

PRIVATE LIBRARIES AND THEIR DOCUMENTATION, 1665-1830

Studying and Interpreting Sources

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



LWW

The Handpress World explores the impact of the invention of printing by moveable type from the first experiments of the incunabula age through to the end of the eighteenth century. In this crucial period of book history the new technology both transformed established markets for scholarly and religious literature and found a new public through the rise of the pamphlet and later the newspaper. The series will investigate every aspect of this cultural transformation, from the promotion in print of the great intellectual movements of the day through to the birth of the public library.

The *Library of the Written Word* book series consists of the following subseries:

- ◆ The Manuscript World
- ◆ The Handpress World
- ◆ The Industrial World

BRILL.COM/LWW

Private Libraries and Their Documentation, 1665–1830

Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 112

The Handpress World

Editors-in-Chief

Andrew Pettegree (*University of St. Andrews*)
Arthur der Weduwen (*University of St. Andrews*)

Editorial Board

Ann Blair (*Harvard University*)
Falk Eisermann (*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*)
Shanti Graheli (*University of Glasgow*)
Earle Havens (*Johns Hopkins University*)
Ian Maclean (*All Souls College, Oxford*)
Alicia Montoya (*Radboud University*)
Angela Nuovo (*University of Milan*)
Helen Smith (*University of York*)
Mark Towsey (*University of Liverpool*)
Malcolm Walsby (*ENSSIB, Lyon*)

VOLUME 91

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/lww

Private Libraries and Their Documentation, 1665–1830

Studying and Interpreting Sources

Edited by

Rindert Jagersma
Helwi Blom
Evelien Chayes
Ann-Marie Hansen



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON



This is an open access title distributed under the terms of the CC BY-NC 4.0 license, which permits any non-commercial use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original author(s) and source are credited. Further information and the complete license text can be found at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

The terms of the CC license apply only to the original material. The use of material from other sources (indicated by a reference) such as diagrams, illustrations, photos and text samples may require further permission from the respective copyright holder.

A
O M
D M
O

Publication of this volume in Open Access was made possible by the Ammodo KNAW Award 2017.

Cover illustration: detail of Josua van Solingen, after Laurens Jacobsz. van der Vinne, Vignet met interieur van een bibliotheek, 1727–c. 1750. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, RP-P-1937-1768.

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov/2023021028>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1874-4834

ISBN 978-90-04-54295-2 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-54296-9 (e-book)

DOI 10.1163/9789004542969

Copyright 2023 by Rindert Jagersma, Helwi Blom, Evelien Chayes and Ann-Marie Hansen. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Brill Wageningen Academic, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau and V&R unipress.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

Acknowledgements IX
List of Illustrations X
Notes on Contributors XII

Goldmines or Minefields? Private Libraries and Their Documentation
(1665–1830) 1
Rindert Jagersma, Helwi Blom and Ann-Marie Hansen

PART 1

Private Libraries in Use

- 1 The Leufstabruk Catalogues: Life Narrative, Collector's Rationale and Network of Charles De Geer 21
Alex Alsemgeest
- 2 A Private Library as a Material History of the Book. Otto Thott's Encyclopedic Library in Copenhagen 48
Anders Toftgaard
- 3 A Collegiant Library in Rijnsburg at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century: The Books of Jan Matthijsz van Drieborn (d. 1715) 77
Paul G. Hoftijzer
- 4 Sharing Books in Eighteenth-Century Languedoc: The Library of Jean-François Séguier 98
Laurence Brockliss
- 5 Private Libraries and the Second-Hand Book Trade in Early Modern Academia. The Case of Leuven University 1425–1797 121
Pierre Delsaerdt
- 6 Book Auctions at the Reformed College of Debrecen (1743–1842) 137
Róbert Oláh

PART 2***Uncovering Private Libraries in Archival Sources***

- 7 Some Notes on Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Library Archives as a Source for the Reconstruction of Private Libraries in Italy and the Vatican City 155
Giliola Barbero
- 8 Book Ownership in Parma, Italy (1665–1830) 168
Federica Dallasta
- 9 “For Don Antonio Meave I Leave the Three Folios of My Dear and Venerable Father Louis of Granada”: Tracing Books in the Archivo General de Notarías of Mexico City 206
Andrea Reyes Elizondo
- 10 Private Libraries in New Spain: A Project in Progress 225
Idalia García Aguilar and Alberto José Campillo Pardo

PART 3***Private Library Research in Regional Contexts***

- 11 Mercury in the Republic of Letters: Private Libraries in Spanish Book Sales Catalogues (1660–1800) 249
Pedro Rueda Ramírez and Lluís Agustí
- 12 Lists of Private Book Collections in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Royal Prussia, 1680–1830 269
Michał Bajer
- 13 Surviving Records of Private Book Collections in the Kingdom of Hungary and the Transylvanian Principality between 1665 and 1830 309
István Monok
- 14 From Extensive Learned Libraries to Modest Book Collections: Research on Danish Private Book Collections of the Long Eighteenth Century 325
Jonas Thorup Thomsen

- 15 'The Cornerstone of Scholarship': Library Catalogues in
Late Imperial China 349
Fan Wang

PART 4

Building a Field of Study

- 16 *The Private Libraries in Renaissance England (PLRE) Project:*
An Overview 371
Joseph L. Black
- 17 Philosophers' Private Libraries (1600–1800) 389
Giovanna Granata
- 18 Private Libraries and the *Material Evidence in Incunabula*
Database 403
Marieke van Delft
- 19 "Ces documents rédigés à la hâte et imprimés avec assez peu de soin".
The Long Road to the Realisation of *Book Sales Catalogues Online* 416
Otto S. Lankhorst
- Index 433

