s, see August Dimitz, *Geschichte Krains von der ältesten Zeit bis auf das Jahr 1813*, Laibach, Kleinmayr & Bamberg, 1875, p. 376.

37. See Johann Georg Battonn, *Oertliche Beschreibung der Stadt Frankfurt am Main*, t. 5., Frankfurt, Verlag des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde zu Frankfurt a.M., 1869, p. 53-54, 92 and 118.

38. Zülch, *Künstler* (fn 27), p. 565.

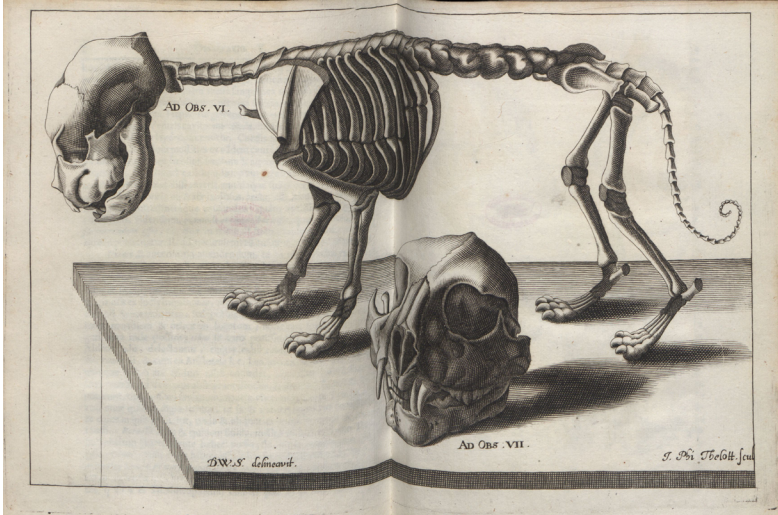
in Frankfurt, but also far beyond. The acquisition of the previously unknown anonymous self-portrait by Matthäus Merian the Younger by the *Historisches Museum Frankfurt* from the art trade in 2008 received considerable attention. While the discovery of a new Merian painting was already exciting, the bust of Seneca, to which the sitter refers, attracted great attention. While the head of Laocoon in the Basel family painting by the hand of the young Merian was already a clear reference to antiquity, this pointed in another, new direction.<sup>39</sup> As early as 1636, so one year after his return from Italy, Joachim von Sandrart had already used the Seneca bust in a portrait of the Frankfurt councillor Maximilian zum Jungen. And in 1652, in the same period as the self-portrait, Merian painted Thelott's godfather, Zacharias Stenglin, also with the Seneca bust, as well as the Roman Capitol and the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius in the background – a further strong hint of his enthusiasm for Roman Stoicism, since Marcus Aurelius was no longer regarded only as a strategist and persecutor of Christians, but also and above all as a Stoic on the imperial throne.

If we look closer at all of these paintings together, a circle of personalities takes shape that was grouped around the Merian heirs, Joachim von Sandrart, Maximilian zum Jungen, Zacharias Stenglin and others. What united the members of this circle was evidently an attitude of mind that, in addition to natural philosophical and scientific interests, was above all characterised by overcoming the narrow confessional-dogmatic boundaries of the “official churches” (“*Amtskirchen*”).

---

39. Andreas Tacke, “Italiensehnsucht und Akademiegedanke: das Baseler Familienporträt Matthäus Merians des Jüngeren“, *Der unbeſtechliche Blick. FS Wolfgang Wolters*, Martin Gaier (Ed.), Trier, Porta-Alba, 2005, p. 73-83; Daniela Nieden, *Matthäus Merian der Jüngere (1621–1687)*, Göttingen, Cuvillier, 2002, p. 48-54.

## Two examples



**fig. 7** Johann Philipp Thelott: *Anatomic illustration, Miscellanea Curiosa Medico-Physica Academiae Naturae Curiosorum, sive Ephemeridum Medico-Physicarum Germanicarum Curiosarum Annus Secundus*, Jena, Esaias Fellgiebel, 1671, unpaginated, Observatio VI.

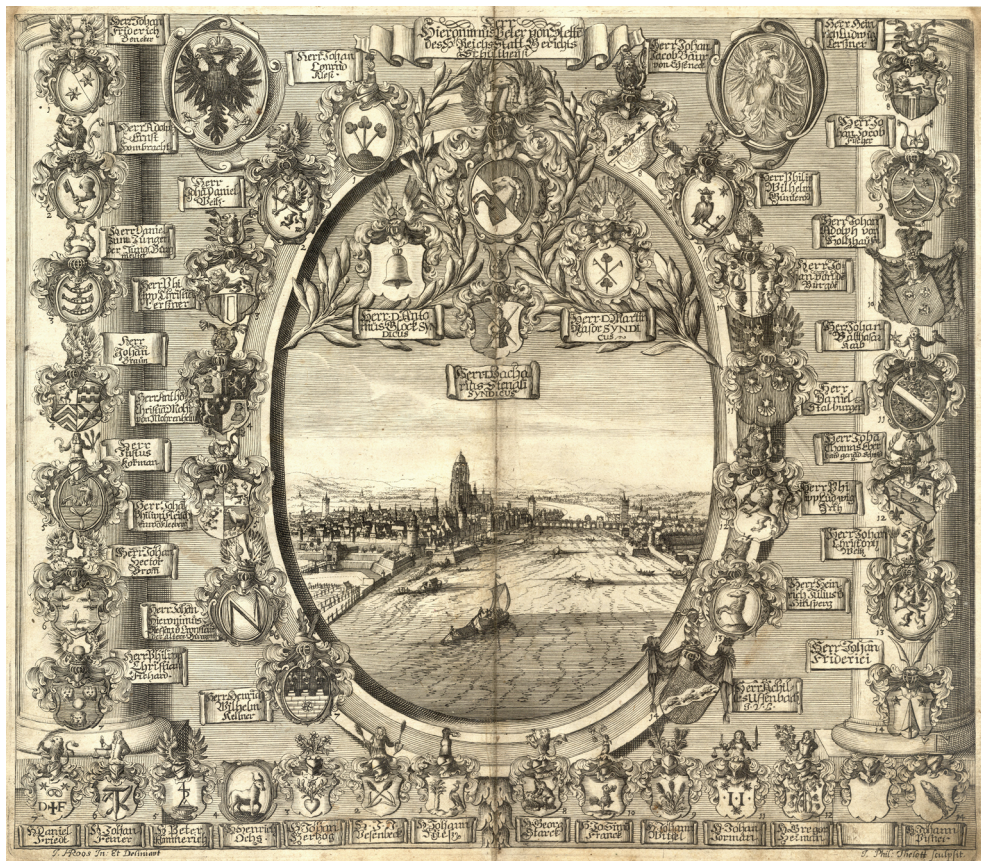
In 1652, four physicians founded the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* in Schweinfurt, which called itself *Academia Imperialis Leopoldina Naturae Curiosorum* (*Leopoldina*) after the imperial privilege in 1687. Starting in 1670 it published its own journal under the title *Miscellanea curiosa medico-physica Academiae Naturae Curiosorum* [...], which was presented at the Frankfurt Easter Fair of the same year. After the *Journal des sçavans* in Paris (1665) and the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* in London (1665), it is one of the oldest scientific journals and was the first periodical worldwide to focus on medicine and the natural sciences. The first volume appeared in 1670, and Joachim von Sandrart engraved the title and the portrait of the Academy's founder Johann Lorenz Bausch for

the second volume. Thelott's engravings illustrate the two anatomical "*Observationes*" that the Viennese professor of anatomy Lorenz Wolfstrigel (c. 1635-1671) had made during the dissection of a lion and a tiger, respectively, from the possession of Emperor Leopold I in autumn 1670.<sup>40</sup> The work was published by Esaias Fellgiebel, who is mentioned in Thelott's workbook. Remarkably, apart from the title copperplate by Joachim von Sandrart, only Thelott's engraving is signed. The numerous other illustrations remain anonymous. This is possibly an indication of Thelott's excellent networking and/or the good reputation he enjoyed at the time. After all, he was still mentioned in 1717 in the *Stam[m]-Taffeln Gelehrter Leute* (genealogical table of learned people) by the Regensburg genealogist Johann Seifert as a "*Bürger und berühmter Kupferstecher zu Franckfurt am Mayn*" (citizen and famous engraver at Franckfurt am Mayn), only to then more or less disappear from literature.<sup>41</sup>

---

40. Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), Cat. N° 3.08, p. 407.

41. Johann Seifert, *Stam-Taffeln Gelehrter Leute: Nach Ordnung des Alphabets, Zuforderist dem Drey-Einigem Gott zu unendlichen Ehren, Dann Denen werthen Vorfahren zu deren vor der Erbaren Welt aus ihren Gräbern stets hervor grünenden Ruhm*, [...], t. 1, Regensburg, Johann Georg Hofmann, 1717, table 32, unpaginated fol. 66.



**fig. 8** Johann Philipp Thelott: View of Frankfurt, *Biblia, Das ist / Die gantze Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments / Deutsch / D. Martin Luthers*, Wittenberg, Balthasar Christoph Wust, 1671 (Grünberg, Collection Gräf: Inv. n° Thel 12)

The client of this large-format work was the publisher and bookseller Wust, who is also named in Thelott's account-book.<sup>42</sup> Wust had left Wittenberg immediately after the Thirty Years' War and settled

42. Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), Cat. N° 3.09, p. 408-410.



in Frankfurt. In 1671 he published the Foliobible, with which he attempted to have not only the *Biblia* but also the other books by Lutheran authors in his range placed under the privileged protection of the imperial city of Frankfurt and thus protected from reprints. Accordingly, he appeals in his dedication to the “*Schultheißen*” (sheriff), the mayors, aldermen, syndics and the councillors of the city. As a kind of decision-making aid, Wust undertook on May 9<sup>th</sup> and again on July 11<sup>th</sup> 1671 to deliver to the town hall “*50 exemplaria inn Corduan gebunden vndt auf den Schnitt vergülde*” (50 items bound in cordovan leather and with gilded edges). This means one copy each for the addressed town officials. Ahead of the dedication, the double-sided view of the town by Thelott, printed on different paper from the bible is also pasted into the copies for the persons addressed. Since these volumes were to some extent privately owned, they are comparatively rare in public libraries.<sup>43</sup>

Thelott has surrounded the oval-framed city view from the west with the coats of arms and the names of the councillors, aldermen and mayors. The coat of arms of the then “*Gerichts-Schultheiss*” Hieronymus von Stetten and the coats of arms of the three Syndici projected into the frame from above, with the coat of arms of Zacharias Stenglin, i.e., Thelott’s godfather and presumed protector, are placed prominently in the centre. Thelott did not use Merian’s large bird’s eye view plan from 1628 as a model, but a drawing by Johann Heinrich Roos, probably the most prominent painter in the region at the time.<sup>44</sup> After his portraits of Frankfurt patricians Thelott made some copperplate engravings.<sup>45</sup>

\*

\* \*

---

43. The only one in a public library is shelved in the *Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart*, Sign. Bb deutsch 167101.

44. Wolfgang P. Cilleßen, “Frankfurter Porträtmalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts”, Gräf/Tacke, *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt* (fn 7), p. 61-73.

45. *Ibid.*, Cat. N<sup>o</sup> 1.07, p. 275-276 (Curtius) and Cat. N<sup>o</sup> 1.39, p. 318-319 (Uffsteiner).

These few findings make it clear that Thelott is an engraver who has hardly been known so far and who certainly deserves more intensive study. And above all, due to his unique account-book it is not only possible to sketch his person and his intellectual profile. Moreover, his example proves that the copperplate engravers at this time could quite possibly be far more than mere craftsmen. They were also artists and efficient entrepreneurs in the expanding world of printing and publishing.





# “RUINER LA GALANTERIE”

D'Aubignac's *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation* (1666)  
and its Transfer to the German-Speaking Countries

HELGA MEISE

Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, CIRLEP

**Abstract:** The article retraces the reception of François Hédelin d'Aubignac's *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation* (1666) in the German-speaking lands. The translations that were published at Leipzig in 1696 and 1711 and in Celle in 1749 and once more at Leipzig in 1763 make no changes to the main text at all. Nevertheless, whereas d'Aubignac had intended that his manuel would discourage women from behaving in the galant mode, in the translation, new headings as well as additional material (a frontispiece and a novel inserted in the first Leipzig editions) corresponded to the German literary context, where there a demand for 'galant literature' was prevalent around 1700, which was succeeded in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century by enthusiasm for the topic of female virtue.

**L**ES *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*, a manual of conduct for aristocratic young women,

appears anonymously<sup>1</sup> in Paris in 1666.<sup>2</sup> Despite criticism from the “*esprits libres*” that the rules it contained “*ne tendent qu’à ruiner la galanterie*”,<sup>3</sup> ten more editions come onto the market by 1710, in Paris, The Hague and Brussels.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, a process of transfer to the German-speaking countries begins: translations into German appear in Leipzig in 1696 and 1711,<sup>5</sup> in Celle in 1749 and in Leipzig and Frankfurt on Main in 1763.<sup>6</sup> The *Conseils* move into new functional

- 
1. The author is François Hédelin Abbé d’Aubignac (1604-1676), preacher, writer, theatre theorist (*La Pratique du théâtre*, 1657). Although he makes his authorship public in another context in 1667, it is concealed in all editions of the actual text. Cf. below.
  2. *Les Conseils d’Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputaton*. A Paris, Chez N. Pepingué, au bout du Pont S. Michel, à l’entrée de la ruë de la Huchette, Et en sa Boutique au premier Pilier de la grande Salle du Palais, vis à vis les Consultations, au Soleil d’or. M. DC. LXVI. avec Priuilege du Roy. Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), NUMM-8116756 (consultable sur place), R-18668; Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen, Halle an der Saale, 165 H 8. – The first edition has not yet been available to me in autopsy, a digital copy does not exist. The second edition is cited: *Les Conseils d’Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputaton*. Seconde Edition. A Paris, Chez N. Pepingue’, ruë de la Huchette, dans la petite Ruelle des trois Chandeliers, devant [!] la ruë Zacarie. Et en sa Boutique au premier pilier de la grande Salle du Palais, vis à vis les Consultations, au Soleil d’or. M. DC. LXVII. avec Privilege du Roy. Digital copy used: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Biblioteca Historica Fondo Antiqua (F), BH FLL 15977 (Google Books), cited as *Conseils* 1667.
  3. *Le Journal Des Sçavans*, du Lundy 5. Avril M. DC. LXVI, p. 161: “*Si les esprits libres se plaignent qu’elles [les règles données, H. M.] ne tendent qu’à ruiner la galanterie, les sages reconnaissent qu’elles retranchent seulement de la société des choses que la modestie ne peut souffrir.*” (ark:/12148/cb39138287s).
  4. The reprint by J É (Bookplate) Bouillet, 2011, available on Amazon, is not considered in this study. S. Koloch, *Communication, Power, Education. Frauen im Kulturprozess der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin, Akademie, 2011, esp. p. 26, 228-229, identified nine French editions from 1665 [!] to 1692 and three translations, but without examining them systematically; on French research *ibid.*, p. 26, 31.
  5. *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin*, übersetzt aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche, Leipzig, by Johann Thomas Fritsch, 1696, cited as H.; *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin, aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche übersetzt*, Leipzig, by Thomas Fritsch, 1711.
  6. *Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche die Herzogin von C<sup>xxx</sup> unter den Nahmen Aristé der Princeßin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und guten Nahmen zu erhalten*. Zelle, bei George Conrad Gsellius, 1749, cited as C.; *Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche die Herzogin von C<sup>xxx</sup> unter den Nahmen Aristé der Princeßin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und guten Nahmen zu erhalten*, Leipzig & Frankfurt am Main, bey George Conrad Gsellius, 1763.

contexts: around 1700, they were incorporated into the “Seduction to Gallantry”,<sup>7</sup> the ‘advertising campaign’ for gallantry that emanated from the city of Leipzig. Forty or sixty years later, according to the modified title, the rules of conduct presented in the text are supposed to ensure the formation of the *Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers* (*Character of a perfect woman*) – and gallantry disappears from the title page.

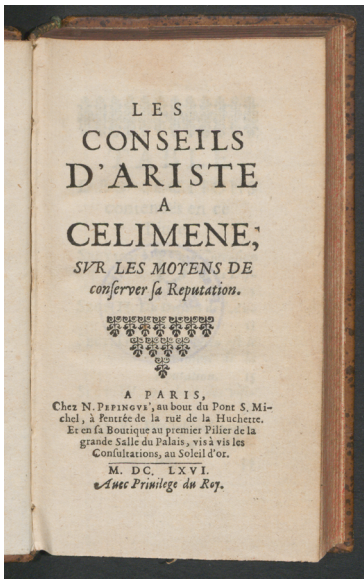
The systematic reconstruction of the contexts of book and discourse history of the publication of the *Conseils* and their translations provides insights into the stages of this transfer as well as into the prehistory of the *Character of a perfect woman*. Both have so far only attracted the attention of researchers in a fragmentary way.<sup>8</sup> It becomes apparent that the paratexts initiate the transfer, but the text, the conduct code as such, remains unchanged. First of all, there is the “Avis (Preface)”, which is appended to the two French *Conseils* editions of 1692.<sup>9</sup> Its German translation of 1696, the “Vorbericht an den Leser (Preface to the Reader)” (H iij, unpaginated), is aimed, like the “Avis”, not at *reputation* but at the “*honneſteté ſi naturelle aux François*” (*Conseils* 1692a/b) / “*die wohlanſtändige ehrbarkeit welche die Frantzöſiſche nation gleichſam von natur hat* (the decent respectability which the French nation has, as it were, by nature)” (H iij). The “Vorrede (Preface)” of 1749 and 1763 rejects this translation and again focuses on the “*Anſehen* (reputation)” and the “*guten Nahmen*

7. Cf. I. Stauffer, *Verführung zur Galanterie. Benehmen, Körperlichkeit und Gefühlsinszenierungen im literarischen Kulturtransfer 1664-1772*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2018 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 152).

8. Cf. the erroneous, insufficiently substantiated claims about the *Conseils* in German-speaking countries in Koloch, *Kommunikation* (note 4), esp. p. 26-31. On the *Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers* H. Meise, *Die Unschuld und die Schrift. Deutsche Frauenromane im 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, Ulrike Helmer Verlag, 1992 (1982), p. 12-31.

9. *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*. Nouvelle édition Revüe & augmentée. A Paris, Chez la V. Pepingué & Jacques Le Febvre rué de la Harpe, au Soleil d'or, Et au Premier Pillier [!] de la Grand' Salle, vis-à-vis les Requestes du Palais. M. DC. XCII. Avec Privilège du Roy; *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*. Nouvelle Edition, Revüe & augmentée D'un nouveau Recueil de Maximes & Pensées diverses. A Paris, chez la V. Pepingué. Se vend A Bruxelles, Chez Jean Leonard, Libraire & Imprimeur rue de la Cour, 1692. Cited as *Conseils* 1692a and *Conseils* 1692b.

