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The second-hand trade was a key element in the consumption of books in the early modern age, just as it continues to be today. Used books were likely to be cheaper, as well as being already bound, and overall offered a good option for less fastidious readers who wished to have access to a text but were not fussy about its appearance. Many readers would thus be quite willing to tolerate the presence of marks by previous owners, if they wanted to acquire a cheap copy, or if no other copy was available for purchase. The collection of the Royal Physician, Sir John Wedderburn (1599-1679) at St Andrews offers many examples that are suggestive of such practices.¹ Earlier marginalia were frequently cropped when the books were rebound, causing a loss of the annotations but without affecting the printed text. Among the copies thus preserved, we have some volumes from the library of the French Protestant surgeon François Rasse des Neux (d. 1581).² While the notes of ownership remain, the marginal annotations were significantly affected by the re-binding of these volumes, suggesting little interest in the marks left by earlier owners.³ In some cases, Wedderburn even owned multiple copies of the same title. The materiality of such items possibly indicates that he used to purchase additional, cheaper copies of certain titles, anticipating that he would be lending them to his students.

While we have readers like Wedderburn, who may purchase or value used books *despite* their being second-hand, others may consider used books worth purchasing (or keeping) *because* they were second-hand. Used books may have a strong emotional value attached, which was the case with family bibles or recipe books, handed down from one generation to the other, or particular legacies to friends or family. In such cases, the association was possibly the greatest factor to determine the value of a copy. In other contexts, the actual uses of a book may represent the key determinant of value. An illustrious former provenance could represent substantial added value to any book, were it a precious manuscript or a cheap printed edition, and often made it a great deal more desirable than a clean-margined copy.

This article is concerned with used books as items with an *added* value. As this is mostly concerned with provenance, the core evidence for my study comes from the examination of humanist libraries, and it is with that context that I have been particularly occupied. Sources include the material investigation of relevant copies and significant case studies, as well as various published and unpublished letters from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. While the article has no ambition of being universal in coverage, and is partial to sources in Italian, French, English, and Latin, I hope that it will offer a meaningful contribution to the thematic discussion presented in this issue of *Imprimatur*, as well as offering a useful set of considerations for the history of libraries more broadly.

¹ University of St Andrews Library, Special Collections. Items are recognisable by the suffix "Wed." in their pressmark.

² I discuss these copies in Shanti Graheli: *Italian Books and the French Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill forthcoming.

³ Possibly the responsibility for the loss of the annotations goes to an intermediary owner, and not to Wedderburn himself. For example, among the books owned by Wedderburn were copies from the library of Edward Gwynn (d. ca. 1645). On Gwynn's books, see the entry in *Folgerpedia* <<https://folgerpedia.folger.edu/>>, collecting over 250 identified provenances from all over the world (last accessed 12 December 2020).

I. Value and exchange of used books

In the introduction to this piece, I considered the possibility of a teacher buying used books as cheap copies, perhaps for the purpose of lending them to students. Indeed, students themselves were a key group of buyers for used books, as disposable income may be lower than in other categories of readers. My investigation of the library of Savoyard lawyer and poet Claude Expilly (1561-1636) has shown a clear pattern in the purchase of second-hand books during the years of his education.⁴ Thanks to Expilly's meticulous notes of purchase, we know that these books were substantially cheaper than most of the volumes annexed to the collection after his marriage to Isabeau de Bonneton in 1589. Some incunabula and early sixteenth-century editions thus made their way into his library, and they are still preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Grenoble in their original bindings. Expilly did not mind much about the quality of bindings in his library; while he followed the latest Parisian trends in bookbinding when it came to his novelty purchases, used books were usually retained in their existing binding.

The material acknowledgment of former book owners could be seen as a thorny issue in the early modern age. Some readers did their utmost to remove any trace left by those who owned a book before them, and the result are some heavily inked, or even physically obliterated inscriptions. This was a ubiquitous practice across early modern Europe; many examples were noted by William H. Sherman in his extensive study of the English books at the Huntington Library.⁵ Other readers preserved information left by former owners, occasionally staging a dialogue of ownership.

The circumstances and the context surrounding a purchase are often revealing of the value of used books in the eyes of early modern readers or owners. First of all, used books carried their own market value. Just as today one can purchase second-hand books and expect the price point to reflect the state of conservation of the copy in question, this was also true in the past. A fragment of a Book of Hours held by the Bibliothèque de Genève preserves the traces of just such a transaction (Figure 1).⁶ Remnants of glue and fold marks suggest that this single sheet of paper (possibly a discarded proof, or a leftover in the printshop, as the pages were never cut down) had been used as a pastedown at some point in the sixteenth century. The volume hosting the fragment in its binding was a "librum Legendaru[m] s[an]ctoru[m] vt uocant", that is, a copy of the Golden Legend. This, too, happened to be incomplete, as detailed by an inscription which included a thorough description of the copy. On the day of St Andrews, 1586 this volume of hagiographic texts made the object of a transaction between Udalricus Burgknecht and a Franciscan friar, Nicolaus. The inscription finalising their agreement makes it perfectly clear that this was a formal transaction. In acquiring the book in the presence of witnesses, Udalricus was required to accept the copy and to acknowledge that a number of pages were missing ('iam deerant folia usque at titulum prologi').