Philosophers' Private Libraries (1600–1800)

Giovanna Granata

The History of Ideas and Private Libraries

In a famous paper presented in 1889 at the meeting of the recently-founded Gesellschaft für deutsche Literatur, Wilhelm Dilthey proposed the creation of literary archives to collect and preserve the papers of philosophers, persons of letters, and scholars.¹ He emphasised the importance of these sources for a philosophical historiography not only focused on ideas discussed in books, but which would also shed light on the preliminary stages of works, and the dynamics of the writing process. In his opinion, only a systematic commitment to the creation of archival institutions could put a stop to the natural tendency of such materials to break up and disperse, thus avoiding the risk of incalculable losses. A basic statement reinforced this conviction: the capacity of private persons in preserving these corpora was weak compared to that of public institutions which, however, received them only in special cases where there was a close personal relationship to the author.

The concept of literary archives is today well consolidated, although it does not correspond to the systematic and capillary institutional setup that Dilthey contemplated.² At the time he wrote, it was undoubtedly little less than utopian. Only four years had passed since the constitution of the Goethe-Archiv in

-
- 1 The text of the conference has been published: Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Archive für Literatur', *Deutsche Rundschau*, 58 (1889), pp. 360–375, now in Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 15: Ulrich Herrmann (ed.), *Zur Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Portraits und biographische Skizzen. Quellenstudien und Literaturberichte zur Theologie und Philosophie im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), pp. 1–16. Dilthey returned to the subject in another article in the same year of the conference, 'Archive der Literatur in ihrer Bedeutung für das Studium der Geschichte der Philosophie', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 2 (1889), pp. 343–367, now in Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4: Hermann Nohl (ed.), *Die Jugendgeschichte Hegels und andere Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Deutschen Idealismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), pp. 555–575.
 - 2 For a recent discussion concerning literary archives and questions raised by Dilthey's reflection, see Petra-Maria Dallinger, Georg Hofer and Bernhard Judex (eds.), *Archive für Literatur. Der Nachlass und seine Ordnungen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), and David C. Sutton and Ann Livingstone (eds.), *The Future of Literary Archives: Diasporic and Dispersed Collections at Risk* (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018).

Weimar, which he cited as the first significant experiment of what he proposed. It was to be strengthened and extended from a family archive to become a permanent structure of public relevance to which he suggested also aggregating Schiller's and Herder's papers, as would be done shortly thereafter.³

In the still embryonic Goethe-Archiv founded by Grand Duchess Sophie, Dilthey saw a potential model for reassembling Kant's papers, of which only a part had reached the Königsberg library after being divided among his heirs. Dilthey's attention focused mainly on manuscript documentation (letters, rough drafts of essays, unpublished texts), but he also did not fail to mention the volumes in Kant's personal collection, interleaved and full of notes, such as the renowned exemplar of the Baumgarten *Metaphysica*, found in the University Library of Dorpat.⁴ A few years later, in the report presented to the Academy of Sciences in Berlin concerning the edition of Kantian writings, he pointed out even more strongly the need to extend the research to the books owned by the Königsberg philosopher, and provided a letter to be directed to archives and libraries with a request for collaboration and support in the identification of other surviving copies as important testimonies to be included in the Nachlass.⁵

Effectively, if the dispersion of papers is a tangible danger for autographs, the book collections, less 'intimate' and certainly more difficult for heirs to take care of, are even more dangerously exposed to this risk. Kant's library, for example, went to Johann Friedrich Gensichen, his colleague in Königsberg, and was

-
- 3 In 1885, after the death of his last descendent, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's collections were inherited by the Grand Duchess Sophie of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach who founded the Goethe Archive. In 1889, the year of Dilthey's conference on literary archives, Friedrich Schiller's papers were bequeathed to the Goethe Archive. Afterwards, Dilthey's proposal led to the creation of a 'Litteraturarchiv-Gesellschaft' (Society for Literary Archives) which actually came into conflict with Weimar's still private archives, see Jürgen Thaler, 'Zur Geschichte des Literaturarchivs. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Archive für Literatur im Kontext*, *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft*, 55 (2011), pp. 360–374.
- 4 Tartu (Estonia), University of Tartu Library, manuscript 93: Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, *Metaphysica* (4th ed., Halle: Hemmerde, 1757) with Immanuel Kant's handwritten notes. The copy went to the Dorpat university through Gottlob Benjamin Jäsche, the student of Kant, who had been a professor of philosophy there since 1802, cf. Immanuel Kant, *Notes and Fragments*, ed. by Paul Guyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 68. The copy was adopted by Erich Adickes as one of the sources for the third part (*Handschriftlicher Nachlaß*) of the edition of Kant's *Gesammelte Schriften* promoted by the Prussian Academy of Sciences (Akademie Ausgabe), especially vols. xv (1913), xvii (1926) and xviii (1928). Later, in 2000, a second Kantian copy of Baumgarten's *Metaphysica* (3rd ed., Halle: Hemmerde, 1750) was found in Poland (Gdansk Library, Fa 25989 /3).
- 5 Wilhelm Dilthey, 'Kant-Ausgabe', *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1896, pp. 68–69, also in: *Kant-Studien*, 1 (1897), pp. 148–154.