(good name)” to be preserved by “*das Frauenzimmer* (a woman)”, indeed by all those who, irrespective of their class, “*eine nicht geringere rechtschaffene Neigung zur Tugend wie Celimene hegen* (have a no less righteous inclination to virtue than Celimene)” (C 1749, 2ff.). Variations of the title are added: the counsellor Ariste becomes a court mistress (*Hofmeisterin*) (1696/1711) or a duchess (*Herzogin*) (1749/1763) –, Celimene, who is in search of advice becomes a “*galantes Frauenzimmer* (gallant woman)” (1696/1711). The reorientation continues in the placement of a frontispiece and an “*exempel* (exemplum)” in the text (H 1696/1711, 17-38), but is also scaled back in the *Character of a perfect woman*. The paratexts not only set the transfer in motion, they also realign the *Conseils*: the transformation of terms – the dissolution of *reputation* into “*honnestete*”/ “*ehrbarkeit* (honesty and honour)” and its resumption as “*virtue*” – and of discursive roles – the back and forth between the genders of counsellor, author and audience – marks the cultural turn that renders gallantry obsolete as the primary model for the conduct of elites for communication between the sexes.



*fig. 1*

Paris 1666-1692 – La Haye 1687  
 – Brussels 1692 – La Haye 1710:  
*Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur  
 les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*

Bibliographic references and digital copies allow us to trace the career of the *Conseils* as a book, as a material object. Of the eleven French-language editions that appear between 1666 and 1710, eight are published in Paris: three by Nicolas Pepingué (1666, 1667, 1674);<sup>10</sup> two by his widow Pepingué and Jacques Le Febvre, her son-in-law,<sup>11</sup> and by her and Jean II Leonard in Brussels (both 1692);<sup>12</sup> three by Guillaume Cavalier (1685, 1686).<sup>13</sup> Two editions appear in The Hague, by Abraham Arondeus (1687) and by Jean Swart (1710).<sup>14</sup>

- 
10. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667. Other copies: BnF, NUMM-8704018 (consultable sur place), R-18669; Institut Catholique de Paris, 22 430; Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon (Bibliothèque jésuite des Fontaines), Part-Dieu-Silo ancien SJ A 343/A 42 (Google Books); Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, U 966; University of Toronto, Thomas Fischer Rare Book Library Rare Book Collection (B-1001023) (Internet Archive). *Conseils* 1674: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa réputation*. Troisième Edition. A Paris, Chez N. Pepingué, rue de la Huchette dans la petite Ruelle des trois Chandeliers, devant la rue Zacarie, Et en sa Boutique au premier pilier de la grande Salle du Palais, vis à vis les Consultations, au Soleil d'or. M. DC. LXXIV. Avec Privilège du Roy. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich (BSB), Ph. Pr. 42<sup>c</sup> (digital copy).
  11. *Conseils* 1692a: BnF, NUMM-8716746 (consultable sur place), R-18671, Richelieu-Arts du spectacle-magasin 8-RF-5387(1), Arsenal 8-S-3113(1); The British Library, London, 1578/4993 (Google Books); Jerusalem, Jewish National Library, Stacks (70 C 11984) (Google Books); University of Ottawa, Toronto, Rare Books BJ 1682. AB 1692 (Internet Archive). – Cited as *Conseils* 1692a (fn 9).
  12. *Conseils* 1692b (fn 9): Anvers, Bibliothèque Patrimoniale Hendrik Conscience, 233326 (Google Books); Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SBB-PK), Np 343 (digital copy); Stift Kremsmünster, 8°Co 211 |Sto: SL | Sto: 35-27.
  13. *Conseils* 1685: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine pour conserver la reputation selon la bienséance et la civilité française*, Paris, G. Cavalier, 1685. BnF, R-27098; Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (HAB), M: Lm 1709a; Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Wiesbaden, 60 Hy 8621. *Conseils* 1686a: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine pour conserver la reputation selon la bienséance et la civilité française*. A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavalier, 1686 [in-8]. BnF, Smith LESOUF R-828; BSB, Ph. Pr. 42<sup>ch</sup>. *Conseils* 1686b: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation*. A Paris, Chez Guillaume Cavalier, 1686 [in-12]. BnF, NUMM-16744 (consultable sur place), R-18670.
  14. *Conseils* 1687: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation. Piece tres-curieuse*. Dernière Edition corrigée de plusieurs fautes qui étoient dans la précédente. A La Haye, Chez Abraham Arondeus, Marchand Libraire, 1687. BSB, Ph. Pr. 42<sup>ch</sup> (digital copy). *Conseils* 1710: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation. Piece très-curieuse*. Dernière Edition corrigée de plusieurs fautes qui étoient dans la précédente. A La Haye. Chez Jean Swart, Marchand Libraire dans le Korte Pooten. M. DCCX. Leiden

One edition, the 1677 pirated edition, cannot be attributed to a publisher.<sup>15</sup>

The author remains anonymous throughout; the text itself remains unchanged, as does the “Table des sections contenues en ce Livre”.<sup>16</sup> The “Discours”, the programmatic title of the first “Section” (*Conseils* 1667, 1),<sup>17</sup> seeks to give Celimene advice before her marriage on how to maintain her good reputation in her new status as a wife.<sup>18</sup> Her good reputation, says Ariste,<sup>19</sup> must be based on her virtue. To

---

University Libraries, Closed Stack 5 686 H 20 (Google.Books).

15. *Conseils* 1677: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation: Piece tres Curieuse*. Suivant la Copie imprime A Paris. M. DC. LXXVII. SBB-PK, Np 340.
16. *Conseils* 1667, fol. Aiiij sq., unpaginated.
17. The term embraces theory and practice: “*Diskurs [...] lebhaftige Erörterung, Unterhaltung [frz. ‚discours‘, Rede, Ansprache, Abhandlung]*”, G. Wahrig, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Gütersloh/Munich, Bertelsmann, 1991, p. 351. Cf. G. Malquori Fondi, “Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene de l'Abbé d'Aubignac : Un ‘discours’ masqué?”, in Ulrich Döring, Antiopy Lyroudias, Rainer Zaiser (Eds.), *Ouverture et dialogue. Mélanges offerts à Wolfgang Leiner à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, Tübingen, Narr, 1988, p. 289-304, p. 298: “*Présenté sous le masque d'un discours à la mode chez les ‘moralistes’, le livre de d'Aubignac nous apparaît plutôt comme le reflet d'un débat très à la mode chez les mondains.*”
18. Cf. Ch. Arnaud, *Les théories dramatiques au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etude sur la vie et les œuvres de l'Abbé d'Aubignac*, Genève, Slatkine, 1970 (1888), p. 79-87: “*Cœuvres de direction et d'éducation*”. The striking similarity of the “Discours” with M<sup>me</sup> de Liancourt's (1600-1674) *Règlement* cannot be discussed further here. Cf. L. Timmermans, *L'Accès des femmes à la Culture sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris, Champion, 2005, p. 96, 210, 946, incorrectly dates the first edition to 1698. Cf. BnF, 24142: *Règlement Donné Par une Dame de Haute Qualité A M<sup>xxx</sup> Sa Petite-Fille Pour sa Conduite & pour celle de sa Maison: Avec un autre Règlement que cette Dame avoit dressé pour elle-mesme*, A Paris, Chez Augustin Leguerrier, ruë S. Jacque, près les Maturins, à l'Arche-d'Alliance, M. DC. XCVIII. Avec Approbation et Privilège du Roy. On Jeanne de Schomberg Duchesse de Liancourt (1600-1674) and her treatise, see C. Winn, “Introduction”, C. Winn (Ed.), *Règlement [...]*, Paris, Garnier, 2022 (réimpression de 1997) (Textes de la Renaissance 15; L'Éducation des femmes à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique, 1), p. 7-42.
19. On d'Aubignac's passion for the name Ariste – from the Greek “*aristos*”, the best – see G. Malquori Fondi, “Introduction”, in G. Malquori Fondi (Ed.), *François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac : Le Roman des Lettres*, preface Bernard Bray, Paris, Seattle, Tübingen, Papers on French Seventeenth Century Literature, 1989 (Biblio 17, 50), p. XVII-CXVI, XXVIII. The reference to Ariste, the “*reasonable pedagogue*” in Molière's comedy *L'École des Maris* (1661), cannot be pursued here.

merely simulate virtue is risky; it must rather be anchored in the heart and from here it can control all the senses:

[...] *que cette vertu qui doit produire un si bon effet [la réputation, H. M.], doit être dans le fond du cœur [...] mais sa réputation [d'une femme, H. M.], ne se pourra jamais conserver si la vertu ne s'est rendue maîtresse de ses sens, & que toutes ses actions ne soient animées de ce beau feu ; [...].* (*Conseils*, 1667, 19-20).

On the basis of this axiom, Ariste imagines in 30 “*sections*”<sup>20</sup> situations that Celimene could face as the wife of a nobleman, in everyday life as well as on special occasions, at her residence as well as at court: conversations inside and outside of marriage, dealing with servants, receiving gifts, taking part in walks, comedies, balls and masquerades, games and carriage rides. Ariste’s casuistry culminates in the question: “*Si une femme peut faire quelque amitié avec un homme.*” (*Conseils*, 1667, 225) The answer is clear: no friendship is possible between a man and a woman; even the slightest suggestion brings the woman into disrepute and destroys all her previous efforts to maintain her “*reputation*” at a stroke. The arc closes, for Ariste had shown Celimene precisely this at the very beginning of the “*Discours*” as the inevitable consequence of the “*visites fréquentes ov assiduité*” on a virtuous woman: “[...] *sa gloire s'éteint, & la laisse comme une personne morte au monde.*” (*Conseils*, 1667, 41).

In contrast to the anonymity of the author, the table of contents and the text, the French editions vary in format and number of pages, the decorations<sup>21</sup> and the paratexts. The first edition, published by Nicolas Pepingüé (1620?-1688), printer and publisher in Paris,

---

20. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667, fol. Aiii. The error in the “Table” – section XV is missing – is corrected in the third edition of 1674. All later *Conseils* editions have not 30 but 29 “sections”.

21. Fleurons: flower baskets as title vignettes, ribbons for the “Table” and “Sections” as frames for the “Avis”, the “Section Premiere” with initial. The title vignette of the 1692 editions stands out: a ribbon with the inscription “Concordia”<sup>5</sup> flutters above a sheaf of upright ears of corn, flanked by two cornucopias from which fruits and books respectively sprout.



in 1666, is a duodecimo volume with 239 pages (*Conseils*, 1667); later editions in octavo<sup>22</sup> have 140 pages.<sup>23</sup>

Additions to the title suggest novelty as well as topicality. While Pepingué retained the title for his second and third editions in 1667 and 1674, Guillaume Cavelier (1658-1726), a generation younger than Pepingué, sought to set himself apart in 1685 by explaining the title twice. *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene* remains, but is supplemented: *ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine*. The explanation of the original title *pour conserver sa réputation* remains and is in turn explained: *selon la bienséance et la civilité françoise*.<sup>24</sup> In 1686, Cavelier keeps this new title for the reprint in octavo, but returns to the original for his duodecimo edition.<sup>25</sup>

In three instances there is a subtitle. The pirated print of 1677 explains: *Pièce tres Curieuse*. The title page has no imprint and notes: *Suivant la Copie Imprime A Paris*.<sup>26</sup> In 1687 Arondeus takes up the *Pièce tres Curieuse* in The Hague and adds: *Dernière édition corrigée de plusieurs fautes qui étaient dans la précédente*.<sup>27</sup> Swart adopts Arondeus' wording in 1710.<sup>28</sup>

Pepingué's widow, Radegonde Pepingué, née Bouillerot (?-1707), published a new edition<sup>29</sup> with her son-in-law Jacques Le Febvre (1648-1713) in 1692, as well as a second edition with Jean II Leonard (?-1736?) in Brussels.<sup>30</sup> Both editions are revised according to the title: *Nouvelle édition revûë & augmentée*. They have an "Avis"; the Paris/Brussels edition also has *un nouveau Recueil de maximes & pensées diverses*. The *Conseils* are followed by two separate texts, each equipped with

22. Cf. *Conseils*, 1686a (fn 11).

23. Cf. *Conseils*, 1687 and *Conseils*, 1710 (fn 12).

24. *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, ou la conduite des actions de la vie humaine, pour conserver sa réputation selon la bienséance et la civilité françoise*, Paris, G. Cavelier, 1685.

25. HAB: M: Lm 1709a.

26. *Conseils*, 1677: *Les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene, sur les moyens de conserver sa Réputation*. *Pièce tres Curieuse*. *Suivant la Copie Imprime A Paris*. A Paris. M. DC. LXXVII.

27. (fn 12).

28. (fn 12).

29. *Conseils*, 1692a (fn 9).

30. *Conseils*, 1692b. Cf. also (fn 10).

title page and preface, separate page count<sup>31</sup> and alphabetical index at the end – for the *Maximes* from “Agrement” to “Vertu”, for the *Pensées* from “Ambition” to “Vie”.<sup>32</sup> This is a reprint of a reprint: Radegonde Pepingué and Le Febvre had reprinted the *Maximes Et Pensées Diverses*<sup>33</sup> in 1691, which had first been published in 1678 by Sebastien Mabre-Cramoisy (vers 1630-1687) in Paris and in 1679 by Pieter Hagen (?-?) in The Hague.<sup>34</sup> The author of the *Maximes* is Madeleine de Souvré Marquise de Sablé (1598-1678), author of the *Pensées* Nicolas d'Ailly (16?-1712?), “*chanoine de Lisieux*”;<sup>35</sup> the texts lead directly into the “*weibliche Maximenkritik*” by the salon in Port-Royal.<sup>36</sup> Pepingué and Le Febvre included texts, prefaces and indexes in their 1692 edition of *Conseils*, but not the authors' names.<sup>37</sup> Their innovation of combining the preface of the *Maximes* as marginalia,<sup>38</sup> however, recurs in both *Conseils* editions of 1692. In the margin of the first “*section*” it says: “*Occasions où l'on a besoin de conseils pour imiter parfaitement le modele qu'on s'est proposé de suivre*” (*Conseils*, 1692a, 5). Marginalia of this kind always bring the “Discours” together again; at the same time, these comments function as reading aids.

The materiality of the *Conseils* editions also includes handwritten and pasted-in additions that make their contexts of use visible. As the digital copies show, the name of the author or the provenance

31. *Conseils*, 1692b (fn 9), *Maximes*, p. 1-26; *Pensées*, p. 27-54.

32. *Conseils*, 1692b (fn 9), unpaginated.

33. *Maximes Et Pensées Diverses*. A Paris, Chez la V. Pepingué & Jacques Le Febvre, ruë de la Harpe, au Soleil d'or, Et au premier Pillier de la Gran' Salle, vis-à-vis les Requestes du Palais. M. DC. XCI. Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, 340167.

34. Cf. *Maximes Et Pensées diverses*, Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1678. BnF Res-Z-2618, NUMM-6261291; *Maximes de Mme la Marquise de Sablé et pensées diverses de M. L. D.*, Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1678. BnF Z-17932, NUMM-6276334; *Maximes de Mme la Marquise de Sablé et pensées diverses de M. L. D.*, La Haye, P. Hagen, 1679; BnF Arsenal, 8-S-2137.

35. Data BnF.

36. Cf. Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 96 sq; R. Baader, *Dames de lettres. Autorinnen des preziösen, hocharistokratischen und “modernen” Salons (1649-1698): M<sup>lle</sup> de Scudéry - M<sup>lle</sup> de Montpensier - M<sup>me</sup> d'Aulnoy*, Stuttgart, Metzler (Romanistische Abhandlungen 5), 1986, p. 202-210.

37. Cf. (fn 31). Catalogue note to *Maximes de M<sup>me</sup> la Marquise de Sablé et pensées diverses de M. L. D.*, Paris, S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1678, BnF Z-17932, NUMM-6276334: “*Seul le titre de cette édition la différencie de la précédente.*”

38. The margin says: “*Utilité des Maximes qu'on va lire.*” *Maximes*, Pepingué/Febvre 1691 (fn 32), preface, unpaginated.

– “*Bibliothek. Oberaltaich* (Library Oberaltaich)” –<sup>39</sup> on the endpapers and title pages; stamps indicate the owning library;<sup>40</sup> signatures the systematic location: “*Ph[ilosophia] Pr[actica]*”, “*Philos[ophia]. Ethica popul[aris]*”.<sup>41</sup> Further entries refer to the owners. The text of the Madrid copy of 1667 has underlining throughout – except in the last two “sections” – with accompanying manuscript marginal notes, mostly translations of individual words into Spanish. At the end it says: “Bilbao turcmoreau moreau 1667” –<sup>42</sup> the *Conseils* were probably worked through in the year of their publication. The entries “? Dornant?” and “Louise angelique chabot Dornant – 1737” on the title page of the British Library copy of 1692 prove that the *Conseils* were still in the hands of ladies in 1737.<sup>43</sup> Louise Angelique Chabot (1683-1737) had married Louis Dornant (1685-1751), “*ecuyer, seigneur des Valléis, lieutenant au régiment de Vivarais*” in 1713.<sup>44</sup> Whether she noted the name and date in her own hand is unclear.

A paratext, the “*Extrait du Privilège du Roy*”, inserted in the *Conseils* of 1667,<sup>45</sup> brings into play the author and the contexts of the origin of his “Discours”. The “*Extrait*” certifies that the privilege is granted “A.S.A.D.A.C.A.E.P.O.D.S.M.”, which stands for: “*Au Sieur Abbé d’Aubignac Conseiller Aumonier et Predicateur Ordinaire de Sa Majesté*”.<sup>46</sup> This refers to François Hédelin Abbé d’Aubignac,<sup>47</sup> known since the 1640s as Richelieu’s “*protégé*” for his writings on raising the “prestige of the theatre”<sup>48</sup> and as a “galant

39. *Conseils*, 1674 (fn 10).

40. Cf. (fn 9) to (fn 15).

41. BSB, *Conseils*, 1674 (fn 10). Cf. the metadata for the *Conseils*, 1687 (fn 13): “Shelf group Philosophia practica – ethics, morals, philosophy of law and religion.”

42. *Conseils*, 1667 (fn 2).

43. *Conseils*, 1692 a (fn 9).

44. <https://man8rove.com/fr/profile/2rpuk44k-louise-angelique-chabor>.

45. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667, unpaginated. The *Conseils* 1692b (fn 9) also insert the “*Extrait du Privilège du Roy*”, with the final sentence: “*Achevé d’imprimer le 22. Decembre 1691.*”

46. Malquori Fondi, *Conseils* (fn 17), p. 298, footnote 1; cf. also Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 87.

47. (fn 1).