Material examples where a transfer of book ownership was settled with a written statement and even in the presence of witnesses abound. They remind us that used books may still hold significant value, and that transfer of ownership was taken seriously, sometimes to the extent of following a social ritual. This may particularly be the case on the occasion of certain types of sales. One such statement has been used as supporting evidence for the forced auction of the first library of Jean Grolier (c. 1480-1565). A study of Grolieriana by Howard M. Nixon documents a copy of the Aldine *In posteriora resolutoria Aristotelis commentaria* (1504), today in the Newberry Library of Chicago, bearing the inscription: "Emptus ex libris Dn. Grolierij quaestoris, cum decreto senatus

⁴ Shanti Graheli: How to build a library across early modern Europe. The network of Claude Expilly. In: International Exchange in the European Book World. Ed. Matthew McLean and S.K. Barker. Leiden: Brill 2016, pp. 171-213.

⁵ William H. Sherman: Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2008.

⁶ Bibliothèque de Genève, Bd 1469 Rés. Incipiunt Hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum Ecclesie Gebennensis (Geneva: Louis Cruse c. 1479). GLN-6554, USTC 452255.

venderentur. 1536.” (Purchased from the library of the Treasurer Grolier, sold by decree of the senate. 1536).⁷ The Grolier sale, including not only the library but all of the Treasurer’s possessions, was a political as well as a social event of great importance. Books are by nature more prone than other objects to being written into, and it is not surprising that the owner of the Chicago copy may wish to immortalise his or her purchase of the copy – partly to finalise the transaction, but perhaps also as a memento of such a dramatic, even theatrical, occasion.

Some readers chose to stage a dialogue of ownership in their used books. A copy from Erasmus’ library contains a telling inscription in this regard. Many books owned by Erasmus contain his inscription “Sum Erasmi, nec muto dominum” (I belong to Erasmus, and I do not change master).⁸ The specific copy I am referring to belonged to Albert of Hardenberg, who had received it from Johannes a Lasko, “the only one whom Erasmus deemed worthy of purchasing his own library when he was still living, from which I received this [book] as a gift”.⁹ The inscription is dated to Leuven, 1539. The message of such an annotation is clear: this was not a provenance trail to be obliterated, but one that ought to be preserved for posterity. It was a mark of worthiness that the volume had formerly belonged to Erasmus, and a sign of authenticity that it had passed through the hands of Johannes a Lasko, whose special status with relation to Erasmus’ own books was remarked upon in the same inscription. Hardenberg knew well that the Erasmus provenance went to the credit of subsequent owners of the copy, and it was thus worth preserving. This was frequently, though not always the case with Erasmus provenances, which are occasionally erased or chemically washed, depending on the date of each intervention. On occasion, however, later readers engage with Erasmus’ claim to perpetual ownership with a sort of kind amusement, indicating that, indeed, a copy had eventually (and inevitably, one may add) changed hands.¹⁰ One such example, a copy of the Aldine *Poetae Christiani Veteres* held today at Cambridge University Library, shows a little banter between Erasmus and his friend Martin Lipsius, suggesting an emotional engagement with the copy, and the exchange of books as part of their friendship.¹¹

The role of used books within early modern friendships also transpires from some provenances in Expilly’s library. Used books continued to enter Expilly’s collection after the end of his budgetary concerns prior to his marriage; interestingly, material analysis shows that several examples of equally cheap second-hand copies made their way onto his bookshelves in the form of

⁷ Howard M. Nixon: French bookbindings for Sir Richard Wingfield and Jean Grolier. In: Gatherings in honor of Dorothy E. Miner. Ed. Ursula E. McCracken, Lilian M.C. Randall and Richard H. Randall, jr. Baltimore: The Walters Art Gallery 1974, pp. 301-315: 312. Nixon’s article reproduces the title page of Johannes Grammaticus: In posteriora resolutoria Aristotelis commentaria (Venice: Aldo Manuzio & Andrea Torresano 1504), USTC 762308. Newberry Library, Case 6A 132. Also see Isabelle de Conihout: On Ten New Groliers: Jean Grolier’s First Library and His Ownership Marks Before 1540. New York: The Grolier Club 2013, p. 7.