auctioned after Gensichen's death, probably mixed with his own collection.⁶ Many similar cases can be cited, mostly from the modern age, and there are few exceptions to this rule. The most impressive however are worth noting and are undoubtedly those of Voltaire's and Diderot's libraries, both kept in the Hermitage collections and afterwards in the National Library of Russia. After Voltaire's death, his library was brought in twelve large boxes from the castle of Ferney to Saint Petersburg where it arrived in August 1779. Jean-Louis Wagnière, the philosopher's secretary and friend, was charged with unpacking and ordering the books, which were placed in the Winter Palace as part of Catherine's personal library. In 1785, Denis Diderot's books, already purchased in 1765 but left in full use of the philosopher until his death, were transported to Saint Petersburg. Unlike Voltaire's library, which was kept intact, they were merged with the rest of the Hermitage collection.⁷

Indeed, the role of Catherine of Russia, who succeeded in purchasing Voltaire's and Diderot's books from their heirs, has the institutional implication envisaged in Dilthey's thesis. More often, left to the uncertain custody of family members, conservation waned over the generations, with more or less serious losses, depending on how and when these came about.⁸

When this occurs, the reconstruction of philosophers' book collections is only possible by combining data from surviving books (whether many or few, gathered or to be searched for) with a plurality of 'second-level' sources, consisting of book lists and catalogues. Such materials are often the only ones to survive and are consequently an invaluable starting point for the study of

6 *Verzeichniß der Bücher des verstorbenen Professor Johann Friedrich Gensichen, wozu auch die demselben zugefallene Bücher des Professor Kant gehören, welche den 25. April 1808 ... öffentlich veräußert werden sollen* (Königsberg: gedruckt in der Hartungschen Hof- und academ. Buchdruckerei, 1808); see Arthur Warda, *Immanuel Kants Bücher: mit einer getreuen Nachbildung des bisher einzigen bekannten Abzuges des Versteigerungskataloges der Bibliothek Kants* (Berlin: Breslauer, 1922).

7 See Sergeï Karp, *Quand Catherine II achetait la bibliothèque de Voltaire* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIII^e siècle, 1999); Robert Zaretsky, *Catherine and Diderot, The Empress, the Philosopher, and the Fate of the Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2019). Attempts to reconstruct Diderot's library, also difficult because the library catalogue prepared before sending his books to Saint Petersburg has not come down to us, are discussed by Sergueï V. Korolev, *La Bibliothèque de Diderot. Vers une reconstitution* (Ferney-Voltaire: Centre international d'étude du XVIII^e siècle, 2014), which describes about 800 volumes of the Diderot collection.

8 Surprisingly, some important collections, after having been preserved for a long time, encountered their fatal destiny in the middle of the contemporary age, long after Dilthey's conference on literary archives. See for instance, in the following, the cases of the Montesquieu, Locke and Newton libraries (notes 12, 14, and 23).

dispersed collections. As such, philosophy scholars are attempting to explore them with increasing interest.

Indeed, the attention paid to book legacies in recent research goes beyond Dilthey's appeal for the preservation of manuscripts and autographs and is open to a wider range of meanings. Libraries are prime testimonies through which to discover the many sources their owners may have worked with, tracking down connections and relationships, and can consequently contribute to shedding new light on the cultural profile of individual thinkers, as well as entire philosophical traditions. As many studies now demonstrate, investigating book collections is essential for a philosophical hermeneutics focused on the analysis of texts as complex, stratified and allusive 'objects', where different kinds of material converge in an apparent unity, rich in tensions, fractures and nuances to be detected.⁹ On the other hand, the study of book collections is also an invaluable key to reconstructing what the great editor of Nietzsche's work, Mazzino Montinari, called the extra-text. All traces external to the texts, even preliminary to their different versions, make it possible to understand their intellectual genesis, providing crucial information on the context within which the reflections of the authors took form and developed, or, in Montinari's words, "[build] a bridge to the culture of their time".¹⁰

On this basis, a growing number of studies concern lists and catalogues of books owned by philosophers and other savants, and the digital era has encouraged many projects focused on this documentary material as a contribution to studies in the field of the history of culture and ideas. As a further step forward, a comprehensive collection of the available sources, otherwise dispersed

9 This claim comes not only from deconstructivism of post-structuralist hermeneutics, but also from philosophical historiography, particularly when involved in a philological approach to texts; see the considerations on Eugenio Garin and Emilio Betti by Andrea Orsucci, 'Le 'pseudomorfofi' racchiuse in uno scritto filosofico: critica testuale e circolazione libraria', in Giovanna Granata (ed.), *Biblioteche e saperi. Circolazione di libri e di idee tra età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2019), pp. 255–267.

10 The 'extra-text' problem is mentioned by Mazzino Montinari in a manuscript note prepared for the conference 'Probleme der Nietzsche-Hermeneutik: Textkritik und Wirkungsgeschichte'. The note was published posthumously in Giuliano Campioni and Aldo Venturelli (eds.), *La 'biblioteca ideale' di Nietzsche* (Naples: Guida, 1992), pp. 11–12. The concept is the theoretical background for the project of reconstructing Nietzsche's library that Montinari proposed in the 1960's as a necessary complement to the critical edition; see on this point Giuliano Campioni, *Leggere Nietzsche. Alle origini dell'edizione critica Colli—Montinari, con lettere e testi inediti* (Pisa: ETS, 1992), pp. 111–120. The project resulted in Giuliano Campioni, Paolo D'Iorio, Maria Cristina Fornari, Francesco Fronterotta and Andrea Orsucci (eds.), *Nietzsches persönliche Bibliothek* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002).

and difficult to access, has been planned and published online on the site *Philosophical libraries. Private Libraries of Philosophers from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*.¹¹ The project is substantially a virtual accomplishment of what Dilthey hoped for in his 1889 lecture on 'literary archives', with a specific focus on libraries and books of philosophers. The wealth of material gathered gives 'philosophical libraries' a visibility they usually do not enjoy in the broader context of private libraries. Therefore, they stand out as a subset of a more general framework, and, as such, they offer a useful sample for an almost inclusive survey of different types of lists that allow the investigation of book collections and the reconstruction of their nature and history.