48. H.-J. Neuschäfer, “Introduction. D’Aubignacs *Pratique du théâtre* und der Zusammenhang von *imitatio, vraisemblance und bienséance*”, in *Id.* (Ed.), *François Hédelin Abbé d’Aubignac. La pratique du théâtre and other writings on the doctrine classique*. Reprint of the three-volume edition Amsterdam 1715 with

abbé<sup>49</sup> and writer who frequented the Parisian salons but also opposed M<sup>lle</sup> de Scudéry and the *précieuses*.<sup>50</sup> In 1667, d'Aubignac revealed himself as the author of the *Conseils* in his *Roman des lettres*, published by Jean-Baptiste Loyson (161?-1694?) in Paris.<sup>51</sup> The novel revolves around the figure of Ariste, behind whom the abbé is barely concealed<sup>52</sup> – as author of and protagonist and correspondent in another work that included gallant letters.<sup>53</sup> Ariste refers to the *Conseils* several times; he also sends them to his correspondents<sup>54</sup> as a book. To Edumène he writes:

[...] *le petit ouvrage que ie prends la liberté de vous enuoyer, m'en offre, ce me semble, une occasion assez fauorable. Il a receu dans Paris & dans*

- 
- an introductory essay by Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, Munich, W. Fink Verlag, 1971 (Theorie und Geschichte der Literatur und der Schönen Künste 13), p. VII-XXXX, IX. See also H. Baby, "Introduction", in *Id.* (Ed.), *Abbé d'Aubignac. La Pratique du Théâtre*, Paris, Champion, 2011 (Champion Classiques 22), p. 9-24; G. Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, ed. by A. Adam, Paris, Gallimard, (Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 151), 1970, II, p. 904-908.
49. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 30. Cf. Ch.-L. Livet, "Clef historique et anecdotique du Grand Dictionnaire des Precieuses", in Ch.-L. Livet (Ed.), *Antoine Baudeau de Somaize : Le Dictionnaire des Précieuses*. Nouvelle édition augmentée de divers opuscules et d'une Clef historique et anecdotique, I/II, Hildesheim/New York, Georg Olms, 1972, II, p. 123-403, rubrique 136-138.
50. The "Discours" praises Celimene right at the beginning as the daughter of Arthénice. Arthénice, an anagram of Catherine, stands for Catherine de Vivonne Marquise de Rambouillet (1588-1665) and the salon she ran in her hôtel; Celimene could be her daughter Julie d'Angennes (1607-1671), who married Charles de Sainte-Maure Duc de Montausier (1610-1690) in 1645, Koloch, *Communication* (fn 4), p. 26. Cf. Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 75-84; on the relationship d'Aubignac - Mlle de Scudéry (1607-1701) see B.J. Bourque, *All the Abbé's Women. Power and Misogyny in Seventeenth Century France, through the Writings of Abbé d'Aubignac*, Tübingen, Narr (Biblio 17, 209), 2015, p. 147-165; Baader, *Dames* (fn 36), p. 91, 297; Livet, "Clef" (fn 49).
51. François Hédelin Abbé d'Aubignac, *Le Roman des Lettres* (fn 19).
52. Malquori Fondi, "Introduction" (fn 19), p. XVII-CXVI, XXIX: "*Dissocié d'un personnage qui est d'Aubignac sans l'être, auteur d'une fiction où il parle de lui-même en feignant qu'un autre parle d'une tierce personne, l'abbé n'a laissé la marque de l'anonymat que sur le frontispice de son curieux roman. Pourquoi donc, en empruntant le terme et la 'tentation' désignative à G. Genette, ne pas définir 'onymat' un anonymat qui n'en est pas un?*"
53. Cf. Malquori Fondi, "Introduction" (fn 19), p. XVII-CXVI, LXIX. Cf. *ibid.*, p. XXXVI: "*Composé de lettres et billets qu'un dialogue fictif inséré dans un contexte narratif encadre, [...]*".
54. As far as I can see, the *Conseils* in the *Roman des lettres* are only sent to male and not to female correspondents.

*toute la Cour vn si bon accueil des honnestes gens, que ie ne pourrois vous l'expliquer sans me rendre suspect de quelque vaine complaisance ; & ie n'ay pu me cacher plus long temps sous les caracteres enigmatiques qui portent mon nom. Vous me voyez à decouuert ; & ie m'estimeray bienheureux, si ce n'est pas à ma confusion.*<sup>55</sup>

The *Journal des sçavans* had carried a positive review of the *Conseils* on 5 April 1666:

*Ce livre a cela de singulier que sans perdre le temps pour traiter les maximes qui sont de la connoissance de tout le monde et qui se trouvent tant de fois rabattues dans les auteurs qui ont écrit de la morale, il s'attache aux particularités qui concernent la conduite d'une jeune dame et règle ses conseils sur les circonstances de la vie commune et sur les actions ordinaires du beau monde. Ces règles sont fondées sur l'honnêteté, et sont écrites d'un style agréable. Si les esprits libres se plaignent qu'elles ne tendent qu'à ruiner la galanterie, les sages reconnaissent qu'elles retranchent seulement de la société des choses que la modestie n'y peut souffrir. On ne connaît pas bien encore le nom de l'auteur ; mais il est facile de voir que cet ouvrage sort de la main d'un homme qui s'est acquis l'intelligence des bons livres et qui connaît parfaitement la vie de la cour.*<sup>56</sup>

The *Ariste* of the *Roman des lettres* is not afraid to exploit this review immediately:

*En remerciant son correspondant pour le "beau liure" qu'il vient de recevoir, Bissérius affirme qu'il en a "déjà veu l'éloge dans le Journal." Et Edumène de préciser : "Le Journal des Sçauans qui est le truchement de l'approbation publique ne m'auoit desjà que trop instruit du merite de cet ouvrage [...]." <sup>57</sup>*

---

55. D'Aubignac, *Roman* (fn 51), p. 437; *Ariste* à Bissérius, p. 409, 415.

56. (fn 3).

57. Malquori Fondi, "*Conseils*" (fn 17), p. 289. Cf. d'Aubignac, *Roman* (fn 51), p. 415, 442.

Ariste ignores the criticism of the “*libres esprits*” that the *Conseils* “ruined” gallantry. Although d'Aubignac's *Roman des lettres* was reprinted in 1673, it was considered an “*insuccès*”<sup>58</sup> in contrast to the *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene*, which continued to appear anonymously.<sup>59</sup>

The privilege of 1667 further proves the chronological proximity of the *Conseils*<sup>60</sup> to d'Aubignac's *Histoire du temps, ou Relation du royaume de Coqueterie. Extraite du dernier voyage des Holandois aux Indes du Levant*, which Charles de Sercy (1623-1700?) had also published anonymously in Paris with a privilege dated 11 November 1654.<sup>61</sup> The allegorical-satirical depiction of the “*Isle qui n'avoit point encore esté découuerte, & qui n'est point marquée sur les Cartes Maritimes*”<sup>62</sup> is considered one of the Abbé's “*oeuvres de salon*”: “*mais*

58. Malquori Fondi, “*Conseils*” (fn 17), p. LXXXVI-XCVI.

59. The *Bibliographie clerico-galante* of 1879 describes the *Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene* as “*Ouvrage très curieux et fort rare*”, *Bibliographie clerico-galante. Ouvrages galants ou singuliers sur l'amour, les femmes etc., écrits par des abbés, pretres, chanoines*, par l'Apotrophe Bibliographe, Paris, M.-A. Laporte, 1879, p. 93. The complete reproduction of the review in the *Journal des sçavans* by lexicographers of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, testifies to the unbroken presence of d'Aubignac's *Conseils*. Cf. [de Petity, Jean Raymond], *Bibliothèque des artistes et des amateurs, ou Tablettes analytiques, et méthodiques [...] sur l'usage et le choix des livres*, Paris, P. G. Simon, 1766, p. 11; [Id.], *Encyclopédie élémentaire ou introduction à l'études des lettres, des sciences et des arts. Ouvrage utile à la jeunesse et aux personnes de tout âge, enrichi d'amples notices des meilleurs auteurs dans chaque faculté*, 3 Vol., Paris, Hérisant fils, 1767, p. xj; [Id.], *Sagesse de Louis XVI, Manifestée de jour en jour, enseignée à ses Peuples, fondée sur les premiers principes de toute Vérité. Ouvrage Morale et Politique. Première Partie. Sur les Vertus & les Vices de l'Homme*, Paris, Gueffier/Hansy, 1775, p. 373.

60. According to the “*Extrait*” of the *Conseils* 1667, d'Aubignac had already received a printing licence for the *Conseils* on 15 January 1656 for a period of five years and had left this to Nicolas Pepingué. The final sentence reads: “*Achevé d'imprimer pour la seconde fois le 12 iour de février 1667. Registré sur le Livre de la Communauté des Libraires & Imprimeurs le 25 janvier 1656, suivant l'Arrest du Parlement du 9 avril 1653. Signé, Ballard, Syndic. Et aussi Registré au Greffe des Requestes de l'Hostel du Roy le 24 juillet 1663*”, *Conseils*, 1667, unpaginated.

61. *Histoire du temps, ou Relation du royaume de Coqueterie. Extraite du dernier voyage des Holandois aux Indes du Levant*, A Paris, Chez Charles de Sercy, au Palais, dans la Salle Dauphine, à la Bonne-Foy couronné. 1654. Avec Priuilege du Roy. Cf. “*Priuilege du Roy*”, *ibid*, unpaginated. BnF, Inventaire Y<sup>2</sup> 9805. Cf. Bourque, *Women* (fn 50), p. 147-165; for a discussion of the controversy on this, L. Leibacher-Ouvrard, “*L'Envers de l'Écrit. Romans et Paratextes chez d'Aubignac*”, *Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France*, 90, 2, 1990, p. 147-164.

62. D'Aubignac, *Histoire* (fn 61), p. 2.

*la fadeur en est relevée par une intention didactique*".<sup>63</sup> After a review of the islanders and their gallant habits – from the “*Admirables, Precieuses, Ravissantes*” to the “*Barbouillés* (Scribblers)” and the “*Mal Assorties*” to the “*Aventuriers*” and the “*Enjoués*” –<sup>64</sup> the vanishing point at the far end of the island appears to be

[...] *la chapelle du Saint-Retour, gardée par le capitaine Repentir. C'est le Refuge des Coquettes bien avisées ; là "elles jouissent d'un repos et d'une satisfaction véritable, qu'elles avaient inutilement cherché dans le séjour du trouble et des infortunes."*<sup>65</sup>

The female readership can find their way back to the right path:

*Les auditrices [...] devaient trouver en somme bon prêtre ce prêtre galant et coquet, qui savait leur dire la vérité tout en l'embellissant, osait leur parler de repentir au sein même de leurs plus mondaines badinages, et semblait leur montrer du doigt, à travers la porte, le confessionnal qu'il venait de quitter et où il allait les attendre.*<sup>66</sup>

The *Histoire* gives rise to a debate, a letter in which a certain Ariste defends the *Royaume de Coquetterie*:

*Lettre d'Ariste à Cléonte, contenant l'apologie de l'"Histoire de temps" ou la défense du "Royaume de Coquetterie"*.

The figure of Ariste is introduced,<sup>67</sup> as are the arguments against gallantry and women:

*Les femmes, suggère d'Aubignac, ont tout à perdre au jeu des voluptés fugaces et ne sont finalement que des proies. [...] "les sauvages galants*

---

63. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 75.

64. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 76.

65. D'Aubignac, *Histoire* (fn 61), p. 72-75; Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 77.

66. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 77.

67. *Lettre d'Ariste à Cléonte, contenant l'apologie de l'"Histoire du temps" ou la défense du "Royaume de Coquetterie"*, cited from Leibacher-Ouvrard, “Envers” (fn 61), p. 147. Cf. Malquori Fondi, “Introduction” (fn 19), p. XVII-CXVI, XXVIII sq.

[...] *quand ils en ont pris assez de divertissement la laissent comme demi-morte.*"<sup>68</sup>

In the *Conseils*, the arguments made to Celimene becomes sharper: "*sa gloire s'éteint, & la laisse comme une personne morte au monde.*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 41). The *Histoire* appears thus to be a prequel to the *Conseils*.

Both pursue the same goal:<sup>69</sup> "[...] *accorder les vertus avec la vie du beau monde.*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 14) The setting is now not a distant unknown island, but the world of the court, familiar to Celimene.<sup>70</sup> The pedagogical ambitions are not directed at women and men devoted to gallantry, but aimed at Celimene alone, a noblewoman whose marriage is imminent and who, as a wife, must worry about her reputation. By committing her to virtue as the sole "*maïstresse de ses sens*" and "*de toutes ses actions*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 19 sq.), Ariste's rules undermine, as the *Journal des sçavans* immediately recognised, the model of behaviour and the spaces for action that gallantry had also opened up for women. His "Discours", which culminates in the rejection of any friendship between man and woman, insinuates that Celimene can be seduced at any time and is too weak to defend herself simply because of her sex. Following the *Querelles des femmes*, in which the "misogynists" considered women to be naturally inferior to men,<sup>71</sup> Ariste, as a long-time confessor who pursues the "*plus secretes pensées*" (*Conseils*, 1667, 4) of his confessional child, once again takes a stand against the *Salonnières*, who from the 1630s onwards

---

68. Leibacher-Ouvrard, "Envers" (fn 61), p. 150-151.

69. Leibacher-Ouvrard, "Envers" (fn 61).

70. The "Extrait" of the *Conseils* 1667 proves that d'Aubignac's treatise appeared three months before the premiere of Molière's *Le Misanthrope* on 4 June 1666 at the Théâtre du Palais Royal – Alceste's antagonist probably bears her name not by chance, cf. H. G. Hall, "Molière's *Le Misanthrope* in the light of d'Aubignac's *Conseils d'Arise à Célimène*", *Kentucky Romance Quarterly*, 19, 3, 1972, p. 347-363, 350.

71. Cf. Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 239-397; Leibacher-Ouvrard, "Envers" (fn 61), p. 151; C. Opitz-Belakhal, *Streit um die Frau und andere Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Querelle des femmes*, Roßdorf bei Darmstadt, Ulrike Helmer, 2020; G. Bock, *Frauen in der europäischen Geschichte. Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich, C. H. Beck, 2000, p. 13-53.



had been discussing friendship as an alternative to marriage and trying out new forms of sociability.<sup>72</sup>

In these contexts of book- and discourse history, the editions published by Radegonde Pepingué in Paris and Brussels in 1692 mark both a high point and a turning point. First, there is the “Avis”, which distinguishes the two *Conseils* editions from all others. It has six pages, is indented between the title page and the “table” and framed by fleurons, but is neither signed nor dated. He wants to initiate a transfer and, in addition to the bookseller’s argument – “*le grand nombre d’impressions [...] marque assez le succès qu’il a eu*” (*Conseils*, 1692a, 2) – he introduces ethical-political arguments, which are additionally marked in a correspondence of their own:

*Que ces conseils devroient êtres sçus & pratiquez par tout ce qu’il y a d’honnêtes gens dans le Royaume & traduits en autant de sortes de Langues qu’il y a de Nations différentes sur la Terre, afin que tous les hommes participassent au même avantage, & pussent dans leur conduite donner de marques de cette honnêteté si naturelle aux François. (ibid., unpaginated, italics in the original).<sup>73</sup>*

The reference points and objectives of the *Conseils* shift: from the personally addressed addressee to an anonymous crowd, from the young noblewoman to all “honnêtes gens”, from the secret knowledge exclusively only entrusted to her to knowledge accessible to all,<sup>74</sup> from French to all languages, from France to all countries. Indispensable prerequisites for the acquisition of the “*honnêteté*” (*ibid.*) native to the kingdom of France were “*l’éducation de la Jeunesse*” and a constant willingness to read: “*afin de ne rien laisser échapper de ce qui peut leur être utile dans cette entreprise* [the acquisition of *honnêteté*, H. M.]”. The hymn to the reading of the authors, “*qui ont le mieux écrit au sujet de l’éducation des Enfants & des devoirs*

72. The “Société précieuse” was well known to d’Aubignac, cf. Arnaud, *Théories* (fn 18), p. 27-29; Bourque, *Women* (fn 50), p. 16ff; Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 73, 138, 173-174, 234, 322-323, 761-762; Baader, *Dames* (fn 36), p. 91, 97.

73. Likewise *Conseils*, 1692b.

74. Cf. H 6 sq.

*de la Vie Civile*” also encompasses the work of the author: “*Ces sources où l'on puise ne sçauroient être trop pure, & l'on est en danger de s'y méprendre, à moins que d'avoir la même délicatesse qu'avoit la Personne qui a composé les Conseils d'Ariste A Celimene.*” (*Ibid.*)

On the other hand, there is the confrontation of *Conseils* and *Maximes & Pensées diverses* that the 1692 edition launches. The texts come from different literary circles, even camps, and bring contradictory positions into play – from “Amitié” to “Vertu”. It seems likely that the widow Pepingué was pursuing a sales strategy which included reigniting the debate on gallantry and the treatment of the sexes.

\*  
\*   \*

Under the title *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin, übersetzt aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche*. Leipzig, by J. Thomas Fritsch, 1696 (fig. 2)<sup>75</sup>, the first translation into German literally takes its cue from the French “Avis” of 1692: it translates both the “Vorbericht an den Leser (Preface to the reader)” (H ij) and the “kluge[n] rath” [the “Discours”, H. M.] (H [ijv]) into German, both true to the original. The omission of the *Maximes & Pensées diverses*<sup>76</sup> and the complete reproduction of the “Avis” suggest that the Leipzig edition is based on the French edition 1692a: just like the “Avis”, the very first sentence of the “Vorbericht” emphasises the “öftere auflage (repeated editions)” (H ij) of the work. The aforementioned shifts – from the aristocratic young woman to the “*manns-personen* (men)” or “*allen ehrliebenden leuten* (all those who love honour)” (H ijv) with “*eine[r] lange[r] erfahrung bei vielen geschäften und umgang mit ehrliebenden leuten* (a long experience in many negotiations and interaction with those who love honour” (H [ijv]) – function as an introduction to the *Conseils*, for which the term “*discours*” from the original is retained and repeatedly invoked.<sup>77</sup> The fact that the “Avis”

---

75. Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, Halle, AB 42 8/k, 16 (1) (digital copy).

76. Cf. *Conseils*, 1692b (fn 10).

77. Programmatically in the first chapter H 7. Likewise H 36 and more often.



**fig. 2** Leipzig 1696 – Leipzig 1711: *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin*

sees the act of reading and reading matter as indispensable means of education is strikingly placed in the German title: “*Vorbericht an den Leser* (Preface to the reader)”.

*Die kluge Hofmeisterin* was published in duodecimo in a lavish layout. The title vignette shows the publisher’s signet of Johann Thomas Fritsch (1666-1726),<sup>78</sup> a Pegasus charging from right to left, against the background of a fleuron. The frontispiece shows two ladies walking on the terrace of a palace. Fleurons frame the “*Vorstellung derer in diesem werckgen enthaltenen sachen* (Presentation

78. C. Gründig, “Thomas Fritsch”, in *Saxon Biography*, <http://www.isgv.de/saebi>.

of the matter contained in this small work).” (H unpag.) listing 29 chapters without page numbers; fleurons also introduce the first chapter: “§ I. *Von der Gelegenheit zu dieser Unterweisung* (On the occasion for this instruction).“ (H A) and frame the page numbers at the top of the page. The initial of the first chapter is the only one highlighted. Lower case is the rule; upper case is reserved for persons, the beginnings of sentences, paragraphs and foreign words from the Romance languages, which are also indicated by *antiqua*.

The original title is no longer recognisable: *Ariste* is replaced by a *kluge Hofmeisterin* (clever court mistress) – it should be noted that this change is not reflected in the “Discours” itself –, *Celimene* is replaced by a *galantes Frauenzimmer* (gallant woman), who remains nameless but has *gallant*<sup>79</sup> qualities: “a gallant young woman” and “a clever court mistress” thus confront each other. The term *conseils* – the “Vorbericht” speaks of “*kluger rath* (wise counsels)” (H [ij]) – is removed from the title and with it the dialogical gesture of giving advice. The subtitle *sur les moyens de conserver sa Reputation* is also not present; no subject is named. The fact that it is a translation is noted, but there is no reference to the translator. The title vignette leads to the imprint.