⁸ This can be verified in many copies worldwide; examples are described in Egbertus Van Gulik: Erasmus and His Books. Transl. J.C. Grayson, ed. James K. McConica and Johannes Trapman. Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2018.

⁹ Cited from Patrizia Armandi: Erasmo da Rotterdam e i libri: storia di una biblioteca. In: Bibliothecae selectae. Da Cusano a Leopardi. Ed. Eugenio Canone. Florence: Olschki 1993, pp. 13-72: 58. The copy was described by Husner, cit. in Armandi. Also see Jean-Claude Margolin: Sur les migrations des quelques ouvrages de la bibliothèque d’Érasme. In: Voyages de bibliothèques. Ed. Marie F. Viallon. Saint-Etienne: Université de Saint-Etienne 1999, pp. 93-116.

¹⁰ Jean-Claude Margolin: Regards sur quelques notes marginales et manuscrits d’Érasme, ainsi que leur utilisation par l’humaniste. In: Notes: études sur l’annotation en littérature. Ed. Jean-Claude Arnould and Claudine Poulouin. Mont-Saint-Aignan: Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre 2008, pp. 27-44: 28-29.

¹¹ The copy (Cambridge University Library Special Collections, BSS.130.B04) is described in Stephen Orgel: The Reader in the Book: A Study of Spaces and Traces. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015, p. 9, and also in an article by Liam Sims for the Cambridge University Library Special Collections blog, posted on 1 November 2016: < <https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=13305> > (last accessed: 12 January 2021). The latter also contains a photographic reproduction of the title page with the inscriptions by Erasmus and Lipsius.

gifts. These are documented thanks to his practice of noting down gifts and donors within individual copies. As Expilly's administrative duties took him around the kingdom, it appears that many of his professional exchanges must have included informal discussions about his non-professional interests. An otherwise unidentified *avocat Le Gras* from Avignon gave him a copy of the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* (printed 1591, gift dating to 1613. Figure 2).¹² Another similar gift came from Bonetus Camberiensis, presumably a lawyer in Chambéry.¹³ Some gifts of used books included well-presented copies, while others are among the cheapest volumes in Expilly's library, frequently still encased in old-fashioned bindings, and even simple limp parchment. Most notably, the latter group includes Italian editions – literary texts or occasional publications of the kind travellers may purchase abroad. The importance of such gifts lay in their emotional rather than their economic value. Expilly's youthful travels in Italy in the early 1580s meant that poor items such as these held a considerable value in his eyes, despite their negligible market value.¹⁴

Exchanges such as these are to be seen within the broader context of belonging to the French elites, where the *voyage d'Italie* was considered a rite of passage for the new generation and an experience that fostered bonding.¹⁵ The gift of two volumes by Laurent de Chapponay, father-in-law of Expilly's daughter, is perhaps the most significant in this context as it would seem to have been given during the family exchanges surrounding the death of Laurent II, the son and the son-in-law of the two men, respectively (Figure 3).¹⁶ The inscriptions by Expilly on the two volumes only tell us that the books were given by de Chapponay – it does not relate conversations and exchanges that may have led to the gift. But sociologists and historians of emotions here offer a useful theoretical framework to interpret the gift as invested of a multifaceted emotional value, for the giver and the recipient, and an important factor in cementing relationships.¹⁷

Another typical manifestation of the used book as a gift comes in the form of legacies from one generation to another.¹⁸ This has been shown to be the case, for example, with family recipe books. Many of these feature multiple female provenances, which shows how such volumes were the carriers of a multi-layered feminine wisdom.¹⁹ Bibles, too, have often been associated with inter-generational ownership, and frequently contained core information, such as the date of birth and

¹² Angelo Rocca: *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*. Rome: Typographia Apostolica Vaticana 1591, USTC 852771. Grenoble BM, F.8428.

¹³ Apollonius Rhodius: *Argonauticon libri IIII cum annotationibus*. [Geneva]: Henri Estienne 1574, USTC 450661. Grenoble BM, F.4416; Henri Estienne: *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis*. Geneva: Henri Estienne 1566, USTC 450554. Grenoble BM, B.1514.

¹⁴ On Expilly in Italy, see Nicole Bingen: «Aux escolles d'outre-monts». *Étudiants de langue française dans les universités italiennes (1480-1599)*: Français, Franks-Comtois et Savoyards. Geneva: Droz 2019, I, pp. 1054-1063.

¹⁵ Jean Balsamo: *Le voyage d'Italie et la formation des élites françaises*. In: *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* 17 (2003), pp. 9-21.

¹⁶ Giovanni Boccaccio: *Il Filocopo*. Venice: [Domenico Giglio for] Francesco Rampazetto 1554, USTC 814845. Grenoble BM, E.29408; Lodovico Castelvetro: *Spaccio di maestro Pasquino romano*. Parma: Seth Viotti 1558, USTC 819044. Grenoble BM, C.44. Both books were given to Expilly in 1613.