Catalogues and Inventories of Philosophical Libraries. A General Survey

A first kind of these lists are catalogues drawn up by the authors themselves or their assistants. Although they should be the best sources, those that survive are quite scarce as they have often undergone the same dispersion as the rest of the personal papers. There are nonetheless some important examples of philosophical libraries for which self-prepared catalogues are known.

Montesquieu's catalogue is one of these.¹² Being substantially completed in 1732, it reflects the state of the library some twenty-five years prior to the death

11 The site, which can be accessed at <<http://picus.unica.it>>, is the result of a project set up jointly by the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa and the University of Cagliari. The project, started in 2006, is a cooperative effort and benefits from the participation of many institutions and scholars all over the world. A scientific committee, coordinated by Renzo Raggianti, Alessandro Savorelli (Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa) and Francesca M. Crasta, Giovanna Granata, Andrea Orsucci (University of Cagliari), supervises the database. On the genesis and the aim of the project, see Renzo Raggianti and Alessandro Savorelli, 'Biblioteche filosofiche private: strumenti di lavoro, documenti e contesti', in Roberto Rusconi (ed.), *Il libro antico tra catalogo storico e catalogazione elettronica* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2012), pp. 109–132. For a description of the content and the functionalities of the database, see Laura Usalla, 'Biblioteche dei filosofi. Biblioteche Filosofiche Private in Età Moderna e Contemporanea', in Giovanna Granata (ed.), *Biblioteche e saperi. Circolazione di libri e di idee in età moderna e contemporanea* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e Letteratura, forthcoming). Project-related researches have also resulted in publications, in particular Francesca M. Crasta (ed.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private in età moderna e contemporanea* (Florence: Le Lettere, 2010) and Renzo Raggianti and Alessandro Savorelli (eds.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private. Strumenti e prospettive di ricerca* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2014).

12 Over centuries, the library of Charles Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu remained almost intact in the castle of La Brède. In 1926, a part of the

of the author. It is quite detailed and allows the identification of editions: Baron de La Brède, Montesquieu had a secretary at his disposal, the Abbot Bottereau-Duval, who worked on the catalogue with some accuracy. Although not a specialist, as is evident from some misunderstandings, he generally gives all basic details to distinguish editions, recording them in a quite standard classified order.

To remain in the field of the French Enlightenment, in the case of Voltaire we again have a catalogue drawn up in the last part of the philosopher's life by his secretary, Jean-Louis Wagnière, with his own participation. Indeed, the catalogue is rather like an inventory list, with very short descriptions, generally limited to the name of the author and title of the work. On the other hand, as the books are recorded topographically, it provides information of great importance on the 'material' organisation of the library's thematic sections on the shelves.¹³

Some different features stand out regarding Locke, whose care for his books led to the production of different lists and, particularly, to the interleaved copy of the Bodleian catalogue by which he handed down the final content of his collection.¹⁴ The series of shorthand references he adopted in it is part of a

volumes, mixed with other family collections, was dispersed after two different sales, see *Beaux livres anciens et modernes provenant de la bibliothèque du château de La Brède* (Paris: Charles Bosse and Francisque Lefrançois, 1926); in 1994 Countess Jacqueline de Chabannes, the last of Montesquieu's descendants, donated the remaining volumes to Bordeaux's municipal library. Among them was the manuscript catalogue, now shelved as Ms 2539, lists about 3,200 titles. The catalogue, known to scholars since the 1950s, was first published by Louis Desgraves, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu* (Genève: Droz, 1954); a second edition has been published more recently by Louis Desgraves and Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, with the collaboration of Françoise Weil, *Le Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Montesquieu à La Brède*. Cahiers Montesquieu, n. 4 (Naples: Liguori, 1999); an electronic version has been also prepared under the supervision of Catherine Volpilhac-Auger and can be accessed at the website *Montesquieu. Bibliothèque & éditions*: <<http://montesquieu.huma-num.fr/>>. See Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, 'Voyages autour d'un catalogue: pour une nouvelle approche de la culture de Montesquieu', in Renzo Raggianti and Alessandro Savorelli (eds.), *Biblioteca filosofica private. Strumenti e prospettive di ricerca* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2014), pp. 241–260.

- 13 The catalogue was published by George R. Havens and Norman L. Torrey, *Voltaire's catalogue of his library at Ferney*, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, vol. IX (Genève: Institut et musée Voltaire, 1959). It is also reproduced in Michail Pavlovic Alekseev and Tatjana Nikolaevna Kopreeva, *Bibliothèque de Voltaire. Catalogue des livres* (Moscow and Leningrad: Éditions de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS, 1961), pp. 1065–1150.
- 14 The case of John Locke's library attests to the problems raised by the dispersal of collections held in private hands. Peter Lasslet did not hesitate to define its destiny as "one of the sadder stories in the history of English Letters", see John Harrison and Peter Lasslet,

complex and ingenious cataloguing system that appears to be something of a unicum. This attitude certainly derives from the attention devoted to his library, combined with the bibliographic sensitivity (and indexing ability) of the philosopher, who was also the creator of a method for the listing of *loci communes* published in Leclerc's *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* in 1686.¹⁵

Finally, continuing in this vein we can also mention the 'extreme case' of Hobbes, whose books are likely among those in the library at Chatsworth House, the residence of the Cavendish family, with whom he spent a large part of his life. The 'old catalogue' of the Hardwick/Chatsworth library, dating from the late 1620s, is in his handwriting and it very likely reflects the acquisitions of the library under his scientific responsibility, probably for his own use.¹⁶ Thus, it can be deemed almost a personal catalogue, even though it is very short and this makes it difficult to distinguish the old volumes from the later acquisitions of the family.