The frontispiece marks another difference from the French *Conseils* editions.<sup>80</sup> The two ladies walking on the terrace of a palace wear the latest fashions and *fontange* coiffure, clear indications of their aristocratic status. Behind a balustrade projecting onto the terrace from the left is the lower parterre of a garden with geometrically

79. J. & W. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Vol. 4 (1878), p. 1157: “un galant homme. Ein mensch, dem alles wohl ansteht, der gleich vor allen der leute augen auf sich zieht und ihnen immer besser gefällt [...] ein nach der mode sich tragender mensch [...] ein galan, der sich dem frauenzimmer zu gefallen immer zierlich heraus butzt.” (A man to whom everything looks good, who immediately attracts the eyes of all the people and pleases them better and better [...] a man who dresses himself according to fashion [...] a gallant who always daintily dresses up to please the women). The term is also applied to women, cf. Stauffer, *Verführung* (fn 7); R. Florack/R. Singer (Ed.), *The Art of Gallantry. Facets of a Model of Behaviour in Early Modern Literature*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter (Frühe Neuzeit 171), 2012.

80. On the role of frontispieces in the sales of novels, cf. B. Wiggin, *Novel Translations. The European Novel and the German Book*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell UP, 2010 (Signals), p. 164-166; on the title and frontispiece of the *Kluge Hofmeisterin* Koloch, *Kommunikation* (fn 4), p. 28.

laid-out paths and borders, enclosed on the right by a building and in the distance by a pergola and cypress trees. The balustrade separates foreground from background, interior from exterior; the ladies on the terrace move in the foreground, on the threshold between the spaces. The open décolleté makes the one at the back appear younger, the shawl makes the one at the front appear older. The fans in their right and left hands are closed, but emphasise their gestures and the liveliness of their conversation. The message is clear: the “*anleitung* (instruction)” (H vj) of women is women’s business.

In addition to the title and frontispiece, there is a further, hitherto unnoticed innovation, a text insert of just under 20 pages, which extends the scope of the fundamental chapter of the “discours”: “§ III. *Dass die tugend der reputation ursprung sey* (that the virtue is the origin of reputation).” (H 11-35) is doubled. Aristes’ axiom reads in German:

[...] *es ist nicht genug, daß der leib unbefleckt und sich der unschuld rühmen könne, es muß solche unschuld auch in der seelen sein [...] allein die reputation bleibt [...] nicht ungekränckt/ wann die tugend ihre sinnen nicht bemeistert hat, und alles ihr vornehmen nicht von deren trieb geleitet wird* ([...] it is not enough that the body should be undefiled and able to boast its innocence, there must also be such innocence in the soul [...] for reputation alone does not remain [...] unblemished, if virtue has not mastered her senses, and all her actions are not guided by its impulse). (H 14 sq.).

The following paragraph ends by saying: “*Ich will ihr nur ein exempel erzehlen, das sie selbst unter einen von obigen puncten setzen kan* (I will only recount one exemplum that she herself can apply to one of the above points.)” (H 17) This is followed by the love story of Countess N.N., a rich and virtuous noblewoman from Normandy. At her father’s request she had married a count, although she was already in love with his friend the Marquis, whom she had first met, a fact that only becomes clear to her after her marriage. At first, the Countess tries to repress it; however, as she finally confesses to her husband at his estates in Languedoc, she will always keep her love

a secret out of “*unverbrüchlicher treu* (unbreakable faithfulness)” to him and through “*die strenge und die ernsthaftigkeit ihrer tugend* (the strictness and earnestness of her virtue” (H 27). The Count is moved and declares himself unworthy of such loyalty; the Marquis, overhearing the confession, hopes to be heard. They return to court. Here the Count “*ämsich* (assiduously)” (H 30) gives himself over to a love affair of his own “*Neben-liebe*” (H 31), so that the Countess summons up her virtue and charms to win back his heart. Unmoved by this, he reproaches her for her dealings with the Marquis, the Countess reveals her “secret affection” (H 32) to the Marquis for the first time, but only on condition that he should not see her again and that he would not deny to her virtue such assistance in her unhappy state (H 33). The Marquis reluctantly agrees to her request. His absence provides the Count with the pretext to gloss over his own behaviour and lay the blame on the Countess, with the scandalous pretence that she had fallen in love with his friend. (H 34). While the Countess's virtue is “suffering anew” (H 34), a serious illness leads to the sudden death of the Count. The Countess, meanwhile, stifles the Marquis' immediately rekindled hopes. She

[...] *opferte sich der strenge ihrer tugend auf, [...] und damit man die lästermäuler stopfen, zugleich aber auch sie dem Marquis den verdruß benehmen möge, welchen er billig empfinden könnte, dafern sie einem andern dasjenige bewilliget was sie ihm zuversagen genöthigt würde, so wolle sie sich aus der welt machen. Welches versprechen sie auch bewerkstelliget, aldieweil sie/ obwohl noch sehr schön und jung/ in ein ihr vorhero wohl bekanntes kloster gangen und den orden angenommen.* ([...] sacrificed herself to the severity of her virtue, [...] and in order that the scandalmongers might be silenced, but at the same time so that she might save the Marquis from the displeasure which he might justly feel, if she granted to another that which she was compelled to deny him, she wanted to remove herself from the world. Which promise she kept, because she, although still very beautiful and young, went to a nunnery already well known to her and took the veil). (H 35)

The story unmistakably follows the plot and resolution of the *Princesse de Clèves*, protagonist of the novel of the same name by Madame de La Fayette (1634-1693) of 1678.<sup>81</sup> But the *clever court mistress* breaks down the ‘narrative’ to the doctrinal-moral purpose of an “*exempel* (exemplum)” (H 17), the demonstration of the invincible virtue of a wife even in the face of the most shameful and unjust ‘sufferings’. Significantly, her “discours” picks up again with the word “No”:

*Nein gewißlich, ich will nicht bürgen sein/ daß eine warhafftige und aufrichtige tugend, eine kluge und eingezogene lebens-art, und eine fleißige nachfolge aller meiner wohlmeinenden anleitung, die ich ihr in diesem discours gebe, [...] eine hochachtung unverrücklich erhalten [...] könne.* (No certainly, I will not vouch that honest and sincere virtue, a prudent and withdrawn way of life, and the diligent following of all my well-meaning instruction, which I give her in this *discourse*, [...] can maintain unchanging high esteem [...]). (H 36)<sup>82</sup>

The casuistry of “*falschen tugendschein* (a false show of virtue)” (H 16) is further explained.

All the innovations, the modified title, the frontispiece and the insertion of the example, prove that the *kluge Hofmeisterin* ‘overwrites’ the *Conseils* with set pieces from the pedagogical and

---

81. [Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne Comtesse de La Fayette], *La Princesse de Clèves*. 4 t. en 2 Vol., in 12. A Paris, Chez Claude Barbin, au Palais, sur le second perron de la Sainte Chapelle. M. DC. LVIII. Avec privilege du Roy. First in German: *Liebes-Geschichte Des Hertzogs von Nemours Und Der Printzeßin von Cleve Wegen seiner ungegemeinen Anmuth! Aus dem Frantzösischen ins Deutsche übersetzt*, Leipzig and Frankfurth published by Johann Pauli, bookseller in Amsterdam, 1711. BSB, Rem. IV 856.

82. Cf. *Conseils*, 1667, p. 22: “*Non, non, je ne veux pas être garant qu’une vertu sincere & veritable, qu’une conduite sage & sans relâche, & qu’une pratique exacte & religieuse de tous les conseils que je prepare en ce discours [...] puissent conserver une estime inébranlable, [...]*.”

literary discussions current in the German-speaking countries about gallantry<sup>83</sup> and political prudence.<sup>84</sup>

The *Conseils* come in handy for Fritsch, the up-and-coming Leipzig bookseller and publisher. His competitors Johann Friedrich Gleditsch (1653-1716),<sup>85</sup> Johann Ludwig Gleditsch (1663-1741) as well as Moritz Georg Weidmann (1658-1694) and Moritz Georg Weidmann (1686-1743), father and son,<sup>86</sup> force him to press ahead with the expansion of his own programme and raise its profile.<sup>87</sup> *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin* can be linked to his anthology *Herrn von Hofmannswaldaus und anderer Deutschen Gedichte* of 1695, in whose preface Benjamin Neukirch (1665-1729), the editor, also sets out the “literary principles” of the “*lieblichen, galanten und verliebten schreib-art* (delightful, galant and enamoured style of writing)”.<sup>88</sup> The *Conseils* also allow a direct appeal to the target audience à la mode, namely the *gallant woman*. Fritsch adopts the formula for his new, expanded edition of Talander's *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst oder Liebes- und Freundschafts-Brieffe*<sup>89</sup> from 1696, first published by Johann Friedrich Gleditsch in 1692. At the same time, he brings out Fontenelle's (1657-1757)

83. See, among others, the novels and epistolary writings of Talander [August Bohse] 1684ff.; K. Barthel, *Gattung und Geschlecht. Weiblichkeitsnarrative im galanten Roman um 1700*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, 2016 (Hallesche Beiträge zur Europäischen Aufklärung 56); Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 150-166.

84. Cf. A. Lingnau, *Lektürekanon eines Fürstendienerers. Die Privatbibliothek des Friedrich Rudolf von Canitz (1654-1699)*, Berlin, Boston, De Gruyter, Oldenbourg, 2021 (Bibliothek Altes Reich 32), p. 57-221, 335-350.

85. A. J. Brauer, “Gleditsch, Johann Friedrich”, *NDB* 5 (1964), p. 439-440.

86. *Ibid.*, p. 441-442.

87. Cf. Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 162-164, 179-180.

88. *Herrn von Hofmannswaldaus und anderer Deutschen auserlesene und bisher ungedruckte Gedichte, nebenst einer Vorrede von der deutschen Poesie*, Leipzig, Bey J. Thomas Fritsch, 1695; E.A. Metzger, “Neukirchsche Sammlung”, *Killy Literaturlexikon* 8 (1990), p. 362-364, 363.

89. *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat-Kunst oder Liebes- und Freundschafts-Brieffe: in neun Abtheilungen/ deren jede hundert Brief in sich hält; nebst einem nöthigen Titular-Büchlein und vollständigem Register der curieusen Welt zur Ergötzung und belieblicher Nachahmung an das Licht gegeben von Talandern*, Leipzig, J. F. Gleditsch, 1692. HAB, Kc 10; *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat Kunst oder Liebes- und Freundschafts-Brieffe. Nebst einem nöthigen Titular-Büchlein. Mit vielen neuen Exempeln anietzo verbessert von Talandern*, Leipzig, by Thomas Fritschen, 1696.



*Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes* (Gespräche von Mehr als einer Welt zwischen einem Frauen-Zimmer und einem Gelehrten)<sup>90</sup> as well as a new edition of Mme d'Aulnoy's (1652-1705) *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (Beschreibung ihrer Reise nach Spanien) —<sup>91</sup> this time under her name, with a note to the translator and new portrait engravings.<sup>92</sup> It is not surprising that the frontispiece of the *Kluge Hofmeisterin* strongly resembles those of Talander's novels, most of which were published by Johann Ludwig Gleditsch and Moritz Georg Weidmann, father and son,<sup>93</sup> nor that Talander's preface to his epistolary manual of 1692 *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers Secretariat Kunst* (*The Galant Woman's Art of Writing*) also recommends the work to men and that it incorporates fictional elements.<sup>94</sup> Fritsch sticks to his strategy: the second edition of the *Kluge Hofmeisterin* of 1711 has the same title, the same frontispiece and the same example; only the publisher's name ("Thomas Fritsch") and pagination are new.<sup>95</sup>

---

90. *Gespräche von Mehr als einer Welt zwischen einem Frauen-Zimmer und einem Gelehrten*, Leipzig, Fritsch, 1696; Bernard le Bouyer de Fontenelle, *Entretiens sur la pluralité des Mondes*, Paris, Vve C. Blagaert, 1686. Cf. Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 162-163, 166; Timmermans, *Accès* (fn 18), p. 127-128, 131.

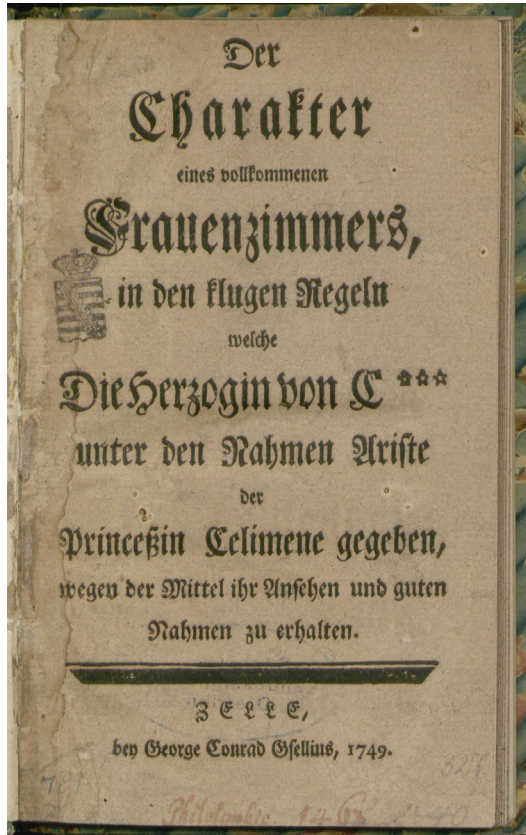
91. Cf. Marie Catherine Le Jumel de Barneville Baronne d'Aulnoy, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne*, 3 Vol., Paris, Claude Barbin, 1691; *Die Reise durch Spanien! beschrieben von der Graefin D'Aulnoy*. Translated by Johann Job, Leipzig, Fritsch, 1695; *Der Gräfin Aulnoy Beschreibung ihrer Reise nach Spanien*. 2 Theile, Leipzig, Fritsch, 1696.

92. On the competition between J. F. Gleditsch and Fritsch, see Wiggin, *Translations* (fn 80), p. 162-163.

93. Cf. Barthel, *Gattung* (fn 83), p. 419-422.

94. Cf. Stauffer, *Verführung* (fn 7), p. 154, 150-165.

95. *Des Galanten Frauenzimmers kluge Hofmeisterin, übersezt aus dem Französischen ins Teutsche*, Leipzig, bey Thomas Fritsch, 1711. 225 p. In-12. SBB-PK, Np 16090. The copy has a bookplate: "Bibliotheca Regia Berolinensis. Dono Friderici Wilhelmi IV. Regis Augustissimi D. V. Nov. MDCCCL. Ex Bibliotheca B. M. Kar. Hartw. Gregorii de Meusebach." (digital copy). It belonged to Karl Hartwig Gregor Freiherr von Meusebach (1781-1847), jurist, collector, literary historian, cf. P. Sprengel, "Meusebach, Karl Hartwig Gregor Freiherr v.", *NDB* 17, 1994, p. 271-272, 271.



**fig. 3**  
Celle 1749 - Leipzig/  
Frankfurt am Main  
1763: *Der Charakter  
eines vollkommenen  
Frauenzimmers*  
(*The Character of  
a Perfect Woman*)

A second German translation<sup>96</sup> of the *Conseils*, also true to the original, appeared in Celle in 1749, almost 40 years later, with a new, modified title:

*Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche Die Herzogin von C\*\*\* unter den Nahmen Ariste der Prinzessin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und*

96. Questions of translation cannot be dealt with within the framework of this study.

*guten Nahmen zu erhalten.* Zelle, bey George Conrad Gsellius, 1749. (The character of a perfect woman, in the wise rules which the Duchess of C\*\*\* gave to the Princess Celimene under the name Ariste, on the means by which to maintain her reputation and good name).<sup>97</sup>

The octavo volume of 135 pages does not include the *Maximes* or *Pensées*, a frontispiece or an inserted exemplum; what is new, however, is a dedication between the title page and the “preface”. The list of chapters in the book – there are 29 – is placed at the end (C 134f.), the page numbers are at the upper left and right margins, with a fleuron in the middle. Fleurons are also found above the preface and first chapter. The initial of the preface is emblazoned on the massive base of a vase, set in a landscape with palm trees, cypresses and birds soaring in the air. The initial of the first chapter appears in the open portal of a building over which the sun shines; those of the following chapters are highlighted as such. Lower and upper case are used according to the rules.

The dedication takes up two pages with alternating font sizes and markings:

*Der | Hochgebornen Frauen, | F R A U E N | H. E. Gräffin | von  
der Schulenburg, | geborne von Steinberg. | Seiner gnädigen Frauen |  
überreichet | gegenwärtige wenige | Bogen | in schuldigster Ehrfurcht |  
und empfielet sich zu Dero beharr- | lichen Gnade | der Uebersetzer.  
(H. E. Countess von der Schulenburg, née von Steinberg. | The  
translator presents these few sheets to his gracious lady in the  
greatest respect, and commends himself to her persevering mercy).  
(C, unpaginated, blocked in the original, H. M.)*

“Elevation of the addressee” and “self-deprecation of the speaker”<sup>98</sup> go hand in hand. The recto page displays the name, title and

---

97. Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden, Phil. C. 888 (digital copy).

98. Cf. M. Beetz, *Frühmoderne Höflichkeit. Komplimentierkunst und Gesellschaftsrituale im altheutschen Sprachraum*, Stuttgart, Metzler, 1990 (Germanistische

address of the dedicatee in a baroque manner; addressing her as “*Frauen*” and “*Seiner gnädigen Frauen*” further elevates the addressee. The words “the translator”, on the other hand, appear at the bottom of the verse page in infinitesimally small letters. He exists, but without a name and cannot be located. Not so Hedwig Ernestine von der Schulenburg, née von Steinberg (1692-1750). The daughter of the “*Wolfenbütteler Geheimenrath auf Brügggen und Achim und Gertrud von Grapendorf*” married Christian Günther von der Schulenburg (1684-1765), Chief Overseer of Forests and Master of the Hunt, Bailiff of Schernebeck, Hereditary Master of the Kitchen, resident at Hehlen near Celle, in 1710. From 1711 to 1734 the couple had twelve children, seven sons and five daughters; all but one son reached adulthood.<sup>99</sup> This was a propitious time to dedicate a book to the countess: in 1747, two years earlier, Christian Günther von der Schulenburg had become universal heir to the very important allodial fortune<sup>100</sup> of his unmarried maternal grandfather Matthias Johann von der Schulenburg (1661-1747). The latter had been a field marshal in the service of the Republic of Venice since 1715 and had distinguished himself not only as a patron of the arts, but also as a patron of several of his nephews.<sup>101</sup>

Parallel to the dedication, the “Vorrede (Preface)” reinforces the new orientation of the *Charakter* by retracing the argumentation of “Avis” and “Vorbericht”. The origins and objectives are explained at the beginning:

*Gegenwärtige Schrift, welche auf Begehren einer französischen Princeßin von ihrer Ober-Hofmeisterin der Hertzogin von \*\*\* entworfen worden, enthält die Mittel wie dieselbe ihr Ansehen und gutes Gerüchte so sie bis daher ihrer Tugend halber bewahret, in ihrem anzutretenden ehelichen Stande ferner erhalten solle.* (The present document, which was drafted at the request of a French princess by her Ober-Hofmeisterin

---

Abhandlungen 67), p. 211-219, 258-263.

99. Cf. J. F. Danneil, *Das Geschlecht der von der Schulenburg*, Salzwedel, In Commission bei J. D. Schmidt, 1847, p. 385-389.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 387.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 389-391.