¹⁷ The essay by Marcel Mauss: *Essai sur le don: forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*. In: *L'Année Sociologique* 1 (1923-1924), pp. 30-186 was seminal in postulating the social role of gifts. For the context of early modern France, see Natalie Zemon Davis: *The gift in sixteenth-century France*. New York: Oxford University Press 2000, and specifically on books, her article: *Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France*. In: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 33 (1983), pp. 69-88.

¹⁸ For a systematic study of a family of readers, see Richard Calis, Frederic Clark, Christian Flow, Anthony Grafton, Madeline McMahon and Jennifer M. Rampling: *Passing the Book: Cultures of Reading in the Winthrop Family, 1580–1730*. In: *Past & Present* 241 (2018) 1, pp. 69-141.

¹⁹ See for example M. Shanahan: *Manuscript Recipe Books as Archaeological Objects: Text and Food in the Early Modern World*. Lanham: Lexington 2015.

death of spouse and children, recorded by the head of the family.²⁰ Books such as these may be gendered gifts, or indeed they may cross gender divisions. A provenance held in the Municipal Library at Lyon and signalled by the *Numelyo* team is an example of the latter. It is a copy of the *Heures d'Orléans*, printed in Paris by Simon Vostre in the early sixteenth century, and owned by a local family.²¹ Françoise Le Coq, a schoolteacher, owned it sometime after mid sixteenth century. The volume contains her signature and promise of a reward if the book ever went missing. As a later inscription indicates, she later left it to her son, Etienne Desanseurre, also a schoolteacher in Orléans – an interesting fact, demonstrating that trades and professions may be passed on from mother to son, and not only from father to son.²²

II. Annotated books as items of increased value

The examples discussed above testify to the dual value of used books as cheaper, more affordable copies, and as bearers of an emotional value as objects. But second-hand books may also hold a significantly increased value as texts, where a copy was selected with an eye to the correctness. Such added value was manifested in the form of notes and emendations. The exchange of second-hand texts may also evidence mutual professional recognition. An important example in this sense is a 1508 copy of the *Practica* by Antonio Guainerio, bearing the inscription: “Emi hunc librum <...> pretio x ss ex quodam barbitonsore satis experto in sua arte” (I purchased this book for 10 sols from a certain barber, very skilled in his craft).²³ Palaeographic evidence shows that the volume had been annotated throughout, mostly in Latin, by a French reader. The new owner of the book was thus establishing that the true value of the copy included not just the book in its original state, as it had left the printing house, but also the annotations that had later been added by a respected practitioner. The more prominent the annotator, the higher the value.

The scarcity of a text, combined with the added value represented by annotations or corrections, may make a used book more valuable still. A case in point is the purchase of several volumes from the library of the Dominican friar Sante Pagnini or Pagnino (1470-1536), a prominent Hebraist active in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century between Florence, Avignon and Lyon.²⁴ The close examination of these materials by Monique Hulvey, drawing upon provenance information, makes a strong case for the importance of used books to scholars of Hebraica.²⁵ Pierre Bullioud (1548-1597), himself a Hebraist as well as a jurist and *procureur du roi* in Lyon, explored

²⁰ Examples and further bibliography discussed in Thomas Fulton: English Bibles and Their Readers, 1470-1700. In: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 47 (2017) 3, pp. 415-435. DOI 10.1215/10829636-4200020; Eamon Duffy: *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers 1240-1570*. New Haven: Yale University Press 2006; Jason Scott-Warren: *Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book*. In: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 73 (2010) 3, pp. 363-381.

²¹ Ces presentes heures a lusaige Dorleans au long sans riens requerir avec les miracles nostre dame et les figures de lapocalypse et des triumphes de Cesar. Paris: Simon Vostre c. 1510. Lyon BM, Rés A 490331.

²² Both provenances are described in *Numelyo*, under the names of mother and son.

²³ Antonio Guainerio: *Practica et omnia opera*. Venice: Penzio 1508, USTC 834806. Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, Rés. FOL T 88 INV 164.

²⁴ For a discussion of Pagnini's biography and scholarly method, see Sophie Kessler Mesguich: *Les études hébraïques en France, de François Tissard à Richard Simon (1508-1680)*. Ed. Max Engammare. Geneva: Droz 2013, pp. 305-312.

²⁵ Monique Hulvey: *Les bibliothèques retrouvées de Sante Pagnini, dominicain de Lucques et de Pierre Bullioud, «gentil-homme» lyonnais: En hébreu et en grec....* In: *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 1 (2009), pp. 79-106. The provenance project at the Municipal Library in Lyon, *Numelyo* <<https://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/>> (last accessed: 10 January 2021) gives free access to extensive digitisation and description of the materials described in this paragraph.