Post-mortem inventories are sources of a different kind. Only in exceptional cases are they drawn up to aid in the transfer of a personal library, an infrequent occurrence. One example is the case of Diderot's library, for which a catalogue was prepared before sending his books to Saint Petersburg, though it has not come down to us.¹⁷ On the other hand, Leibniz' library is precisely known through two inventories compiled at his death in 1716, owing to negotiations between the philosopher's nephew, the heir to his documents, and the government of Hanover, interested in adding Leibniz's volumes to the Ducal

The Library of John Locke, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 57. In fact, at Locke's death, two heirs received most of his books and so these were subject to one of two very different destinies. Some of the books reached the Bodleian Library in the middle of the twentieth century after remaining in the possession of the King-Lovelace family, while the other part was dispersed in the late eighteenth century by the descendants of the Mashams at Oates, where Locke stayed in his last years. Locke's interleaved Bodleian catalogue (*Catalogus impressorum librorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi, Curâ & operâ Thomæ Hyde*. Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1674) is now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Locke 17.16.

- 15 John Locke, 'Méthode nouvelle de dresser des recueils', *Bibliothèque universelle et historique*, 2 (1686), pp. 315–329; see George G. Meynell, 'John Locke's Method of Commonplacing', *The Seventeenth Century*, 8 (1993), pp. 245–267; also Lucia Dacome, 'Noting the mind: commonplace books and the pursuit of the self in the Eighteenth century Britain', *Journal of History of Ideas*, 65 (2004), pp. 603–625 and Michael Stolberg, 'John Locke's New Method of Making Common-Place Books', *Early Science and Medicine*, 19 (1914), pp. 448–470.
- 16 Bakewell, Derbyshire, Chatsworth House, Hobbes MS E.1.A: 'Old Catalogue', see Richard A. Talaska, *The Hardwick Library and Hobbes's Early Intellectual Development* (Charlottesville, VA: Philosophy Documentation Center, 2013).
- 17 See note 7.

library of the house of Brunswick-Lüneburg, where they wound up.¹⁸ These sources make it possible to undertake the complex work of reconstructing Leibniz' library, which was mixed with the general collections of the present State Library of Lower Saxony, thus in a certain sense being 'dispersed'.¹⁹

A somewhat different destiny awaited Hume's library. Some hypotheses on the content of his collection can be made on the basis of the catalogue that was compiled in 1740 by an experienced bookseller, Thomas G. Stevenson, in execution of the final will of the philosopher's nephew, Baron David Hume, who died in 1738. Indeed, the catalogue includes all the books owned by Baron Hume who had inherited his ancestor's collection and added it to his own, certainly no less important given his personal interest in the field of legal studies. In any case, the Stevenson catalogue remains the most relevant source available.²⁰

- 18 The Court library is the original nucleus of the present State Library of Lower Saxony (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek—Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek) where manuscripts and books from Leibniz's private library are now preserved. On the destiny of Leibniz's collection, see Heinrich Lackmann, 'Der Erbschaftsstreit um Leibniz' Privatbibliothek', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 1 (1969), pp. 126–136. On the two inventories, respectively of the books Leibniz had at Hannover (Hanover, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, Bibliotheksakten A 8 (5), *Catalog der Leibnizschen Privat-Bibliothek und der Dubia*), and of the cabinet of Wolfenbüttel (Staatsarchiv Hannover, Dep. 103 XXXV Nr. 3, *Specification derer zu Wolfenbüttel gewesenen Leibnizischen Bücher*), see Margherita Palumbo, 'Das "schöne supplementum". Die Privatbibliothek von Leibniz', *Studia Leibnitiana*, 38/39 (2006–2007), pp. 19–41.
- 19 Research on Leibniz's volumes started with the pioneering study by Albert Heinekamp, *Leibniz' Privatbibliothek in der Niedersächsischen Landesbibliothek, Hannover. Mit einem Titelverzeichnis der Abteilung A (Jura) und D (Philosophia Practica)*, an unpublished dissertation submitted to the Bibliothekar-Lehrinstitut, Cologne, 1968. Margherita Palumbo continued working on this subject, with publication of various studies on different aspects of the library, among which: *Leibniz e la Res Bibliothecaria. Bibliografie, historiae literariae e cataloghi nella bibliotheca privata leibniziana* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1993); 'La biblioteca lessicografica di Leibniz', in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Lopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993); *Leibniz e i geographica. Libri geografici e apodemici nella biblioteca privata leibniziana* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1996); 'Trattati astrologici cinquecenteschi nella biblioteca privata leibniziana', in Ornella Pompeo Faracovi (ed.), *Nella luce degli astri. L'astrologia nella cultura del Rinascimento* (Sarzana: Agorà, 2004), pp. 253–279; 'Il "lovedvole artificio". Trattati mnemotecnici nella biblioteca privata leibniziana', *Bruniana & Campanelliana*, XII (2006), pp. 569–582; 'Leibniz' letzte Anschaffungen für seine Privatbibliothek', in Michael Kempe (ed.), *1716, Leibniz' letztes Lebensjahr: Unbekanntes zu einem bekannten Universalgelehrten* (Hanover: Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek, 2016), pp. 59–81. The project of a 'Virtuelle Rekonstruktion der Arbeitsbibliothek von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz', funded by the German Research Foundation during the years 2007–2013, was announced by the Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz Bibliothek (<<http://www.leibnizcentral.de/CiXbase/gwlab/>>).
- 20 The 1840 catalogue by Thomas G. Stevenson is preserved at the National Library of Scotland, ms. 348, *Catalogue of the Library of Baron David Hume*. In the 1850's, after the