(Chief Court Mistress), the Duchess of \*\*\*, contains the means by which she should further maintain the esteem and good reputation that her virtue has brought her in the married state on which she is about to enter.). (C, Vorrede, unpaginated)

The focus is not on “people of all ranks”, but on women who love virtue:

*So hat man sich bereden lassen solche Blätter aus dem Französischen zu übersetzen und solche auch denen die keine Princeßinnen sind, gleichwohl aber eine nicht geringere rechtschaffene Neigung zur Tugend wie Celimene haben, mittheilen wollen. ( Thus someone was persuaded to translate these pages from the French in order to communicate them to those who are not princesses, but who nevertheless have a no less righteous inclination to virtue than Celimene). (C, Vorrede, unpaginated)*

The two following sections and the conclusion reinforce the fact that they are addressed to a female audience:

*Zu wünschen wäre es daß man auch Regeln mittheilen könnte, wie das so leicht verschertzte gute Gerüchte wieder zu erlangen stünde, und die häßlichen Beynahmen, die einer solchen Person theils heimlich theils öffentlich beygelegt werden, zusamt denen damit gemeiniglich begleiteten Erzehlungen womit man sich bey den Zusammenkünften zu beschäftigen pfleget, getilget werden könnten; Man hält sich versichert daß solche von denen, denen dergleichen Unfall begegnet, nicht ungeneigt aufgenommen werden dürften. (It were to be wished that rules could also be communicated as to how a good reputation so easily lost might be regained, and the ugly names that are sometimes secretly and sometimes publicly attributed to such a person, together with the tales that commonly accompany them, and people are accustomed to occupy themselves at gatherings, could be eradicated; one can be assured that such rules would not be unappreciated by those who have met with such accidents). (C, Vorrede, unpaginated).*

Again, the “instruction” (C A) is classed as a matter between women. A simple trick turns the duchess into a female counsellor in the guise of Ariste: *Unter dem Nahmen der Ariſte (under the name of Ariſte.)* Whereas the Leipzig editions had immediately deleted the gender adjustment in the table of contents: “*Von dem vorhaben des verfassers*” (H “Vorstellung”, 8), now it explicitly speaks “*Von dem Vorhaben der Verfasserin (On the purpose of the lady author)*” (C 6, 134). In contrast to the “Vorbericht”, however, it remains open whether the “Vorrede” is addressed to a male “*leser*” (H) or readers. The text changes from the “*sie* (she)” of the Leipzig editions: “*Sie hat, unvergleichliche Celimene (She, the incomparable Celimene) [...]*” (H A) to “*Ihr* (you plural)”: “*Ihr seyd damit nicht zufrieden [...]* (You are not satisfied)” (C A). The axiom is general:

[...] *daß diese Tugend welche so gute Wirkungen hervorbringen soll sich im Grunde des Hertzens befinden müsse; es ist nicht genug daß sich der Leib einer Unschuld rühmen könne, es muß auch solche in der Seele seyn; es ist nicht genug daß eine Frau die Ueppigkeit meide, sie muß auch die Ehrbarkeit lieben [...].* ([...] that this virtue which is to produce such good effects must be lodged at the bottom of the heart; it is not enough that the body can boast of innocence, there must also be such in the soul; it is not enough for a woman to shun lewdness, she must also love respectability [...]). (C 10).

The Duchess then takes up the address to the Princess again:

*Ihr liebet sie [die Ehrbarkeit, H. M.] von gantzer Seelen und folget ihr aus allen Kräften. Dieses sind die wahren Gründe eures guten Gemüths, und es ist die erste und fürnehmste Regel, die ihr allezeit nöthig erachtet habet euer Ansehen und guten Nahmen zuerhalten. Ich wende mich also zu denen, wozu ihr mich vermocht euch solche schriftlich vorzulegen.* (You love it [respectability, H. M.] with all your soul and follow it with all your strength. These are the true reasons for your good disposition, and it is the first and noblest rule which you have always considered necessary to maintain your reputation and good name. I

turn, therefore, to those for whom you have enabled me to present to you in writing). (C 13)<sup>102</sup>

Whereas “Avis” and “Vorbericht” “*nos ames*” / “*unser gemühte*” (Conseils 1692 a, Avis/H Vorbericht) had called for “emulation” / “*edeln Eifer* (noble zeal)”, “*de s'en corriger [des défauts]*”, H. M] in order to “*se distinguer parmy les personnes recommandables par la vertu*” / “*sich unter allen leuten welche durch die tugend eine hohen ruhm erlanget sonderlich herfür zu thun* (to distinguish oneself among all people who have attained a high degree of fame through virtue)”, the title and “preface” of the *Charakter* are aimed solely at women. It is not the qualities of “gallant” and “clever” that are at issue, but the *character*, the “*unterscheidende merkmal, kennzeichen, grundzug* (distinguishing feature, characteristic, basic trait)”.<sup>103</sup> Virtue becomes its basis and thus that of *perfection*. Every woman comes into view as an individual; at the same time, it is incumbent upon her to correspond to this “*mahl, bild, zeichen, art, sitte, gepräge* (painting, picture, sign, nature, custom, character)”.<sup>104</sup> The perfect individual stands for the gender as a whole.

The bookseller and publisher Georg Conrad Gsellius (1707-1770) had moved from Hanover to Celle in 1737 with a “stock worth 6 – 7000 talers”; Hehlen, the Schulenburgs’ residence, was nearby. With his prosperous business he quickly became the “publisher to his customers, the clergy, lawyers and schoolmen in Celle and the rest of the Hanoverian countryside and rose just as quickly to the position of “Royal private bookseller or Libraire du Roi”.<sup>105</sup> Whether

102. Cf. by contrast H 38: “*Sie liebet sie ja ohne dem schon von grund des hertzens/ und folget ihr mit allen ihren kräften. Dieses ist die grundveste ihrer reputation, und die erste und vornehmste regul, die sie zu deren erhaltung allezeit von nöthen hat. Ich mache mich demnach an diejenigen, zu welchen sie mich, solche schriftlich zu verfassen, veranlasset.* (She already loves her from the bottom of her heart and follows it with all her strength. This is the foundation of her reputation, and the first and foremost rule which she always needs to maintain it. I accordingly set about to address those to whom she induces me to write.)”

103. Grimm, *Wörterbuch*, 2 (1860), Sp. 611.

104. *Ibid.*

105. *200 years Gsellius 1737-1937. 1000 beautiful and valuable books from 6 centuries. Bookshop and antiquarian bookshop. Berlin W 8, Mohrenstr. 52. Anniversary*

and how he and the translator tailored their new edition of d'Aubignac's *Conseils* to the city of Celle is not known. A second edition is published in 1763, with a corrected title, updated publisher's address and slightly altered pagination.<sup>106</sup> In 1766, the *Berlinische Magazin* included it in its section "Fortgesetzte Anzeige der neuern moralischen Schriften (Continuation of the advertisement of recent writings on morals)" and commented listlessly:

*Es sind Briefe einer Herzogin an eine Prinzessin, welche im Begriff steht, sich zu vermählen. Die besten und wichtigsten Materien sind sehr kurz und nur unvollständig darinne abgehandelt. Dem Herrn Uebersetzer giebt man Schuld, daß er hier nur schlechtes deutsch rede.* (These are letters from a duchess to a princess who is about to marry. The best and most important matters are dealt with very briefly and only incompletely. The translator is blamed for speaking only bad German here.)<sup>107</sup>

The Munich copy attests to the fact that the text continued to be read.<sup>108</sup> According to the ex libris "*Ex donat[i]one Molliana*", it comes from the possession of Karl Maria Ehrenbert Freiherr von Moll (1760-1838), naturalist, collector, initially statesman in the prince-bishopric of Salzburg, from 1805 in Bavarian service and from 1807, among other things, a member of the Bavarian Academy of

---

catalogue. Antiquarian bookshop catalogue N° 437. [s. l.]: Goetz, [s. d.], p. 1-2. The "publisher's mark of Georg Conrad Gsellius. Mid-18th century in Zelle and Leipzig", which the front cover of the catalogue depicts, does not adorn the title page of the *Character*.

106. *Der Charakter eines vollkommenen Frauenzimmers, in den klugen Regeln welche die Herzoginn von C\*\*\* unter dem Namen Aristé der Prinzessin Celimene gegeben, wegen der Mittel ihr Ansehen und guten Nahmen zu erhalten*, Leipzig and Frankfurt am Main, bey George Conrad Gsellius, 1763. BSB Mor. 222<sup>m</sup> (digital copy), cf. GBV and KVK for further copies. What motivated Gsellius to move to the two 'capitals' of the book trade is unknown. – The edition in Russian, St. Petersburg, 1764, which Koloch, *Communication* (fn 4), p. 228-229, mentions, is not verifiable.

107. *Berlinisches Magazin, oder gesammelte Schriften und Nachrichten für die Liebhaber der Arzneywissenschaft, Naturgeschichte und der angenehmen Wissenschaften allgemein*, II. Vol., 1. piece, No. 444, Berlin, bey Arnold Wever, 1766, p. 626.

108. BSB Mor. 222<sup>m</sup> (digital copy).



Sciences in Munich.<sup>109</sup> The paste down contains the manuscript entry:

*Die Schriften dieser Art, nach der Anlage der gegenwärtigen eingerichtet, sind Quellen für die Sittengeschichte ihrer Zeit. Die gegenwärtige enthält treffliche, wiewol noch sehr strenge Vorschriften, doch kann man das ungerechte Urtheil von der ganzen dienenden Klasse S. 58 nur mißbilligen und als einen starken Schatten im Charakter der Aristokratie betrachten. Die Übersetzung ist zuweilen so dunkel, daß der Wunsch nach dem Original doppelt rege werden muß. Die Bemerkungen sind oft so fein, und aus der Tiefe der menschlichen Natur geschöpft, daß man der Sprache wohl mächtig seyn muß, um sie in ihrer ganzen Stärke und Zartheit auszudrücken. M.* (The writings of this kind, which follow the same disposition as the present one, are sources for the moral history of their time. The present one contains excellent, though still very strict rules, but one can only disapprove of the unjust judgement of the entire serving class (p. 58) and regard it as a strong shadow cast on the character of the aristocracy. The translation is sometimes so obscure that the desire for the original must be doubly inspired. The remarks are often so fine, and drawn from the depths of human nature, that one must be well-versed in the language to express them in all their strength and tenderness. M.)<sup>110</sup>

If the reader of the Madrid copy had struggled in 1667 to comprehend the *Conseils* in Spanish,<sup>111</sup> the central theme, the “still very strict regulations” that fix women on *their reputation and good name*, has now become historical. The writer<sup>112</sup> is now moved by two entirely different problems, the attitude of the “aristocracy” towards the

---

109. F. J. Fischer, “Moll, Karl Ehrenbert Freiherr von”, *Österreichisches Biographisches Lexikon 1815-1950 (ÖBL)* 6, 1975, p. 353-354.

110. BSB Mor. 222<sup>m</sup> (digital copy).

111. Cf. above, note 42.

112. My thanks to Dr. Rahel Bacher, BSB, for kindly examining the copy in autopsy and comparing it with the *travel diary on the Alpine journey* in which Balthasar Hacquet and Karl M. E. von Moll recorded their journey of 1785 in handwriting, BSB Cgm 6151. The paraphrase “M.” and the comparison make it very likely that the entry was made by Moll himself.

“serving class” – which raises the question of its “character” and illustrates the transfer of the term – and on problems of translation. The transfer of the *Conseils d'Ariste* to the German-speaking countries removed it from the realm of gallantry; the question of translation returns the reader to the necessity of the original text.



# MILTON IN VENETO

## The Circulation of the First Illustrated Italian Translation of *Paradise Lost*

JEAN-LOUIS HAQUETTE

Université de Reims Champagne Ardenne, CRIMEL

**Abstract:** *Paradise Lost* is a good example of the circulation of texts and books in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe, as the work progressively became a major reference in the epic tradition. The paper focuses on the first illustrated Italian edition of the text, as part of a wider project on Milton on the continent. In the history of this translation, cultural intermediaries, such as Paolo Rolli, the translator, but also a variety of actors (English travellers, Italian dilettanti, the Veronese publisher) play a major part as well as the will to establish Milton as a literary masterpiece. The form of the book, an in-12° and a folio edition, conceived together and illustrated (which is unusual for a first launch) is as significant as the critical paratext included in the volume. They both advocate for the literary status of *Paradise Lost*. Although banned by the Vatican, the folio edition was present in most convent libraries in Veneto. In some of these copies traces of reading or interventions on the images give a concrete testimony of appropriation practices.

**T**HIS contribution is part of an ongoing research project on the publication of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* in Italy. It is based on

a still incomplete survey of the presence in Veneto libraries of copies of the Italian translation of the poem by Paolo Rolli (1685-1765). The aim is to reconstruct how this text circulated despite its being placed on the Index in 1732.<sup>1</sup>

Published in ten books in 1677, then in twelve books in 1674, the year of its author's death, John Milton's biblical epic *Paradise Lost* quickly became the national poem that placed English literature alongside its continental counterparts. Joseph Addison was one of the key figures in this canonisation,<sup>2</sup> with the nineteen essays he devoted to *Paradise Lost* in his journal *The Spectator* between December 1711 and May 1712. The European dissemination of these texts, via the *Spectator's* many translations, helped to establish the epic's critical status, even though there was no shortage of French contradictors.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, most French and Italian translations of the poem included these essays in their paratexts. They became a kind of introduction to the poem.

It should also be remembered that the continental circulation of the Miltonian epic began at the same time in Italy and France. This is not a frequent chronological sequence for the dissemination of Anglo-Saxon literary works, since France often served as a relay to Italy.<sup>4</sup> As was the case with Shakespeare, Voltaire was a pioneering figure. Unsurprisingly, in 1727, he had included Milton in the original English version of the *Essai sur la poésie épique*, linked to the publication of his *Henriade* in London. The chapter on the author of *Paradise Lost* appeared in the 1728 Paris translation by the Abbé Desfontaines,<sup>5</sup> while the first French translation of the poem

---

1. Matteo Brera, "Non istà bene in buona teologia?": four italian translations of *Paradise Lost* and the Vatican's policies of book censorship (1731-1900)", *Italian Studies*, 68, 1, 2013, p. 99-122, sur Rolli, p. 102-109.

2. He is not the first. Dryden, as early as 1688, in his famous "Epigram on Milton", put the author on the same level as Homer and Virgil.

3. See Jean Gillet, *Le Paradis perdu dans la littérature française, de Voltaire à Chateaubriand*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1975.

4. It is the case with Shakespeare or Ossian. The translations by Pierre Le Tourneur played an important role in Italy. See Francesca Bianco, "La mediazione di Pierre Le Tourneur nelle prime traduzioni italiane di Shakespeare (Giustina Renier Michiel e Michele Leoni)", *Italica Belgradensia*, 1, 2019, p. 99-117.

5. Voltaire published a French version of his essay in 1733, which greatly mitigated

appeared the following year.<sup>6</sup> Yet, interest in *Paradise Lost* had already emerged in France in some literary circles.<sup>7</sup>

## The publishing history of the Italian translation of *Paradise Lost*

It was also in 1729 that Paolo Rolli published the first Italian translation of the first six books, in London. The following year, this translation was published in Italy, in Verona, by Alberto Tumermani. Paolo Rolli (1687-1765) was a brilliant pupil of Vincenzo Gravina; his talents as an improviser had brought him to the attention of English aristocrats on their Grand Tour. He settled in London in early 1716. A teacher of Italian to the aristocracy (and even to the royal circle), he was also a librettist for the royal opera.<sup>8</sup> He was angered by Voltaire's criticism of Italian epic poetry and *Paradise Lost* in *An Essay upon the epic poetry of the European nations* (1727). A fervent supporter of Milton, he published observations on Voltaire's essay first in English, then in French, which defended both the Italian poets and the author of *Paradise Lost*.<sup>9</sup> If the Italian translation in London was launched to be educational,<sup>10</sup> it seems quite clear that the Italian edition was intended both to make Milton better known

---

the praise for *Paradise Lost*.

6. It is signed by Nicolas Dupré de Saint Maur (1695-1774), and it is likely that the Abbé de Boismorand (1680-1740) made a major contribution to it. See John Martin Telleen, *Milton dans la littérature française* [1905], Geneva, Slatkine reprints, 1971, p. 25 sq.
7. See Jean Gillet, (fn 3), chap. 1.
8. See George Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle in London, 1715-1744*, The Hague, Mouton, 1967.
9. Voir Simone Carpentari-Messina, "Voltaire et Paolo Rolli: les deux versions de l'*Essai sur la poésie épique*", in Lucette Desvignes (Ed.), *Travaux comparatistes*, Saint-Étienne, Centre d'études comparatistes et de recherche sur l'expression dramatique, 1978, p. 81-110 and Jean-Louis Haquette, "Paolo Rolli & Voltaire: modèles littéraires et contestation critique", *Italica belgradensia*, 1, 2019, p. 81-97.
10. The aim was to have students read poetry in Italian, using a familiar English text.

and to counteract Voltaire, since the *Remarks on the Essay*, this time in Italian, accompanied the translation of the first six books in 1730.

It is worth interjecting a methodological remark here. The case we are studying is a reminder that, when it comes to ‘cultural transfers’, it is not uncommon that paths do not run in a straight line from point A to point B, in this case from London to Italy. It is thus a certainty that Rolli had discovered Milton before arriving in England in early 1716. It is possible that he did so in Paris, on his way to London. He frequented the literary circles close to the Abbé Conti, who was one of the first in France to express his admiration for the Miltonian epic (and this before his first visit to England). Rolli had already begun translating the poem before arriving in the English capital. In English, in 1728, he declared:

When I was in France, I was acquainted with some learned Frenchmen that understood English and had read Milton's *Paradise lost*, and they admired that battle [between the angels] as a prodigious fine poetical description. One of them whose name I don't remember, who was a great friend to the noble and learned venetian Abbate Conti, had undertaken to translate the poem; and when he read the two first books translated by me, he said that the Italian language was the fittest for it, that the French could never make so literal a translation [...].<sup>11</sup>

This implies that Rolli began his translation at the end of 1715, in Paris, thirteen years at least before its publication in London... It is even possible that it was in Rome that he became acquainted with the English epic poem, via the English aristocrats who frequented the Arcadia<sup>12</sup> and/or through Addison's *Spectator*, which was circulating in Italy at the time. Thus the ‘transfer’ of the English poem from

---

11. *Remarks on upon M. Voltaire's Essay on the epic poetry of the European nations*, London, Thomas Etlin, 1728, p. 14-15. It is possible that the anonymous figure would have been Dupré de Saint-Maur. Further enquiry would be needed to ascertain the fact.

12. Among whom Lord Burlington (Richard Boyle, 3<sup>rd</sup> earl of Burlington, 1694-1753) major patron of the arts in its time.

England to Italy, through translation, began either in France or in Italy itself ...

### Cultural intermediaries

As Rolli was busy with multiple tasks in London, the full publication of the translation had to wait until 1735, and for Italy until 1740. As the first six books had been placed on the Index in 1732, the Verona printer chose a Paris address on the title page, which deceived nobody as his name was definitely linked with Verona ... Thus, from the 1740s onwards, the complete Italian translation of *Paradise Lost* began to circulate widely in Italy and, despite its condemnation, found its way into many monastic libraries. The passage from London to Italy was made possible by a cultural intermediary in direct contact with the London literary milieu, who was both a skilled versifier and an opponent to Voltairian ideas on modern epic poetry.

On the Italian side, it was the Veronese literary circle, dominated by the figure of Scipione Maffei (1675-1755), that made the print distribution of translations possible.