Pagnini's library – by that time, housed in the Dominican convent of Notre-Dame de Confort in Lyon, where most of the books remained until the French Revolution. Most of Pagnini's Hebrew books were produced by Italian presses, prominent in the production of Hebrew books, both in the Christian and in the Jewish traditions. Hulvey suggested that most of these were likely imported from Italy.²⁶

Indeed, we know from the correspondence of another reader who shared in such interests – Joseph-Juste Scaliger – that the purchase of quality Hebrew books in the south of France was fraught with challenges. The best nearby outlet for the purchase of such items was Avignon, where a Jewish minority resided; books may therefore be available on the relatively small market. Just like today, however, the reality of old books stalls may not be quite as exciting as imagination or hope made it – so trips to the book stalls in Avignon frequently proved disappointing.²⁷ Many prominent readers with an interest in such materials may resolve to purchasing books by proxy using their contacts based in Italy, a costly affair, and not necessarily destined to be successful. With this situation in mind, the value of Pagnini's library in sixteenth-century Lyon appears all the more significant, as it contained so many editions that were difficult to procure. This was true of the individual titles, and would naturally make a 'curated' collection even more valuable.

Bullioud did not limit himself to use the printed texts. Through what must have been a painstaking effort, he was also able to identify the provenance of several volumes through Pagnini's extensive annotations in Latin, Hebrew and Aramaic, and he succeeded in acquiring some of these for his own library.²⁸ Bullioud was right to consider these volumes of intellectual importance: in her systematic study of Hebraist studies in early modern France, Sophie Kessler Mesguich ascertained that much later scholarship rested upon Pagnini's own efforts and innovative work, far more than previous historiography had shown.²⁹ The authority of Pagnini's annotations made these items immensely valuable; the marginalia offered insights into his working methods, as well as providing unpublished notes.³⁰ If rare books were in themselves valuable for their scarcity, this kind of material was pretty much priceless in the eyes of the scholarly community.

Of the great humanist libraries, that of Joseph-Juste Scaliger (1540-1609) was one of the most renowned and sought after due to his extensive philological work. The library suffered multiple instances of fragmentation at various stages of Scaliger's life, resulting in substantial dispersal.³¹ The prestige of the book collection is further demonstrated by a small but significant factor in the dispersal of the library – occasional thefts. This is documented in Scaliger's own correspondence. On 13 April 1591 he wrote to Jacques-Auguste De Thou: "A thief has stolen my copy [of Statius] as well as many others annotated and corrected in my own hand".³²

Scaliger himself was acutely aware of the importance of his own annotations; his correspondence contains frequent references to his annotated copies. The volumes themselves may indicate the presence of annotations, treating them as text that deserved an authorship statement. The copy of the Aldine Pontanus, today at the Bodleian Library, carries the inscription "Cum

²⁶ Hulvey (see note 25), p. 86.

²⁷ Pierre Del Bene to Scaliger, 23 October 1588. Joseph-Juste Scaliger: The correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger. Ed. Paul Botley, Dirk van Miert, Anthony Grafton, H.J. de Jonge and Jill Kraye. Geneva: Droz 2012 [henceforth: Scaliger, Correspondence], II, pp. 67-71. I have confirmed many of my references from the edited correspondence relying on the Early Modern Letters Online portal <<http://emlo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>>, as I had no physical access to the book when I completed this piece.

²⁸ Hulvey (see note 25), p. 84.

²⁹ Kessler Mesguich (see note 24), p. 227.

³⁰ Calis, Clark, Flow, Grafton, McMahon and M. Rampling (see note 18), pp. 96-99.

³¹ Kasper van Ommen: The Legacy of Scaliger in Leiden catalogues, 1609-1716. In: Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Book Inventories in Print and Manuscript. Ed. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou. Leiden: Brill 2013, pp. 51-82.

³² My translation; Scaliger to De Thou, 13 April 1591. Scaliger (see note 27), II, pp. 154-157: 157.

emendationibus Viri Ill[ustri] Josephi Scaligeri” (Figure 4).³³ The hand is undoubtedly the same that had filled the margins with corrections. The typology of these interventions makes it clear why Scaliger’s annotated copies were considered so valuable; he had taken the time to minutely correct individual forms adopted in the printed text, down to typos, errors of declension, and all sort of erroneous readings (Figure 5).