Inventories are more often compiled as notarial deeds in matters of inheritance, debts or goods of the deceased person, thus requiring complex archival research and great expertise in discovering and exploiting them. Spinoza's library is one of the most relevant examples. The collection itself was dispersed very quickly, having been sold a few days after the philosopher's death to pay his funeral expenses. Only centuries later did the fortunate finding of the notarial inventory, dated 2 March 1677, make it possible for the Dutch Vereniging Het Spinozahuis (Spinoza House Society) to attempt to identify and acquire the surviving books.²¹

We are dealing here with sources which by their nature are not very accurate: they often lack information and present inaccuracies that make attempts at reconstruction an ordeal. In his work on Galileo's library, for example, Antonio Favaro had to use the inventory of the inheritance of Galileo's son, Vincenzo, and his wife, Sestilia Bocchineri, drawn up "by a notary ignorant of literary things ... compiled in the most brute fashion that one can imagine."²² Frequently, they give only very brief and summarising information that makes the reconstruction even more complex. In the case of Newton, who died intestate, the inventory of the contents of his house was made in the days after his death with just a mention of the number of books found in the rooms. A more comprehensive list was compiled by the first buyer of the books, John Huggins, one of Newton's neighbours, who immediately acquired them for his

death of baron Hume's daughter, his library was put up for sale together with other book collections by the same bookseller of whom also some printed catalogues exist. On Hume's library and its vicissitudes, see David Fate Norton and Mary J. Norton, *The David Hume Library* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in association with The National Library of Scotland, 1996).

- 21 Jan M.M. Aler, *Catalogus van de bibliotheek der vereniging Het Spinozahuis te Rijnsburg* (Leiden: Brill, 1965), see Adri K. Offenbergh, 'Spinoza's library. The story of a reconstruction', *Quaerendo*, 3 (1973), pp. 309–321. A new catalogue has been published by the Groningen University Library, where the book collection was temporarily housed, see Jacob van Sluis and Tonnis Musschenga (eds.), *De Boeken van Spinoza* (Groningen: Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 2009), also available online: <<https://research.rug.nl/nl/publications/de-boeken-van-spinoza>>.
- 22 Antonio Favaro, 'La libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata', *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 19 (1886), pp. 219–293, especially p. 226; see also Antonio Favaro, 'Appendice prima alla libreria di Galileo Galilei descritta e illustrata', *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, 20 (1887), pp. 372–376, and 'Appendice seconda alla Libreria di Galileo', *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere e atti di Padova*, 12 (1896), pp. 44–50; other integrations by Michele Camerota, 'La biblioteca di Galileo: alcune integrazioni e aggiunte desunte dal carteggio', in Francesca M. Crasta (ed.), *Biblioteche filosofiche private*, pp. 81–95 and Crystal Hall, 'Galileo's library reconsidered', *Galilaeana*, 12 (2015), pp. 29–82.

son Charles, freshly appointed Rector of Chinnor. Indeed, this list is nearly a *post mortem* inventory and, although rather poor in details, it offers a basic starting point for reconstructing the library of the scientist.²³

The two kinds of sources—catalogues and inventories—do not have the same quantitative or qualitative relevance as sale catalogues, including auction catalogues, which represent the ultimate dispersion of private book collections. The widespread phenomenon of book collecting characterised European cultural and social history in the modern age and produced a huge mass of documents which, by their intrinsic nature, are particularly accurate and detailed. The libraries of learned men naturally aroused much interest among collectors and there have been numerous sales of such collections accompanied by catalogues that list their contents.

It would be impossible to mention all of the examples of this type of resource. Since the case of the dispersal of Kant's library is cited above, it is worth recalling that this library is partly known through the auction catalogue of the Gensichen collection.²⁴ Even the rich library of Baumgarten, author of the manual that Kant used for his teaching, is known from the catalogues of auctions that were organised after his death.²⁵ Another example from the

23 The vicissitudes of Isaac Newton's library were first reconstructed by Colonel R. de Villamil, *Newton: The Man* (London: Gordon Knox, 1931), who published the inventory of Newton's household goods and found the Huggins list in the British Museum (now British Library MS Add. 25424). He also published a second source, of fundamental importance in that it integrates the very short descriptions of the Huggins list contained in the catalogue of books held by James Musgrave, a theologian of Magdalen College in Oxford to whom the Newton library passed when Charles Huggins died in 1750. Musgrave's heirs kept the library until 1919, when they auctioned a large part of the volumes with other family goods, probably unaware of their provenance. In 1943, the rest of the library was bought from the Wykeham-Musgraves and gifted to Trinity College Cambridge. On the library of Newton, see the fundamental work by John Harrison, *The Library of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978) in which he has remedied some inaccuracies of Colonel R. de Villamil and compiled a comprehensive catalogue of the scientist's books. It should be noted however that owing to the dispersal of the library after the publication of Harrison's volume, other books from Newton's library have been discovered. The 'Newton Project', led by the Faculty of History of the University of Oxford has the aim of publishing online a full edition of Newton's writings and is publishing Harrison's full catalogue, to be consulted at <<http://www.newtonproject.ox.ac.uk/his-library/books-in-newtons-library>>.