Here too, the question of cultural intermediaries is important: the circulation of books is linked to that of real people. Although the translation is dedicated to Scipione Maffei, the man does not appear to have initiated it. It is the publisher Giovanni Alberto Tumermani (active between 1726 and 1764)<sup>13</sup> who reveals to us part of the origin of the translation of the first six books:

*Il signor Robinson, gentil uomo inglese di gran condizione, e di gran talento, che con mylady Lechmore sua consorte, venendo di Londra si è trattenuto in questa città alcuni giorni, mi fece vedere quest'operetta, dicendomi desiderare, che si pubblicasse in Italia. Mo pregai subito di concederla a me ben informato del merito dell'autore. Me nell'istesso*

---

13. On this publisher, see Elena Bao, *In bianco e nero. Il libro illustrato veronese nel XVIII secolo*, PhD thesis, supervised by Enrico Maria Dal Pozzolo, University of Verona, Department of culture and civilization, 2018, p. 165 sq. (online on core.ac.uk).



*tempo risolsi di stampare la traduzione fatta del medesimo di questo famoso poema non ancora noto in Italia. Quanto all'ortografia, ho ritenuta esattamente quella dell'originale, che mi è stato dato di propria mano dell'autore.*<sup>14</sup>

According to the bookseller, it was not Rolli himself who instigated the publication. This might have seemed the most likely scenario, since Rolli sought to disseminate his ideas widely, as evidenced by the fact that he had his remarks translated and printed in French in Paris. But if we are to believe the publisher, it seems that an Englishman brought a copy of Rolli's criticisms in English. Sir Thomas Robinson (1703-1777),<sup>15</sup> first Baron of Rokeby (Yorkshire), was a politician and amateur architect, a friend of Lord Burlington.<sup>16</sup> He undertook the Grand Tour and was elected Member of Parliament in 1727. On 25 October 1728 he married Elizabeth Howard, widow of Nicholas Lechmere. Robinson and his wife's sojourn in Italy is therefore to be situated between the date of their marriage (October 1728) and the date of Rolli's translation (1730). The reference to Robinson's explicit request for publication may suggest financial patronage, but there is no dedication to him to confirm the fact.

In any case, an Italophile English intermediary was the initiator, but it should be emphasised that it was the bookseller who decided to add the poem in Italian, no doubt to reach a wider audience, a readership not necessarily familiar with the controversy between

---

14. Al lettore, *Il Paradiso perduto, poema inglese del signor Milton, tradotto in nostra lingua...*, Verona, Turmermani, 1730, n. p. "Mr. Robinson, a noble Englishman of great condition, and great talent, who with mylady Lechmore his consort, on his way from London stayed in this city a few days, showed me this little work, telling me that he wished it to be published in Italy. I immediately begged him to grant it to me, well-informed of the author's merit. At the same time I resolved to print the same author's translation of this famous poem not yet known in Italy. As for the orthography, I have retained exactly that of the original, which was given to me by the author's own hand." [my translation]

15. See *Dictionary of National Biography*, London, Smith, Elder and Co, 1885-1900, Vol. 49, p. 49-51.

16. On his links with Lord Burlington, see Geoffrey Webb, "The Letters and drawings of Nicholas Hawksmoor relating to the building of the mausoleum at Castle Howard, 1726-1742", *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, Vol. 19, 1931-1931, p. III.

Rolli and Voltaire, but interested in reading a poem whose reputation was already partially established in Italy. Significantly, the title page places the translation in first position, accompanied by Rolli's remarks (fig. 1).



*fig. 1*

Title page, *Il Paradiso perduto*, poema inglese del signor Milton, tradotto in nostra lingua... , Verona, Tumermani, 1730.  
Cliché de l'auteur

### The form of the books

In addition to cultural intermediaries, it is important to consider the materiality of the objects in which texts are embodied in the course of their transnational circulation. The first part of the Italian translation is in octavo format, and comprises 440 pages, the only illustration being the printer's mark. This seems quite normal for the launch of the first translation of a foreign text. In London in 1729, the same translation appeared in folio format, without illustrations, but with decorative woodcuts (at the head and end of each book); this rather surprising choice of format may be explained either by the desire to present *Paradise Lost* as a reference work, or by the

target audience, which was aristocratic (English nobles, sufficiently Italophile to buy the Italian translation of an English text that was about to become canonical). This is confirmed by the complete London edition, not published until 1735. Logically in the same format, it received financial support from Frederick, Prince of Wales, to whom it is dedicated. Paolo Rolli was the Italian teacher of the Prince and his two sisters.<sup>17</sup>



**fig. 2**

Adam and Eve, copperplate,  
Book I, *Il Paradiso perduto*,  
*poema inglese del signor*  
*Milton...*, Verona, Tumermani,  
1740. Cliché de l'auteur

The complete Italian edition in 1740,<sup>18</sup> in two volumes, technically adopted the in 12° format,<sup>19</sup> but its dimensions made it similar to

17. See George Dorris, *Paolo Rolli and the Italian Circle*, (fn 8).

18. *Il Paradiso perduto, poema inglese di Giovanni Milton, del quale non si erano pubblicati se non i primi sei canti, tradotto in verso sciolto dal Signor Paolo Rolli*, Paris [Verona] Tumermani, 1740, in-12, 2 Vol.

19. It is defined by the printer as 'in-dodici grande' at the end of the 1740 volume. *Il paradiso perduto*, 1740, (fn 18), Vol. 1, n. p. [533].

an octavo (18.5 cm high, compared with 20.5 cm for the first in octavo part of 1730). It is illustrated with twelve engravings, one for each canto, in addition to Milton's portrait (fig. 2). It thus seems that the good sale of the first part convinced the publisher to invest in an illustrated edition. It should be noted that this was the first illustrated edition on the European continent.<sup>20</sup> Tumermani obviously thought he could reach a wide audience, but one that was wealthy enough to choose to buy a more expensive illustrated edition.

In 1742, the folio format appeared,<sup>21</sup> which is a likely sign of the newly acquired status of the English poem in Dante's homeland, despite the translation being placed on the Index. Given the significant difference in price (from 18 to 31 lire), this edition was aimed at collectors and institutions. The folio edition was announced in 1740 in the publisher's catalogue that was added to the end of the first volume of the 'duodecimo' edition. However, it was not launched with a subscription, which implied that this was either an investment entirely at the expense of the bookseller-printer, or he received external financial support.

Despite the sumptuous nature of the folio, the engravings from the 1740 edition were retained. However, they are inserted in a completely different composition, itself not lacking in majesty. Instead of being full-page, off-text engravings, opposite the beginning of each canto, they have been transformed into head-of-page vignettes, accompanied on each side by a decorative copperplate frame. The text is set out in two columns, separated by a vertical woodcut ornament. The decorations surrounding the engravings are different for each book and adapted to the content of the main image. The figure in the first book, depicting Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden,<sup>22</sup> is

---

20. In Great Britain, the first illustrated edition, folio-sized and launched by subscription, was produced in 1688 by Jacob Tonson. As far as we know, this 1742 Italian book was the first illustrated edition of *Paradise Lost* on the European continent (in France it would appear 50 years later).

21. *Il Paradiso perduto, poema inglese di Giovanni Milton, del quale non si erano pubblicati se non i primi sei canti, tradotto in verso sciolto dal Signor Paolo Rolli*, Paris [Verona] Tumermani, 1742, in folio, 253 p.

22. It would be worth commenting on the iconographic choice that substitutes Adam and Eve for the traditional Satan in the image linked to the first book,



fig. 3  
Beginning of Book 1, *Il Paradiso perduto*, poema inglese del signor Milton..., Verona, Tumermani, 1742. Cliché de l'auteur

framed by foliage and flowers (fig. 3), while the figure in the second book, showing a grinning Satan, is framed by instruments of violence (saw, nail, hammer, chain, torch, knife, hook) (fig. 4).



fig. 4  
Headpiece, Book II, *Il Paradiso perduto*, 1742. Cliché de l'auteur



fig. 5  
Headpiece, Book III, *Il Paradiso perduto*, 1742. Cliché de l'auteur

entirely devoted to the fallen angel.

In the third book, the composition depicting the Son ready to sacrifice himself for the redemption of Adam, the instruments of the Passion are represented (fig. 5), and so on. The coherence of the iconographic project is therefore obvious. Each book ends with an engraved vignette in the tailpiece position, replacing the woodcut ornaments of the 1740 edition. The publisher described them in detail in his 'prospectus' of 1740:

*Nel fine del primo canto, la testa del satiro, opera di Scilace antico intagliator Greco, disegno del Picart inciso dal Sig. Francesco Zucchi. La Gemma da cui fu tolto il disegno è un amatiso esistente nel museo Strozzi di Roma. Nella fine del III. Canto, un bosco opera bellissima di Monsieur Chasteau Olandese.*<sup>23</sup>

It should be remembered that this arrangement of copper engravings within the typographic pages required two press runs (the engraving press and then the typographic press); it thus represented an additional cost compared with off-text engravings. This clearly shows the importance of iconography in the publishing project, which aimed to give Milton's poem an appearance hitherto unseen on the European continent. This reflects the cultural status accorded to the text in the tradition of Addison, as already mentioned. But other issues are also at stake, which link social distinction and literary culture. Firstly, on Paolo Rolli's side, since part of the prestige of the work fell to the translator, but also on the side of the two new dedicatees, Antonio and Andrea Gazola (1695-1776). They belonged to an erudite Veronese family of recent nobility, and if, as Elena Bao assumes, the two figures granted financial aid,<sup>24</sup> it was indeed a

---

23. *Il Paradiso perduto*, 1740, (fn 18), Vol. 1, p. 533-534. "At the end of the first canto, the head of the satyr, the work of Scilace antico intagliator Greco, drawing by Picart engraved by Signor Francesco Zucchi. The Gem from which the drawing was taken is a beloved existing in the Strozzi Museum in Rome. At the end of the III. Canto, a beautiful woodcut by Monsieur Chasteau of the Netherlands." [my translation] The artist is Nicolas Chasteau, ca. 1680-1750, see Elena Bao, (fn 13), Vol. 1 p. 376, and Vol. 2, p. 6.

24. Elena Bao, (fn 13), Vol. 1, p. 392.

question of reinforcing their cultural and social prestige through this patronage.

In terms of book production, the circulation of *Paradise Lost* in Europe was therefore contrasted: in France, until the very end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, editions of the 1729 translation remained in standard format (duodecimo or octavo), without illustrations, whereas in Italy, illustrations appeared from the first complete translation onwards. Then very quickly, in the same movement, a prestige edition followed, in folio. It shows that Italy, which did not enjoy the European literary centrality of France, was much more open to the renewal of models, thus confirming a literary law that changes in values and models often come from the peripheries.<sup>25</sup>

## Copies and uses

To conclude this contribution, I would like to present three copies of the folio edition, preserved in the Veneto region, one in Padua and the other two in Venice. They reveal the uses to which the books were put, which is of course part of the process of their circulation. Fortunately, they all contain material traces of their use. All three come from monastic libraries, which bears testimony to the fact that the ban on the Index in 1732 obviously did not deter these three convents from buying the work ten years later. Those responsible for the acquisitions must have considered that this was a major biblical poem that transcended religious controversy, since Milton was, as we know, a fairly radical Protestant.<sup>26</sup> However, there are in these copies a number of interventions that give an idea of how Milton may have been related to these books.

---

25. See, for example, Sheffy, Rakefet, "The Concept of Canonicity in Polysystem Theory.", *Poetics Today*, 11, 3, 1990, p. 511-522.

26. His many religious pamphlets bear witness to this. See for example the synthesis by Joshua R. Held, "Religious approaches to Milton", *Modern Philology*, 118, 2, 2020, p. 304-317.

The Paduan copy, kept at the University Library under the reference B 71b 8, comes from the great Benedictine abbey of Praglia, in the Euganean hills, as indicated by the handwritten inscription on the title page: *Est monasterii Pratalea*. Apart from this reference, there seems to be nothing that makes this copy special, except that in 2017 I discovered a manuscript leaf between pages 66 and 67:

*L'error galleggia come paglia suole: / cerchi nel fondo chi coralli vuole.  
Il Dryden citato dal Milton, che parla nello Spett.r quinto dei critici  
superficiali.*

[Error floats like straw on its own: / Seek in the bottom whom corals will. The Dryden quoted by Milton, who speaks in the Spectator's fifth essay of the superficial critics.]

It is in a hand that seems to date from the eighteenth century. We obviously do not know who wrote this note nor to which exact purpose, but it shows that the book was read in depth in two respects. The quotation from Dryden is indicated as coming from an extract of one of Addison's essays, which appear in Italian translation at the end of the book (p. 25 of the second page of the volume<sup>27</sup>). It is not chosen at random: Addison quotes Dryden to define the attitude to reading that he considers correct in the case of *Paradise Lost*: not to stop at errors on the surface, but to discover the profound beauties of the text.

The lines immediately following the quotation are as follows: "A true Critick ought to dwell rather upon Excellencies than Imperfections. to discover the concealed Beauties of a Writer, and communicate to the World such things as are worth their Observation;" this obviously defines Addison's critical approach in his essays. A little earlier, the author declared: "One great Mark, by which you may discover a Critick who has neither Taste nor

---

27. The first pagination applies to the text of the poem, the second to the critical apparatus that follows it: Milton's life (p. 1-14), Addison's essays (p. 15- 70) and Rollin's remarks (p. 71-96).



Learning is [...] that his Criticism turns wholly upon little Faults and Errors.”<sup>28</sup>

The significance of the single leaf is clear enough: our reader agrees with Addison. But its significance is undoubtedly more than just aesthetic. We must remember that we are in a monastic context, and that the epic was on the Index. I don't think it would be an exaggeration to say that this maxim should also be applied to theological matters. It could be seen as a justification for the presence, and also the reading, of this epic in a monastery, despite its condemnation by the Holy See (for specific passages rather than for the overall perspective).<sup>29</sup>

Another possible reading is to assume that the sheet of paper was deliberately placed between pages 66 and 67. We are in Book VI, which recounts the war in Heaven. Satan and Michael are fighting and one injures the other. Milton attributing a concrete body to his characters tells of the spill of angelic blood. The report of the Commission of the Index dwelt precisely on this all too human aspect of spiritual creatures.<sup>30</sup>

If we assume that the leaf remained where its author had placed it, its position is not insignificant: it would minimize the theological error, to the benefit of the literary dimension. But this is only an assumption, since like the wisp of straw, the leaf may well have been moved during the life of the copy.

In the other two copies, the interventions do not concern the text, but the images. A number of engravings depicting Adam and Eve before the Fall, show them entirely naked. It is this nudity that has been hidden in both copies, a common monastic practice to avoid “close occasion for sinning”, according to Catholic moral phraseology.<sup>31</sup>

---

28. *Speſtator* 291, 2 February 1712 (edited by H. Morley, London, 1891, Vol. 2, online on [www.gutenberg.org](http://www.gutenberg.org)).

29. See Matteo Brera, (fn 1), p. 102-109.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

31. *Occasion prochaine de péché*, in French. See the article ‘occasion’ in Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel* (1690), where the expression is recorded as common. It also exists in Italian: *occasione prossima di peccato*.

The copy in the convent of Saint Francis in Ceneda<sup>32</sup> bears an *ex dono*, that of Brother Bartolomeo Zorzi, about whom the catalogues I have been able to consult provide no biographical information. He donated at least a hundred works to the library of his convent, the most recent dating from the early 1750's<sup>33</sup>. Some have left their original collections: two can today be found in the Pennsylvania State University Library.



**fig. 6**

Modified headpiece, *Il Paradiso perduto*, 1742, [Biblioteca di San Francesco della vigna, Venezia, Shelfmark SMII G XI 086].

The book was most likely altered in the eighteenth century, when it entered the library of the convent (founded in the early seventeenth century).<sup>34</sup> The incriminating images were covered with ornamental engravings typical of the rococo style (fig. 6). I have not yet been able to identify their origin, but they seem quite close to the collections of ornaments, notably English, published between 1730 and 1740 by William Delacour<sup>35</sup> and Gaetano Brunetti.<sup>36</sup> One

32. Municipality in the province of Treviso, now part of the town of Vittorio Veneto. The copy is marked SMII G XI 086.

33. *Osservazioni sopra l'opuscolo che ha per titolo Arte magica dileguata, di un prete dell'oratorio*, Venice, Simone Occhi, 1750 et *Dissertazioni vossiane di Apostolo Zeno*, Venice, Giambattista Albrizzi, 1752-1753, 3 Vol.

34. See the Franciscans of Vittorio Veneto website: [www.frativittorioveneto.it/La\\_storia.html](http://www.frativittorioveneto.it/La_storia.html)

35. *The 4th Book of Ornaments*, London, 1743.

36. *Sixty different sorts of ornaments invented by Gaetano Brunetti, Italian painter*,

is struck by the obvious desire not to distort the aesthetic of the volume by choosing images in the same style. The copy thus ‘enriched’ makes all nudity disappear, even when it is in the background, as in Book V.

Only one image of female nudity has not been covered by a vignette, and that is the image of Venus at the end of Book IX. All that has been done is to cover her breasts and hips with wavy ink strokes. The final effect gives a most surprising impression, namely that she has been dressed in a swimming costume (fig. 7).



**fig. 7**

Modified tailpiece, Book IX,  
*Il Paradiso perduto*, 1742,  
[Biblioteca di San Francesco  
della vigna, Venezia, Shelfmark  
SMII G XI 086].

The copy in the ‘convent of the cemetery’<sup>37</sup> in Verona, as indicated by the label on the title page, is in a completely different condition. It is difficult to establish when the veiling of the images was carried out, and its original provenance, before it arrived at the convent,<sup>38</sup> is unknown. What is clear nevertheless, is that changes took place in two stages. The first consisted of covering the nudes with

---

London, 1736.

37. This copy, which shelfmark is CSCF SC U VII 8, is described in the exhibition catalogue: *La Biblioteca di San Francesco della Vigna e suoi fondi antichi*, Venice, 2009, cat. n° 21, p. 115-116.

38. See the notice on this library, on the website of San Francesco delle vigna Library: <https://www.bibliotecasanfrancescodellavigna.it/fondo-del-convento-ss-redentore-vr>.

thin purple paper, in books I, VIII, IX, X and XII. But a later reader scratched the paper, without removing it, which had the effect of making the incriminated images visible again (fig. 8). It is likely, but it is only a hypothesis, to think that the first intervention dates from the entry of the book into the convent library, and the second from a reader who was intrigued by the veiled images that made seeing them more desirable and was unable to repress his *libido videndi*. I will conclude with these images of this copy, as in their current state, between veiling and unveiling, they seem to me to be emblematic witnesses to the circulation of *Paradise Lost* in the Veneto region in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.



**fig. 8**

Modified headpiece, *Il Paradiso perduto*, 1742, [Biblioteca di San Francesco della vigna, Venezia, Shelfmark SMII G XI 086].



# KNOWING HOW TO ACQUIRE FOR BERN

Remarks on the Donation Policy for the Bernese  
Public Library (17<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> Centuries)

THOMAS NICKLAS

Université de Reims Champagne-Ardenne, CIRLEP

**Abstract:** Jean Rodolphe Sinner (1730-1787) ran the State Library (now the Burgher Library) of Bern for a quarter of a century, from 1748 to 1776. He can be described as a “library reformer” who transformed a book depository into a public place, oriented towards the Republic of Letters and the questions of the contemporary society. Recognized as a scholar, he published a good number of *catalogues raisonnés* which marked the culmination of his activities for the promotion of the library. What is more, Sinner had completely understood that the growing reputation of the City of Bern’s library was first of all founded on book donations. The great French humanist Jacques Bongars (1554-1612) had assembled an illustrious private library which was given as a donation to the Bernese, in 1632. In the same way, an important collection of English Enlightenment works was transferred to Bern, as a gift of a generous British donor, Thomas Hollis (1720-1774), who had great sympathies for Switzerland and especially for the canton of Bern. The paper is particularly interested in this form of book transfer and

in Sinner's strategy to increase the prestige and splendour of the library, tackling the wide-spread prejudice that the Bernese Republic was a state disdainful of the arts and sciences.