When Scaliger’s books became available at the auction of his library, following his death in 1609, they were considered highly desirable. The presence of annotations in particular awakened interest in the scholarly community. This is evident from the inscriptions frequently found on extant copies, where the new owners took pride to inscribe the circumstances of their purchase. Two copies purchased by Gerhardt Vossius at the auction contain similar inscriptions: “Gerhardt Vossius bought [this volume] at the auction of the library of Joseph Scaliger”, “Gerhardt Vossius bought me [the book] at the auction of the books of Joseph Scaliger, whose hand corrected this copy extensively” (Figure 6).³⁴

Remarks on Scaliger’s annotations are found in other copies and started to be included in auction catalogues in the second half of the seventeenth century. One such example, detailing a copy bequeathed by Scaliger to Daniel Heinsius, and later acquired by Nicolaas Heinsius, is held today by Cambridge University Library.³⁵ The copy itself bears the inscription “Olim Josephi Scaligeri, nunc Danielis Heinsii, ex legato eius”. Annotations by both scholars were remarked upon in the auction catalogue of Nicolaas’s library in 1683, following the description of the volume: “Fuit hic quondam jos. Scaligeri deinde D. Heinsii qui multa passim ad oram notarunt”. Other examples are known, but for our purposes here it will suffice to remark that the circumstances of such acquisitions were frequently duly noted, with the same attention that is applied today by reputable antiquarian booksellers in providing a solid provenance trail.³⁶ By the age of the great book auction sales, annotated copies had formally transitioned into the category of precious items – if the annotator was worthy of mention, of course – and the annotations themselves had become valuable currency, within and beyond the scholarly community.

In the context of early modern printshops, annotated books may be valuable currency as they significantly reduced the preparatory work for a new edition. Used books annotated by their own authors are particularly relevant here. A good example is a copy of the *Poemata omnia* by Pietro Angeli da Barga (1517-1596), today at the Bodleian Library, prepared for a revised publication commissioned to Mamert Patisson in Paris (Figure 7).³⁷ Angeli’s extensive textual interventions included words being carefully erased and rewritten (Figure 8), in a neat handwriting that mimicked the printing types used in the earlier edition, as well as paper slips to correct longer passages (Figure 9). To Angeli’s corrections were added other comments by Jacopo Corbinelli, who acted as an intermediary between Angeli and Patisson, as well as presenting Angeli’s work to Henri III. Corbinelli’s interventions were in French and were clearly inscribed as instructions for the printing shop. A short epitaph by Lelio Torelli was marked with “faut imprimer cecy pag. 363” (this should be printed at page 363 – Figure 10), suggesting that the calculation of the full length of the edition had already being carried out. It is not clear that Patisson ever did publish this work, however. While we

³³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 2 R 4.61.

³⁴ My translation. The two copies are Oxford, Bodleian Library, Byw. K 1.4 and Auct. S 4.12 respectively.

³⁵ For the Heinsius example, I am relying on a punctual description and discussion in M.H. Hoeflich: Two Heinsius-related volumes in the University Library, Cambridge. In: Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 6 (1975) 4, pp. 262-265.

³⁶ Another example, which has required a critical discussion of sources, is described in H.J. de Jonge: How did Gomar acquire the copy of Flavius Josephus in Greek from Scaliger’s library? In: Nederlands archief voor kerkgeschiedenis / Dutch Review of Church History 77 (1997) 2, pp. 258-266.

³⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, 8o F 23 BS. Rita Calderini De Marchi remarked on some of the exchanges between Corbinelli and Pietro Angeli in her study of Corbinelli’s correspondence and intellectual networks. See her: Jacopo Corbinelli et les érudits français d’après la correspondance inédite Corbinelli-Pinelli (1566-1587). Milan: Hoepli 1914, pp. 76-78, 82.

have several copies of Angeli's *Syriados*, printed by Robert Estienne for Patisson between 1582 and 1584,³⁸ the *Poemata omnia* do not seem to have been printed in the end.

Several other copies previously owned by Corbinelli are preserved with similar annotations made in view of printing, most notably his copy of Luigi Pulci's *Morgante*.³⁹ It is clear that, at least in the context of prominent intellectuals or scholarly presses, printshop copies were considered valuable items. To give just one significant example, a gift of some 80 books, including several manuscripts used by Aldus Manutius for the preparation of his famous editions, was presented by Gian Francesco Torresano to Francis I of France. The gift included a particular type of 'used book', if we can indeed call it book: the discarded proofs of the trilingual New Testament, one of the great projects of Aldus Manutius that were never realised, and of which this is the only trace known to survive.⁴⁰

III. Borrowing and lending: the unspoken etiquette for access to used books

Used books were often not sold on but were simply borrowed and later returned to their rightful owner. This practice was perhaps even more important than full ownership, as it allowed for the exchange of intellectual content alongside the temporary lending of a material object. Access to libraries may be achieved physically – for example, Scaliger wrote about being able to access the library of Jacques Cujas in Bourges – or by proxy, by relying on a well-placed contact. Occasionally, books may be lent out, if one trusted the borrower. It was perfectly normal to annotate a friend's copy; indeed, the lending of annotated copies often resulted in the stratification of marginalia. Two such occasions are mentioned in Scaliger's correspondence. In 1576 he had been reading a volume from the library of François Vertunien; he returned the book with a comment inscribed in the margins about Henri Estienne's foolishness.⁴¹ On a separate occasion he lent a manuscript of his own work on Manilius to Claude Dupuy, asking to keep it strictly confidential – with the exception of Houllier, who had already been privy to the ongoing conversation on Manilius – and to annotate the copy with his own comments.⁴²