24 See note 6.

25 The first *Catalogus librorum a viro excellentissimo amplissimo Alexandro Gottlieb Baumgarten, suos et amicorum in usus comparatorum* (Frankfurt: ad Viadrum, Winter 1762) is followed by a second catalogue in three parts for the different sections of the library, auctioned between 1765 and 1767: *Bibliothecae Baumgartenianae Pars I. [-II.1-2]* (Halle: Gebauer, 1765-1767).

German area between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the collection of H.S. Reimarus, who in turn was responsible for the catalogue of J.A. Fabricius, the classical scholar of whom he was the student and later the son-in-law.²⁶ The *Biga bibliothecarum* was de facto created by Georg Hamann for the auction of his own collection, together with that of his friend Lindner.²⁷ The sale was eventually avoided thanks to a move by Herder, the catalogue of whose collection was prepared for the auction which took place a few months after his death.²⁸ Many other examples of this kind can be cited, including those of Schleiermacher, Hegel, and Schelling.²⁹

Concluding Remarks

The large amount of data on philosophers' book collections provides invaluable material for studies in the field of private libraries, insofar as it allows a survey of the wide variety of documentary sources that scholars usually have to deal with in studying this phenomenon. In the meantime, 'private philosophical libraries' attest to some specific features that will be better revealed by bringing together all the remaining evidence on such collections.

A complete survey is beyond the scope of this paper. One prominent characteristic should however be mentioned: the divergence from the model of book collecting that produced the great private libraries of the modern age, resulting from a complex combination of factors related to both the cultural merits and the social prestige of the owners.

There is much evidence in this regard. First, we must consider the size of 'philosophical' collections, that sometimes only amount to some hundred

26 *Bibliothecae Reimarianae in classes rededit et iuxta ordinem scientiarum ... Pars 1–11* (Hamburg: Litteris I.C. Piscatoris, 1769); Hermann Samuel Reimarus, *Bibliothecae Beati Jo. Alb. Fabricii*. Teil 1 (Hamburg, 1738).

27 *Biga bibliothecarum altera viri, dum viveret, summe reverendi, doctissimi, excellentissimi Iohann. Gotthelf. Lindneri* (Kaliningrad: typis Driestianis, 1776); see Giuseppe Landolfi Petrone, 'La Biga Bibliothecarum di Johann Georg Hamann', in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Lopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 599–606.

28 *Bibliotheca Herderiana* (Wisnar: [s.n.], 1804), see Franz Flaskamp, 'Herders Bücherkauf zu Lemgo: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bibliotheca Herderiana', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für niedersächsische Kirchengeschichte*, LXV (1967), pp. 218–235.

29 *Tabulae Librorum e Bibliotheca defuncti Schleiermacher* (Berlin: Tipis Reimerenianis, 1835); *Verzeichniß der von dem Professor Herrn Dr. Hegel und dem Dr. Herrn Seebeck hinterlassenen Bücher-Sammlungen* (Berlin: Müller, 1832). *Verzeichniss von Büchern aus dem Nachlasse von Geheimen Rath von Schelling, Ober-Consistorial-Rath Klotz, General-Lieutenant von Reiche, Wilh. Lipke und Anderen* (Berlin: Zschiesche, 1855).

volumes. The inventory of Spinoza's library, which has been declared the "happiest discovery after the Short Treatise", is the most striking case, with about 160 volumes.³⁰ The books found in the house of Newton at the time of his death in 1727 barely exceed 1,900, and those left by Locke in 1704 are approximately 2,600 in number. However, Locke had many more volumes at his disposal in his lifetime. A list of about 3,600 titles has been reconstructed from various sources, but as has been observed this number is lower than his financial means would have given him the opportunity to acquire, and certainly does not reach the vastness of the major private collections of his time.³¹ The same can be affirmed for some later collections: Montesquieu's catalogue at La Brède, for instance, lists about 3,200 titles up to 1731, and 3,867 titles are in Voltaire's library at Saint Petersburg.³²

There are of course some exceptions, including Locke's young friend and disciple, Anthony Collins, whose book collection was one of the largest philosophical libraries of the modern age, with a treasure of ten thousand volumes—the handwritten catalogue of which has survived.³³ However, emphasis on quantity is not an intrinsic feature of 'philosophical libraries', as it is for the private collections that Gabriel Naudé described in his famous treatise on the first examples of massive accumulation of books, emphasising their public role and social impact.³⁴

A second feature that distinguishes philosophical collections from other great private libraries is the extensive use of the books. This suggests the philosophical library to be a kind of 'intellectual workshop', rather than a cathedral built to gain the admiration of peers and fame in posterity. Needless to say, it is most imprudent to interpret ownership of books as evidence of reading. This is true for the interpretation of any kind of book list and those of philosophical libraries are no exception. However, in those cases where it is possible to shift from bibliographic sources to the examination of books themselves, many traces of reading can be found that attest to interest in their content.

30 Carl Gebhardt, *Die Bibliothek Spinozas*, in Kuno Fischer (ed.), *Geschichte der neuern Philosophie*. 11: *Spinozas Leben, Werke und Lehre*, 5th ed. by C. Gebhardt (Heidelberg: Winter, 1909), p. 600.

31 See Harrison and Lasslett, *The Library of John Locke*, p. 56. For a quantitative evaluation of Locke's library, see Harrison and Lasslett, pp. 11–12; similar considerations in Richard Ashcraft, 'John Locke's Library: Portrait of an Intellectual', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 5 (1969), pp. 47–60.