ON September 1<sup>st</sup> 1749, a new French ambassador was solemnly received in Solothurn, the town that had been the residence of the French king's representatives in Switzerland since 1530. As was customary, the mayor Johannes Fries of Zurich, the governing canton, gave a (rather conventional) reception speech, to which the ambassador, Marquis de Paulmy, replied in the same style.<sup>1</sup> This diplomat was none other than Antoine René de Voyer (1722-1787), the future Marquis d'Argenson (1757), son of Louis XV's minister, a "good administrator" and above all a great lover of books.<sup>2</sup> A skillful statesman and bibliophile, Paulmy offered magnificent works to the Swiss cantons in order to mark the start of his embassy to the Confederates. To the city of Bern, the second largest state in the Confederation, he sent a volume of splendid engravings immortalising the spectacles organised by the city of Strasbourg to celebrate the King's recovery in August 1744 from the serious illness he had suffered during a stay in Lorraine.<sup>3</sup> The librarian of Bern, Jean Rodolphe Sinner, was quick to write a letter of thanks to Marquis de Paulmy, in which he spoke of the gratitude of the Bernese and of Sinner's admiration for the generous donor: "Allow me, Sir, to express to you in my own name the high esteem I have for those who cultivate letters and fine arts, and who, like you, pass on to us the works of the greatest masters".<sup>4</sup> As he had announced in his letter, Sinner had the patron's name and coat of arms inserted in the book of donations

- 
1. Hans Michel, *Die Ambassade des Marquis de Paulmy in der Schweiz von 1748 bis 1752. Beziehungen zwischen Frankreich und der Eidgenossenschaft in der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Thesis Bern, 1954, Affoltern am Albis, Weiss, 1954. The texts of the two speeches can be found in: Burgerbibliothek Bern (BBB), Mss.h.h. XIII/152 (11).
  2. Yves Combeau, *Le Comte d'Argenson. Ministre de Louis XV*, Paris, École nationale des Chartes, 1999, p. 106.
  3. *Représentation des fêtes données par la Ville de Strasbourg pour la convalescence du Roy [...]. Inventé, dessiné et dirigé par J. M. Weis*, Paris, Aubert, 1747.
  4. BBB, AS 4 (19), Letter from Sinner to Marquis de Paulmy (Bern, 10 October 1749).

in the library of his city.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, the erudite and worldly librarian did not hesitate to establish a link between marquis de Paulmy's gift and the beautiful humanist library of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that his institution had also received as a gift, by evoking the Jacques Bongars collection, the most beautiful treasure in the Bernese collection: "[...] I dare to assure you, Sir, that your work [...] has been shelved with a precious collection of all kinds which, having once belonged to the famous J. Bongars, is today the main ornament of our library".<sup>6</sup> And Sinner suggested to the ambassador that he could have any of Bongars' manuscripts copied that might interest him.<sup>7</sup>

This justified satisfaction and pride expressed by a librarian who received a beautiful gift for the expansion of his institution draws our attention to another form of transfer of the book, the donations that enrich a community in the spirit of sharing knowledge, while at the same time highlighting the materiality of the book, its intrinsic beauty and its inherent character as a work of art. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the library of the city of Bern experienced a significant expansion thanks to such donations, which will be discussed in this article, as well as their appropriation by Bernese society, for which Jean Rodolphe Sinner had worked so hard. The fact remains that such an institution must be anchored in the collective life of a city and a territory, and it needs to attract researchers capable of valorising these collections. The history of the Bern collection, which is now quite prestigious, dates back to the period of the Protestant Reformation, when the city of Bern had established a theological college to train

- 
5. BBB, Mss.h.h. XII.1 *Verzeichnis der Donationen 1693-1800*, fol. 228: *Illuſtriſſimus Dominus Marchio in Paulmi, Regis Chriſtianiſſimi ad Helvetios Legatus anno legationem iniiit 1749 bibliothecam hanc publicam auxit dono ſplendidiffimo...* For books donated by Swiss libraries, see a recent article that focuses on the Zurich library (*Bürgerbibliothek Zürich*): Christian Scheidegger, "Die Stadtbibliothek Zürich und ihre Donatoren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", in Andreas Speer & Lars Reuke (Eds.), *Die Bibliothek - The Library - La Bibliothèque. Denkräume und Wissensordnungen*, Berlin, De Gruyter, 2020, p. 399-407 here 403 note 17.
  6. See footnote 4 of this article.
  7. Danielle Muzerelle, "Le marquis de Paulmy, ses ambassades, ses idées, ses voyages », in Marie Vallon (Ed.), *Voyages de bibliothèques. Actes du colloque des 25-26 avril 1998 à Roanne, Saint-Étienne*, PU Saint-Étienne, 1999, p. 183-192 here 188.



future preachers for the Reformed Church. From 1533/1535 onwards, this institution had a library, which was largely based on the confiscated collections of former monasteries in Bern. Since 1513, there was also mention of a “*Libery*” (*libraria*) of the former Latin school, near the Collegiate Church of St Vincent. These two collections were combined to form the historical core of this first public library, which was still quite modest.<sup>8</sup> The current “Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie/Bürgerbibliothek” has only existed in its present legal form since 1951, but since the 16<sup>th</sup> century it has fulfilled its role as an archive to house the collective memory of the Republic. Moreover, Jean Rodolphe Sinner clearly understood this memorial dimension, since in 1762 he had the very rich illustrated chronicles of the neighbouring chancellery transferred to the library, which he conceived of as a research establishment in the historical disciplines.<sup>9</sup> These manuscripts, some of which date from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with their many illustrations, helped to create the Helvetic Corps, disseminating a legendary vision of the Confederates’ common past and fomenting a proto-national identity, particularly among the urban elites,<sup>10</sup> which ensured the cohesion of the Confederation well beyond the crises that marked its existence.

- 
8. *Die Bürgerbibliothek Bern. Archiv, Bibliothek, Dokumentationsstelle*, Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, 2002, p. 9-17; Hans Strahm, “Die Berner Bibliotheken von ihren ersten Anfängen bis zur grossen Reorganisation von 1693”, in *Bibliotheca Bernensis 1974. Festgabe zur Einweihung*, Bern, Stämpfli, 1974, p. 13-44.
  9. *Die Bürgerbibliothek Bern* (fn 8), note 8, p. 85. A catalogue raisonné of the manuscripts drawn up by Sinner highlighted the importance of the library for research into Swiss history: *Verzeichnis aller geschriebenen Werke, welche die Schweizerische Geschichte angehen, und auf der öffentlichen Bibliothek in Bern sich befinden*, Bern, Hortin, 1769.
  10. Carl Pfaff, *Die Welt der Schweizer Bilderchroniken*, Schwyz, Edition 91, 1991. See also: Rudolf von Fischer, “Die Handschriften der Bürgerbibliothek als Spiegel der älteren bernischen Vergangenheit”, in *Schätze der Bürgerbibliothek Bern. Herausgegeben im Auftrag der burgerlichen Behörden der Stadt Bern*, Bern, Herbert Lang, 1953, p. 11-49.

## Wanting to shine: Jean Rodolphe Sinner, a renowned library reformer

Jean Rodolphe Sinner can be described as a “library reformer”, to use a phrase that Paul Raabe, a great librarian of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, used to characterise Goethe’s work on the restructuring of the ducal library in Weimar.<sup>11</sup> In Bern, too, it was a matter of transforming a book depository into a public place, oriented towards the Republic of Letters and the questions of contemporary society. As a “man of letters with many interests”,<sup>12</sup> Sinner ran the State Library (now the Burgher Library) for a quarter of a century, from 1748 to 1776. As the son of the bailiff of (München-)Buchsee, he belonged to the patriciate of the City-State, where people devoted themselves to careers in administration (or foreign service) and made a living from the public offices of which these families had a monopoly, until the revolutionary upheavals that Switzerland was to experience from 1798. It should be noted that Sinner himself had analysed very well the specificities of the society in which he lived, remarking: “The Bernese seem to value only two states, the robe and the sword”.<sup>13</sup> Educated in his father’s house, the bailiff’s castle of Münchenbuchsee, the young man had gathered excellent knowledge in the fields of literature and history, but his appointment as director of the state library in 1748, at the age of only 18, was surprising.<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that the premature death of his father the previous year had made the appointment of the young patrician, now orphaned and destitute, rather urgent in the eyes of the men who wielded power in the aristocratic Republic. However, Sinner did not make his position at the library a sinecure, contrary to the sarcastic expectations of his friend Vincent Bernard Tschärner, a poet and budding historian, who ironically described

---

11. Paul Raabe, *Tradition und Innovation. Studien und Anmerkungen zur Bibliotheksgeschichte. Mit einem Nachwort von Georg Ruppelt*, Frankfurt, Klostermann, 2013, p. 143-162.

12. See the article on Jean Rodolphe Sinner de Ballaigues in the *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse*: <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/fr/articles/017873/2011-07-07/>.

13. *Berne au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, par J.-R. Sinner de Baillaigues*, Bern, Dalp, 1853, p. 13.

14. Adolf Burri, *Johann Rudolf Sinner von Ballaigues 1730-1787*, Thesis Bern 1911, Bern, Buechler & Co, 1912, p. 33 and 34.

the Bernese authorities as having granted his friend “a job that gives you holidays/ a pension to entertain you/ a brief as scholar/ that authorises leisure”.<sup>15</sup> Sinner did rest on his laurels, but was very active in making the library accessible to the public and in promoting its treasures through his research and various publications. He was fortunate enough to begin a career in the Bernese administration at a very early age, which was crowned by a seat in the Grand Council (1764) and, finally, by the appointment as bailiff of Cerlier/ Erlach (1776), on Lake Biel, a position that was much more lucrative than his work in the library. His marriage to Louise Émilie de Gingins strengthened his position within the patriciate of the City-State and eventually brought him the Ballaigues estate in the Vaud Jura, which his wife inherited in 1760.

A worldly scholar, he travelled to England in 1754/1755, a country whose language he loved and whose literature he admired so much that he translated a comedy by William Congreve (*The Way of the World*).<sup>16</sup> Moreover, he stayed in Paris twice (1765, 1772) where he established valuable links with librarians and booksellers in the French capital with whom he kept up a regular correspondence.<sup>17</sup> His interest in the French medieval manuscripts in the Bernese collection, of which he published extracts, annotated and commented by himself,<sup>18</sup> ensured him a certain recognition in the scholarly world of his time, which was fascinated by documents drawn from archives. His greatest project was the publication of catalogues raisonnés, which he began early in his career. The catalogue of manuscripts was a long-term project and the publication of the third and last volume in 1772 marked the culmination of Sinner’s activity for the promotion of the

- 
15. *Ibid.*, p. 41, and Tschärner continues in this letter, dated Frauenfeld (15 October 1748), alluding to his friend’s lack of university diplomas and titles: “This rank that You are honoured with/ Is worth the rank of a Baccalaureate/ Or of a doctor, and much better/ For many doctors do not have to live/ But You [...]” BBB, Mss. h.h. X, 106, fol. 5.
16. Hans Utz, *Die Hollis-Sammlung in Bern. Ein Beitrag zu den englisch-schweizerischen Beziehungen in der Zeit der Aufklärung*, Bern, Herbert Lang, 1959, p. 94.
17. Including the abbot Barthélemy Mercier de Saint-Léger, librarian of Sainte-Geneviève, and the booksellers Grasset and Tilliard: BBB, Mss.h.h. X/105.
18. *Extraits de quelques poésies du XIII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lausanne, Grasset, 1759.

library.<sup>19</sup> Another catalogue, that of printed books, completed the picture and enabled the scholarly community to become acquainted with all the tools available to Bernese scholarship.<sup>20</sup> To the librarian's great satisfaction, these achievements did not go unnoticed in the Republic of Letters. He received letters of praise from Strasbourg, for example, where there was a great deal of interest in the Swiss archives. Jean Daniel Schoepflin, the doyen of Alsatian historiography, followed Sinner's work which, according to him, made the Bernese library "respectable and useful",<sup>21</sup> with great sympathy. Schoepflin's main disciple, Christophe Guillaume Koch, expressed himself in the same way, praising the last volume of the manuscript catalogue in a letter to Sinner: "Your catalogue... which has done you infinite honour in France and of which I hear the highest praise every day".<sup>22</sup> And Koch published an account in the *Gazette des Deux-Ponts*, a French-language periodical published in a German principality, in which he emphasised the essential nature of the work of the Bernese librarian, transforming a hidden treasure of the state into a public good: "The manuscripts that have come down to us from the Middle Ages are those precious monuments that would shed a great light on history and literature, if we were always able to profit from them. But buried for the most part in the dust of the libraries, they are shown to the curious as rarities rather than making their full usefulness known to the public".<sup>23</sup>

The Bernese library experienced an undeniable boom in the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Jean Rodolphe Sinner was therefore able to draw a quite satisfactory balance sheet of its activity, which he articulated in an indirect way in one of his late publications, the *Voyage historique et littéraire dans la Suisse occidentale*, published in 1781. In the first volume, referring to an intellectual journey from Basel to Geneva, via Biel and Neuchâtel, he quoted the Scottish theologian

19. *Catalogus codicum mss. bibliothecae Bernensis annotationibus criticis illustratus*, 3 vols, Bern, Brunner & Haller, 1760-1772.

20. *Bibliothecae Bernensis librorum typis editorum catalogus*, Bern, Wagner, 1764.

21. Schoepflin to Sinner (Strasbourg, 15 December 1767): BBB, Mss.h.h. X/105, fol. 303.

22. Koch to Sinner (Strasbourg, 16 September 1772): BBB, Mss.h.h. X/105, fol. 103.

23. *Ibid.*, fol. 87-94'.

Gilbert Burnet, a traveller (and banished exile) from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, who had published letters about his wanderings in Switzerland and Italy.<sup>24</sup> In his text, Burnet referred to the public and university library in Basel in 1685 as “the most important in Switzerland”. But Sinner had to make a correction a century later: “What may have been true then is not true now. Those of Geneva, Zurich & Bern even surpass it”.<sup>25</sup> This turn of phrase allows us to say that, proportionally, the city of Bern was able to establish itself among the cultural centres of the Confederation, even if its rivals have not been inactive during the century. And Sinner emphasizes, using the example of the Geneva library, what constituted the wealth and strength of this institution, namely donations: “The Geneva public library [...] was very small at the beginning of this century. It has been enriched by the considerable generosity of citizens and foreigners”.<sup>26</sup> This observation, made for Geneva, was also applied to the library in Bern.

## Knowing how to acquire: From French humanism to English Enlightenment

In his letter of thanks to Marquis de Paulmy, Jean Rodolphe Sinner mentioned the collection of the “famous Jacques Bongars”, of which the Bernese were very proud and to which the ambassador’s gift would be fittingly linked. In 1763, a Swiss in the service of France, the Zug scholar and military officer Beat Fidel Zurlauben,

---

24. Gilbert Burnet, *Letters Containing an Account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy etc.*, Rotterdam, Abraham Acher, 1686.

25. (Jean Rodolphe Sinner de Ballaigues), *Voyage historique et littéraire dans la Suisse occidentale*, Vol. 1, Neuchâtel, Société typographique, 1781, p. 31. Also consult: Jean-Daniel Candaux, “La Suisse bernoise de Sinner de Ballaigues”, in Sandrine Battistini et al. (Eds.), *Les écrivains suisses alémaniques et la culture francophone au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Geneva, Slatkine, 2008, 139-146; Nicolas Morel, “Entre ‘esprit de calcul’ et ‘dons d’Apollon’: Voltaire dans le ‘Voyage’ de Sinner de Ballaigues”, *Jahrbuch der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft zur Erforschung des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 8, 2017, p. 27-42.

26. *Voyage historique et littéraire dans la Suisse occidentale*, Vol. 2, Neuchâtel, Société typographique, 1781, p. 50.

wrote to Sinner from Paris that the *Bongarsiana* in Bern constituted an important link between the Confederation and France, thus emphasizing the political significance of this collection.<sup>27</sup> The great French philologist and diplomat Jacques Bongars (1554-1612), an eminent scholar who was very committed to the Huguenot cause, had assembled an illustrious private library of European humanism, comprising around 500 manuscripts and 3000 printed books.<sup>28</sup> It includes, for example, some fifty codices from the library of the Abbey of Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), one of the cultural centres of Christendom at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which flourished thanks to its important scriptorium. During an incursion by the Huguenots in 1562, this rich library was systematically plundered and a scholar from Orléans, Pierre Daniel, who practised as a lawyer in Orléans and as a judge in Fleury, was able to buy a significant part of the collection from the plunderers. After his death in 1602, Bongars inherited part of the collection. Other items, including Carolingian manuscripts, came from Auxerre, a town that was also taken and looted by a Huguenot army (1567), or from Strasbourg. In the Alsatian metropolis, the cathedral chapter library was ransacked during the “Bishops’ War” that ravaged Alsace in 1592. At the time, Bongars was in Strasbourg to conduct negotiations with German princes on behalf of King Henry IV.<sup>29</sup> During his stay in Strasbourg, Bongars lived in the house of the banker René Graviseth, who

- 
27. BBB, Mss.h.h. X/105, fol. 18: Zurlauben to Sinner (Paris, 7 December 1763). Beat Fidel Zurlauben (1720-1799) pursued a military career in France (brigadier in 1748, marshal in 1762) and a political career in his native canton of Zug, where he was a member of the Council. At the same time, he published scholarly works, e.g. an *Histoire militaire des Suisses au service de la France* (8 vols., 1751-1753). He left an important collection of manuscripts, which is now in the Aargau cantonal library, see: Kurt-Werner Meier, *Die Zurlaubiana: Werden, Besitzer, Analysen: eine Zuger Familiensammlung, Grundstock der Aargauischen Kantonsbibliothek*, 2 vols, Aarau, Sauerländer, 1981.
28. Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, *Jacques Bongars (1554-1612). Gelehrter und Diplomat im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015; Ruth Kohlendorfer-Fries, *Diplomatie und Gelehrtenrepublik. Die Kontakte des französischen Gesandten Jacques Bongars (1554-1612)*, Tübingen, Niemeyer, 2009; *Jacques Bongars. Humanist, Diplomat, Büchersammler*, edited by Burgerbibliothek Bern, Bern, Stämpfli, 2012.
29. Martin Germann, “Die Bongarsiana”, in *Die Burgerbibliothek Bern. Archiv, Bibliothek, Dokumentationsstelle* (fn 8), p. 93-120.

supported the diplomat's financial transactions on behalf of Henry of Navarre.