Not every scholar was equally willing to lend annotated copies. An interesting example in this context is offered by the correspondence of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637).⁴³ In 1632 he was asked to lend his own copy of the *Thesaurus temporum* edited by Scaliger, an edition printed in Leiden in 1606.⁴⁴ The copy was extremely valuable to its owner, not only for its textual content but for his personal extensive manuscript annotations. As became soon apparent, Peiresc would go to a great length to avoid separating from this volume: "unfortunately my poor Eusebius is so damaged by inconvenient marginalia for my own use that I would be very ashamed if such people

³⁸ This includes a copy of each part, donated by Patisson to François Rasse des Neux in 1582 and 1584 respectively. Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, *35.O.54.(Vol.1.2).

³⁹ Luca Degl'Innocenti: *Il Morgante postillato da Jacopo Corbinelli alla Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal: un progetto cinquecentesco di edizione*. In: *Rassegna Europea di Letteratura Italiana* 36 (2010), pp. 71-97.

Two such examples are at Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, 159-872q (with minor corrections in Corbinelli's hand) and 177-988f (with extensive interventions, including two manuscript letters included in the volume).

⁴⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms Grec 3064.

⁴¹ Scaliger to François Vertunien, 12 February [1576]. Scaliger (see note 27), I, pp. 169-171.

⁴² Scaliger to Claude Dupuy, 10 March 1578. Scaliger (see note 27), I, pp. 216-218.

⁴³ I describe this case study in my essay: *Booklists and the Republic of Letters: The Case of Peiresc*. In: *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. Graeme Kemp, Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen. Leiden: Brill 2021 (forthcoming).

⁴⁴ Eusebius Caesariensis: *Thesaurus temporum*. Ed. Joseph-Juste Scaliger. Leiden: Thomas Basson for Commelinus 1606. USTC 1011382.

saw them. It is for that reason that if the library of cardinal d'Armagnac has a copy, and if I could have one to avoid lending mine, in such a poor state as it is, I would happily pay for it twice its value".⁴⁵ Even 'accredited' readers may be refused a loan, if the book in question was precious enough to its owner. Many prominent readers became more cautious with age, undoubtedly having suffered many losses in the more generous days of their youth. Book owners frequently became rather tetchy as soon as a particular volume had been lent out, and would not rest until the book had been returned. Both Scaliger's and Peiresc's correspondences contain many examples suggestive of such patterns, as well as gentle reminders for borrowed books to be returned, frequently issued to third parties who may find themselves in the position of intermediaries regulating the transaction.

Nonetheless, one may still attempt a request, and a strict etiquette ruled all such negotiations. One representative example is offered by the correspondence of the physician Guy Patin (1601-1672), as he was commencing his survey of Parisian medical dissertation. Such materials became almost instantly rare items, as oftentimes they were produced in small print runs, and were rarely deemed worthy of preservation. The reasons for their rarity become apparent as soon as we explore some of their current whereabouts. I have discovered a great many copies, often unique and undocumented, recycled as binding waste in contemporary documents at the Archives Nationales in Paris.⁴⁶ Many of the registers of the notary Jacques Fardeau are bound in enormous volumes, containing handfuls of contemporary disputations used as padding for the covers (Figure 11). In some cases, as exemplified in Figures 12-13, Fardeau would use the verso of printed disputations to take notes and even to minute notarial acts for his own records. It seems likely that Fardeau had a material connection with the Faculty of Medicine over many years, to justify such a systematic occurrence. Such practices of recycling are important as they give insights into the shelf-life and afterlife of academic texts, as well as providing an explanation for Patin's great difficulty in locating copies of older disputations.