32 Alekseev and Kopreeva, *Bibliothèque de Voltaire*.

33 Giovanni Tarantino, *Lo scrittoio di Anthony Collins (1676–1729). I libri e i tempi di un libero pensatore* (Milan: Angeli, 2007).

34 Gabriel Naudé, *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Paris: Chez François Targa, 1627). USTC 6019927.

Voltaire's collection, for example, which is almost completely preserved, contains so many handwritten notes to mark passages, to make observations and leave comments that it genuinely appears to be the working space of the philosopher.³⁵ Other traces can also be entirely outside the books. Locke's technique of extracting *loci communes* was mentioned above; however, in its more traditional form, based on assembling lists or dossiers of reading notes, it was quite a common practice.³⁶ A renowned example can be found in Montesquieu who rarely annotated his books, but who prepared thematic collections of extracts that survive as part of a larger "bibliotheca manuscripta" that extended his personal library.³⁷ Finally, we must not forget the strong relation between books belonging to the library and the references given by authors in their texts. Indeed, as has been pointed out, examining the sources of the writing process has to some extent been the starting point for research in the field of philosophical libraries. In short, it can legitimately be assumed that collecting is subordinate to reading in order to understand the works consulted.

The third characteristic feature of philosophical libraries, which is closely related to the previous two, is the partial coincidence of many philosophers' book collections with the 'ideal library' we can reconstruct from citations in their works.³⁸ On the one hand personal libraries disclose just a part of readings made by their owners, on the other some of the books they held are totally 'extra-textual'. Loans from friends, visiting other collections, and other forms of transactions should be considered. Leibniz's library, for example, is the result

35 Marginal annotations and other owner's traces found in the books of Voltaire's library are published as volumes 136–145 of *Les œuvres complètes de Voltaire: Corpus des notes marginales* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag; [then] Oxford: Voltaire Foundation and Bibliothèque nationale de Russie, 1979–2019).

36 Locke himself adopted his commonplace technique in some of the notebooks he left, cf. Stolberg, 'John Locke's New Method of Making Common-Place Books', p. 450.

37 See Louis Desgraves, 'Les extraits de lecture de Montesquieu', *Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 25 (1993), pp. 483–491; Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, *Extraits et notes de lecture*, in *Dictionnaire Montesquieu*, sous la direction de Catherine Volpilhac-Auger, ENS de Lyon, septembre 2013, available online at <<http://dictionnaire-montesquieu.ens-lyon.fr/fr/article/1376399717/fr>>. The extant collections of Montesquieu's fragments have been published as part of the *Oeuvres complètes de Montesquieu*, vols. 16 and 17: *Extraits et notes de lecture I (Geographica)*, edited by C. Volpilhac-Auger (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation; Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici, 2007) and *Extraits et notes de lecture II*, edited by Rolando Minuti (Lyon: ENS Éditions; Paris, Classiques Garnier, 2017).

38 See remarks by Eugenio Canone, 'Nota introduttiva: le biblioteche private di eruditi filosofi e scienziati dell'età moderna', in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Leopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. IX–XXXII, especially p. XI where Augusto Campana's distinction between the "biblioteca privata strictu sensu" and the "infinitamente più estesa biblioteca ideale" is discussed.

of professional knowledge of the book market and a lifelong “chasse de livres” [hunt for books], as well as an encyclopaedic attitude and is one of the most extensive, but it is not exempt from this feature. Numerous titles cited in the philosopher’s works and books that are fundamental in various fields of knowledge are absent from the inventories compiled at Leibniz’ death: they were certainly available through other collections he had at his disposal, starting with the “Bibliothecas principum” of which he was in charge.³⁹ Similarly, in the case of Locke the lack of some classical or common works has been pointed out and the presence of some authors appears inadequate in comparison with other contemporary libraries. Ancient medicine and science, for example, are scarcely represented in Locke’s library and, although religion is one of the largest sections of the library with its 870 volumes, works by Aquinas, St Augustine, Bellarmine and Luther are not included. At the same time, Locke’s notebooks demonstrate that he read more than his catalogue attests.⁴⁰ Whatever the explanation may be, it is certainly incompatible with a bibliophile’s attitude. Indeed, collections are more osmotic with the context in which they are set up and, at the same time, less organic and comprehensive than the great private libraries put together to create a universal bibliographical ideal that exceeds the personal needs of owners and goes beyond the core area of their interests. Collecting is not the main goal for thinkers and savants.

This makes ‘philosophical libraries’ a somewhat peculiar phenomenon with regard to cultural dynamics related to the use of books. They are positioned in the interstitial space between small collections of almost unknown owners and the vast ‘bibliographic organisms’ which, although in private hands, served as institutions of public importance and, in fact, soon tended to be institutionalised.

39 Palumbo, *La biblioteca lessicografica*, p. 424.

40 See Ashcraft, *John Locke’s Library*, who concludes that in both fields “his library reflects a receptiveness to attempts to break away from the established orthodoxy and the dominant influence of ancients”, coherent with the image of Locke as “a cultivator of new ideas”. On the other hand, given the poor presence of some other authors, for example Paracelsus, he demonstrates that Locke had at his disposal more editions than can be assessed from the library catalogue; in this regard see also Antonio Clericuzio, ‘Medicina, chimica e filosofia naturale nella biblioteca di John Locke’, in Eugenio Canone (ed.), *Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Lopardi* (Florence: Olschki, 1993), pp. 333–375.