Graviseth had a son, Jacques, born in 1598, of whom the bachelor Bongars was probably the godfather. In 1615, the young Graviseth acquired a seigneurie in the Bernese part of Aargau (Liebegg Castle). As soon as hostilities broke out in the Holy Roman Empire, around 1620, the Graviseth family moved to Basel. Jacques Graviseth inherited the library from Bongars, who had died in 1612, and moved it to his new home, a beautiful Basel townhouse. In 1624, he married Salome von Erlach, the daughter of a high-ranking official of the State of Bern. Naturalized as a Bernese citizen in the same year and integrated into a guild (that of blacksmiths), did the beneficiary of this largesse make promises about the *Bongarsiana*? In any case, a few years later, Graviseth offered this treasure as a gift to the city of Bern, which accepted it with great pleasure. At the beginning of 1632, the transfer of the library to Bern from Basel, where it was still located, was arranged.<sup>30</sup> This transfer of a French humanist's research tool was both a "confessional manifesto", in favour of Protestantism under pressure in the Holy Roman Empire, and a "political sign", symbolising the City-State's strong desire to assume its role, including a cultural one, in the world of the seventeenth century, which was marked by immense conflicts between the European powers.<sup>31</sup> Going against their political claims, however, the Bernese did not pay much attention to this acquisition. Was there a fear of possible restitution claims? A first catalogue of the collection, completed in 1634, remained in manuscript form and it was not until the work of Jean Rodolphe Sinner that the collection was truly developed for

---

30. Ariana Huber Hernández, "'Wegen bongarsischer arrestirter liberey' – Korrespondenz zum Wechsel der Bibliothek Jacques' Bongars von Basel nach Bern", *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 110, 2010, p. 269-276; Patrick Andrist, "Strassburg – Basel – Bern. Bücher auf der Reise. Das Legat der Bibliothek von Jacques Bongars, die Schenkung von Jakob Graviseth und das weitere Schicksal der Sammlung in Bern", *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 110, 2010, p. 249-268.

31. Claudia Engler, "Die Bongarsiana – konfessionelles Manifest und politisches Zeichen", in *Jacques Bongars. Humanist, Diplomat, Büchersammler* (fn 28), p. 29-34.

the Republic of Letters. Thanks to him, the Bernese state could finally clear itself of the reproaches of Jacques Bongars' heirs for not doing what was necessary to make these precious manuscripts accessible to researchers. In 1658, a satirical account entitled "*Heutelia*" (an anagram of Helvetia), attributed to Hans Franz Veiras (de Verace), Bongars' former secretary and a close associate of the Graviseth family, appeared anonymously in Paris. This is a description of a journey through Switzerland by a Calvinist, a Lutheran and a Catholic priest, in which the cultural peculiarities and political problems of the Confederation in the mid-1600s are discussed.<sup>32</sup> When these travellers go on to Bern, they want to visit the city's public library, where they find that the books are covered with a thick layer of dust and conclude that nobody reads in Bern, so that this valuable collection is useless.<sup>33</sup> These were negative stereotypes, which were widespread at the time, and which librarian Sinner vigorously opposed.

It should be noted that Bern was a reformed republic and the largest republican state north of the Alps, hence the undeniable political dimension of these book donations. This is especially true for the important gift of the "anonymous Englishman". In 1767, Sinner published the first supplement to the catalogue of printed books which contained a complete inventory of the rich collection that the anonymous Englishman (*Anonymus Anglicus*) had donated to the Bernese library.<sup>34</sup> Between 1758 and 1765, this British stranger sent 430 books to the Bernese and a considerable monetary donation.<sup>35</sup> A Bernese man who had lived in England for a long time, where he had married the niece of Richard Osbaldeston, the Anglican bishop

---

32. Walter Weigum, *Heutelia, eine Satire über die Schweiz des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Frauenfeld, Huber, 1945.

33. Hans Franz Veiras, *Heutelia*, Munich, Kösel, 1969, p. 252: "jhr Herren müßt euch nit verwundern, daß diese Bücher staubig seynd, denn sie selten gebraucht werden, und mehr von frembden... als von den Inheimischen."

34. Hans Bloesch, "Ein englischer Gönner der Berner Stadtbibliothek im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Festschrift Gustav Binz, Oberbibliothekar der öffentlichen Bibliothek der Universität Basel, zum 70. Geburtstag am 16. Januar 1935 von Freunden und Fachgenossen dargebracht*, Basel, Schwabe, 1935, p. 112-118 here note 1.

35. Hans Utz, *Die Hollis-Sammlung in Bern. Ein Beitrag zu den englisch-schweizerischen Beziehungen in der Zeit der Aufklärung*, Bern, Herbert Lang, 1959, p. 19.



of London, acted as an intermediary in this transaction. The intermediary was Jean Rodolphe Vautravers, a member of the *Royal Society*, who was to become Benjamin Franklin's official translator. The books he sent to Berne honoured the English Enlightenment, with a focus on some of the great figures of the Cromwellian *Commonwealth*, such as John Milton, and the political thinkers who contributed to the development of liberal theories, such as John Locke.<sup>36</sup> The British library in Bern thus reflects a Whig conception of history, glorifying the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and damning the Stuart kings for their pro-Catholic religious and absolutist political claims. It was only after the generous donor's death that the Bernese learned his identity. His name was Thomas Hollis (1720-1774) and he had been a great bibliophile and libertarian,<sup>37</sup> a critic of the United Kingdom authorities, as well as being a somewhat strange and solitary character, who suffered from his inability to enter politics, his greatest desire, due to the fact that he refused to lie or flatter...

As the young scion of a wealthy family of merchants and religious dissenters, usually in conflict with the Church of England, Hollis had undertaken the *Grand Tour* and travelled much of the continent, including Switzerland, which he admired for its independence and freedom, no doubt with illusions about the reality of socio-political life in the cantons. It should be noted that the patron gave books to other Swiss libraries as well. Zurich, Basel and Geneva also benefited.<sup>38</sup> Bern was particularly fond of the donor for one reason only, which had to do with his eccentricity and his taste for strong opinions in history and politics. Hollis had a deep admiration for General Edmund Ludlow, one of the English regicides of 1649. A prominent military figure in the *Commonwealth*, he opposed Cromwell, who had become dictator. After the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty, Ludlow fled to Switzerland, where he was taken in by the Bernese, who protected him, so that he could die quietly in his bed in Vevey (1692), unlike most of the men who bore responsibility

---

36. *Ibid.*, p. 21-46.

37. Peter D. Marshall, "Thomas Hollis (1720-74): The Bibliophile as Libertarian", *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 66, 1984, p. 246-263.

38. Hans Utz, *Die Hollis-Sammlung*, (fn 35), p. 81.

for the execution of King Charles. However, the honeymoon between Thomas Hollis and the Republic of Bern did not withstand the disenchantment of the donor. At the beginning of 1765, Sinner was delighted to receive an “almost royal gift” (*donum fere regium*) from England: 400 books with magnificent bindings, including important reference works of the English Enlightenment.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, however, a politico-religious affair was taking its course which led to Hollis’s disaffection with the canton of Bern.

A former Bernese pastor, Beat Herbort, published a work in which he discussed the abuse of the oath by the governments of the Helvetic republics, denying that it was a sacramental act. His book was banned by the city’s Secret Council, which considered it offensive to the authorities and the Reformed religion. Herbort, already an old man, was sentenced to house arrest and the Council ordered that copies of the offending book be burnt.<sup>40</sup> Keeping abreast of Swiss news through his correspondent Vautravets, who had moved to Biel,<sup>41</sup> Thomas Hollis was astonished to learn that the Republic of Berne was not the haven of tolerance and benevolence he had thought it was, through his travels and reading. Disappointed, he turned away from the Swiss cantons and turned his attention to the English colonies in North America, making generous donations to American libraries, including Harvard. Deprived of further English donations, Librarian Sinner had to make a virtue of necessity. Alongside the two prestigious pillars of the library, French humanist manuscripts and English Enlightenment works, he emphasized research into the history of the Confederation. The aforementioned transfer of the old Swiss chronicles from the secret chancellery to the public library was symbolic (1762). Moreover, in 1764 Sinner bought a fine historical-diplomatic collection from the son of Albrecht von Haller, Gottlieb Emmanuel, who had collected important works on

---

39. *Ibid.*, p. 11. According to the observer Vautravets, the librarian was delighted: “Besonders Herr Sinner war in einer Art Verzückung” (*ibid.*).

40. Hans Utz, “Ein Opfer der bernischen Zensur: Pfarrer Herborts Buch *Versuch über wichtige Wahrheiten zur Glückseligkeit der Menschen*, 1766”, *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, 1957, p. 102-137.

41. Where he received J. J. Rousseau in 1765.

the Confederate past, with the idea of “forming a historical library of Switzerland”.<sup>42</sup> The fundamental research by Haller, a great collector of documents, would allow a historian of the next generation, such as Johannes von Müller, to launch his great historical syntheses, which materialised as early as 1780, when the first volume of his *Geschichten der Schweizer* appeared, focusing on the founding myths of Switzerland,<sup>43</sup> profoundly influencing the popular perception of Swiss history and inspiring poets such as Friedrich Schiller...

## The transfer of books and cultural policy in the City-State

In 1748, in his somewhat capricious letter of congratulations to the newly appointed librarian Sinner, Vincent Bernard Tschärner urged his friend: “I have only one point to recommend to you, but an important one for a qualified man who has the good of the fatherland at heart. Take care to attract our idle youth to reading by a choice of books free from pedantry and in accordance with the only true modern taste. What an honour for the public, if foreigners saw in the book of control the honour and hope of the State in the ranks of those who borrow public books”.<sup>44</sup> Hence the importance of strengthening the links between the library and society, in response to these disparaging remarks by foreigners that circulated throughout the eighteenth century. As late as the 1780s, a professor at the University of Göttingen, the philosopher Christoph Meiners, who travelled extensively in the Confederation, struck the same chord.

---

42. These ideas have been brought together systematically in one work: Gottlieb Emmanuel von Haller, *Conseils pour former une bibliothèque historique de la Suisse*, Bern, Société Typographique, 1771. See also Hans Haeblerli, *Gottlieb Emmanuel von Haller. Ein Berner Historiker und Staatsmann im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, 1735-1786*, Bern, Feuz, 1952.

43. Marianne Berliner Konqui et al. (Eds.), *L'historiographie à l'aube du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, autour de Jean de Müller et du Groupe de Coppet*, Paris, Honoré Champion, 2004.

44. Adolf Burri, *Johann Rudolf Sinner von Ballaigues*, (fn 14), p. 41.

It is worth noting that his “*Briefe über die Schweiz*”, a collection of essays published from 1784 onwards, had a lasting influence on the way Switzerland was perceived in Germany. What is more, the work was also translated into French. In the first volume, the Göttingen preceptor harshly judged the Bernese, summarily noting their “lack of knowledge”.<sup>45</sup> Certainly, the rigidity of the state church, revealed by the affair surrounding the critical publication of the theologian Beat Herbort on the question of the oath (1766), the situation of education in the Bernese countryside, which left much to be desired,<sup>46</sup> as well as the life of the “idle” young patricians, to use the expression chosen by Tschanner, waiting for a well-paid and prestigious position within the administration, all of which were arguments in favour of the hypothesis put forward by Meiners of a Bernese Republic disdainful of the arts and sciences.

Was Bern on the map of the philosophers who revolutionised the world in the eighteenth century? The *Encyclopédie*, which devoted a long article to the city of Geneva, the birthplace of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, was also interested in the canton of Zurich, the home of great Alemannic intellectuals, such as the poet-painter Salomon Gessner, the satirist Gotthard Heidegger, a fierce enemy of novels, and the renowned naturalist Johann Jakob Scheuchzer. And Bern? Diderot wrote a few uninspiring lines about the city and canton, “and we stopped there”.<sup>47</sup> Jean Rodolphe Sinner did not question these direct and indirect judgements about the city on the Aare. In Bern, politics absorbed all public life, he noted with a certain resignation, and “Bernese politics does not go hand in hand with erudition”.<sup>48</sup> This pessimism was probably not entirely appropriate, but

45. Christoph Meiners, *Briefe über die Schweiz*, Vol. I, Berlin, Spener, 1788, p. 302.

46. Jean Rodolphe Sinner is credited with writing a highly critical essay on the situation of Bernese schools in 1765, entitled *Essai sur l'éducation publique* (Essay on public education) in 1765, which was highly critical of the state of Bern's schools; see Friedrich Haag, “Die Bemühungen der Berner um die Erziehung der patrizischen Jugend”, *Beiträge zur Bernischen Schul- und Kulturgeschichte*, 1, 1898, p. 341-497 here 355.

47. See: Béla Kapossy, “Bern und das Europa der Aufklärung”, in André Holenstein et al. (Eds.), *Berns goldene Zeit. Das 18. Jahrhundert neu entdeckt*, Bern, Stämpfli, 2008, p. 398-402 here 400.

48. Adolf Burri, *Johann Rudolf Sinner von Ballaigues*, (fn 14), p. 179.

the fact remains that a breeding ground that was not very fertile for the arts and letters needed creative people who could redouble their efforts to develop culture. Even if stereotypes and prejudices had a hard time of it, the balance sheet was not entirely negative at the end of the Bernese Ancien Régime. In 1794, an encyclopaedic description of the city and the Republic of Bern was published, whose authors emphasised the progress of science in the canton during the eighteenth century. And the public library, skillfully illustrated by Sinner, the great editor of very useful catalogues, had contributed to the new reputation of the city.<sup>49</sup>

---

49. Berchtold Friedrich von Haller/ Johann Georg Heinzmann, *Beschreibung der Stadt und Republik Bern, nebst vielen nützlichen Nachrichten für Fremde und Einheimische*, Bern, Typographische Sozietät, Vol. I, 1794, p. 19-22.





# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

## JILL BEPLER

From 1990 to May 2018, Jill Bepler was Head of the Fellowship Programmes at the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, an international research centre specializing in medieval and early modern cultural studies. She has published variously on travelling and collecting in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, on funerary culture and on dynastic women's education, their writings, their book collections and their mobility as consorts.

## HOLGER TH. GRÄF

Prof. Dr. Holger Th. Gräf studied history and geography in Giessen and Leicester (GB) from 1982 and earned his PhD in Giessen in 1992, then he was university assistant at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Since 1996 he is senior councillor (Akademischer Oberrat) at the Hessische Landesamt für geschichtliche Landeskunde and since 2009 honorary professor at the University of Marburg. Recent publications: ed. with Victoria Asschenfeldt and Markus Laufs: *Die Neustadt Hanau. Ein Drebkreuz im europäischen Kunst- und Wissenstransfer*, Dresden, 2022; ed. with Andreas Tacke: *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt. Der Kupferstecher Johann Philipp Thelott (1639–1671)*, (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen 93), Marburg, 2022; ed with Alexander Jendorff: *Die Landgrafschaften, ca. 1100–1803/06* (Handbuch der hessischen



Geschichte 6: Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen 63,6), Marburg, 2022; “Kurstädte als Kunstmarkt – Sondierungen zu einem Desiderat”, in Andrea Pühringer & Martin Scheutz (Eds.), *Die Kurstadt als urbanes Phänomen. Konsum, Idylle und Moderne* (Städteforschung A 104), Köln e.a., 2023, p. 265–294; “Bildungspolitik als Außenpolitik. Das Collegium Mauritanum, sein Personal und seine Rolle für die Diplomatie Landgraf Moritz’ (1572–1631)”, *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 44, 2022, p. 18–27.

#### JEAN-LOUIS HAQUETTE

Jean-Louis Haquette has been Professor of General and Comparative Literature at the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne since 2005. A former student at the École normale supérieure and agrégé de Lettres modernes, he directed the Centre de Recherche Interdisciplinaire sur les Modèles Esthétiques et Littéraires from 2012 to 2022. His work focuses on the historical poetics of literary genres between the Enlightenment and Romanticism, in the French, British, Germanic and Italian areas (*Échos d’Arcadie*, Paris, Garnier, 2009). He has co-edited several volumes and published numerous articles in this field (<https://cv.hal.science/jean-louis-haquette>). He is currently interested in the iconographic reception of literary works, at the crossroads of book history and visual studies.

#### HELGA MEISE

Helga Meise was professor of German literature and the history of the ideas of the German-speaking lands at the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne from 2007 to 2022. She has published on German literature in the early modern period, on the literature by and for women, on practices of writing and reading in court culture and on book collecting by noble women.

THOMAS NICKLAS

Thomas Nicklas is professor of history and culture of German-speaking countries (16<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries) at the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne. Some recent publications: “Au crépuscule des mythes. Edgar Salin face à l'impossibilité de faire dialoguer Jacob Burckhardt et Friedrich Nietzsche”, in Céline Dénat, Patrick Wotling (Eds.), *Ruptures et innovations dans la philosophie allemande avec deux traductions inédites de textes de Tetens et Schopenhauer*, Reims, EPURE, 2021, p. 241-253; “Bridel sur les traces de Tell. Rajeunir la Suisse au crépuscule de l'ancienne Confédération (1795)”, in Jean-François Candoni, Isabelle Ruiz, Alexis Tautou (Eds.), *Guillaume Tell. Mythe politique et icône culturelle*, Strasbourg, Presses universitaires (à paraître) ; Edited with Matjaž Birk, *Aufklärungsdiskurse in der deutschsprachigen Regionalpresse Zentraleuropas 1800-1920/ L'héritage des Lumières dans la presse de langue allemande en Europe centrale, 1800-1920*, Reims, EPURE, 2022.

ANDREA PÜHRINGER

After studying history, German literature and national economics at the University of Vienna, Andrea Pühringer was a contract assistant and lecturer at the Institute of Economic and Social History at the University of Vienna from 1993 to 1998. A freelance historian since 1999, she works mainly on urban, cultural and economic history projects and teaches at the universities of Marburg, Kassel and Venice. Recent publications: “Grün in der Stadt – vom Hortus conclusus zum Urban gardening. Zur Einführung”, in Pühringer/Gräf (Eds.), *Grün in der Stadt. Vom Hortus conclusus zum Urban Gardening*, Innsbruck, 2023, p. 7–42; “Zu klein, zu jung, zu unbedeutend. Die Kurstadt in der Stadtgeschichtsforschung”, in Pühringer/Scheutz (Eds.), *Die Kurstadt als urbanes Phänomen. Konsum, Idylle und Moderne*, Köln, 2023, p. 63–97; “Werke, Löhne und Preise in Frankfurt im „langen“ 19. Jahrhundert”, in Gräf/Tacke (Eds.), *Von Augsburg nach Frankfurt. Der Kupferstecher Johann Philipp Thelott (1639–1671)*, Marburg, 2022, p. 37–50; “Die Neustadt Hanau

im Kontext der europäischen Planstadt der Frühen Neuzeit”, in Asschenfeldt/Gräf/Laufs (Eds.), *Die Neustadt Hanau. Ein Drehkreuz im europäischen Kunst- und Wissenstransfer*, Dresden, 2022, p. 70–81; “Between Stagnation and Expansion. The Military and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century”, in Meumann/ Pühringer (Eds.), *The Military in Early modern World*, Göttingen, 2020, p. 45–66.

#### KARIN UELTSCHI

Karin Ueltschi is Professor of Medieval French Language and Literature at the University of Reims Champagne-Ardenne. Her work focuses on the relationship between Christian and pre-Christian heritages, as well as comparative mythology. She has created and led a seminar, “Grandes et Petites Mythologies”. Some publications: *La Mesnie Hellequin en conte et en rhyme. Mémoire mythique et poétique de la recomposition*, Paris, Champion, 2008 ; *La main coupée. Métonymie et mémoire mythique*, Paris, Champion, 2010 ; *Histoire véridique du Père Noël. Du traîneau à la hotte*, Paris, Imago, (2012) 2021 ; *Mythologie des Boiteux et du Pied fabuleux*, Imago, Paris, 2019. To be published in 2024: *Savoir des hommes, sagesse des femmes. Savants ou magiciens, matrones ou sorcières*, Paris, Imago; *Le Livre de la parfaite Bourgeoise. Les leçons du Mesnagier de Paris (1393)*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2024.