By April 1630, Patin had already amassed a collection of several hundred disputations, mostly defended in the last twenty years; older ones had proved most difficult to locate.⁴⁷ Through a mutual acquaintance, Quirin Le Vignon, Patin had become aware that Claude Belin, a fellow physician active in Troyes at the time, had a significant collection of such materials. It became of the utmost importance that Patin could convince Belin of his trustworthiness, in the hope of being able to access these unique materials. He thus wrote to Belin, sending Le Vignon's own greetings alongside his own respectful regards, and offered to reward Belin in whichever way he might see fit in return for access to his private collection. The negotiation continued by correspondence with Claude II Belin, son of the former, who offered to send copies of the originals. Patin responded with great assurances of his good intentions, but it is clear that he greatly desired to see the originals:

If you have someone in this city, to whose hands you may be willing to trust a deposit and a small parcel [of disputations], I would – before even touching them to transcribe them personally – promise to send them back to you in good time [...] but as I fear that you might find my request too daring (and that you might suspect me of being like the Spaniards, who

⁴⁵ Peiresc to Jacques Dupuy, Aix, 30 October 1635. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque: *Lettres de Peiresc*. Paris: 1888-1898, III, pp. 395-397: 395-396. My translation. The original reads: "... par disgrâce mon pauvre Eusebe est tellement gasté d'importunes apostilles que j'ay mises à la marge pour mon usaige en divers endroitz que je serois honteux que cela parust devant des gentz de celte sorte là. C'est pourquoy si la bibliothèque de Mr d'Auxerre n'est point sans ce livre là, et m'en pouvoit fournir un exemplaire pour me redimer de l'exhibition du mien, au mauvais estat qu'il est, je le payerois volontiers le double plus qu'il ne peut valloir".

⁴⁶ I am planning a systematic study of these materials. The registers in question are those of the notary Jacques Fardeau.

⁴⁷ Guy Patin to Claude Belin, 20 April 1630. Guy Patin: *Correspondence*. Ed. Loïc Capron. Available at <<https://www.biusante.parisdescartes.fr/patin/>> (last accessed 13 January 2021).

having been lent something, would like to keep it forever), I propose that I should pay a deposit of 20 *pistolles* that I would be happy to lose if I do not return the items within the agreed time [...].⁴⁸

In the end, a system was devised for the lending of the disputations through a mutual friend in Paris, who was able to keep an eye on the proceedings. By proposing and adhering to a strict etiquette in accessing this precious collection, Patin proved himself trustworthy as well as demonstrating the strength of the mutual interest in the history of the Faculty. This is yet another manifestation of the emotional value of used books, as the ongoing exchanges between Patin and the Belin family would soon lead to a lifelong friendship.

Ultimately, their mutual interest in these ephemeral materials proved the real bonding factor. The disputations were overall of so little economic value that, within a year of their public defence (but frequently sooner) they could only be used as print waste. Between Belin's painstaking effort in collecting and preserving them for decades, and Patin's genuine interest that caused him to go to such lengths to be able to access them, the curated collection had become virtually priceless.

Conclusions

The study of book prices has long engaged scholars in book historical disciplines, with a focus on retail prices and an interest in marketing materials and advertisement, often documented through rare and valuable sources. It is possible that, by focusing on the monetary element, we may have forgotten that books could have a significant value that vastly exceeded their material cost. The material investigation of used books offers important insights as to the emotional attachment their readers and owners might have towards them. A used book may be perceived as infinitely more valuable than a new, clean-margined copy, either because of emotional connections or because of the additional work it had come to enclose within its pages – such as annotations, corrections, and other reading marks. These may be perceived as so personal, that duplicates may be purchased as 'lending copies' to fulfil the social obligation to a friend who had requested access to a book. The study of commonplace books, too, ought to be considered within this context: using a separate volume for the recording of one's reading notes meant that the books themselves may remain clear from reading marks, and thus replaceable from an intellectual point of view.

When lending was conceived as a possibility, it was subject to strict rules, often unspoken but universal among likeminded individuals. The used book was irreplaceable, therefore borrowing it was a great responsibility, and demanded mutual trust. Indeed, such was the trust that exchanges of this kind entailed, that it often cemented lifelong friendships – as was the case between Guy Patin and the Belin family. Breaching that trust, on the other hand, meant not only losing borrowing benefits with the injured party, but also a damaged reputation with the extended network. It was not the sort of injury that would remain undisclosed to third parties.

Epistolary networks were themselves the flesh and blood of intellectual endeavours in the early modern age. Scholars and intellectuals relied on their correspondents in order to acquire books for their own libraries, either through purchase, exchange, or copy. What could not be found through standard trade routes, may be found through extra-ordinary networks. While many of these letters were concerned with new publications, a significant number discussed used books. Used books are usually framed in terms of provenance or curiosity; the origin or location of a book was deemed essential for its identification, as well as providing a means for appraising its intellectual

⁴⁸ Guy Patin to Claude II Belin, 1 May 1630. Patin (see note 47). 20 *pistoles* was a considerable sum; one *pistole* was worth 10 to 11 *livres tournois*.

calibre. Both the information available through contemporary letters, and the evidence provided through the material examination of copies, demonstrates that readers within the Republic of Letters engaged very actively with used books. The fate of other libraries was considered with interest and at times with open concern, when dispersal was a possibility. While a single used book might prompt the interest of individual intellectuals, libraries as collective endeavours solicited the concern of a community across borders and linguistic domains.

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