

SCHOLARLY IDENTITY AND MEMORY ON A GRAND TOUR: THE TRAVELS OF JOANNES KOOL AND HIS TRAVEL JOURNAL (1698-1699) TO ITALY

KOEN SCHOLTEN, ASKER PELGROM

Abstract

This article presents the recently uncovered travelogue by Joannes Kool (1672- ca. 1708) describing his travels through the Low Countries, France, Germany, and especially Italy. The first part explains how Kool could gain access to libraries, local scholarly networks, and manuscripts by drawing on a distinct scholarly identity. The second part analyses the afterlife of Kool and his journal, showing how the memory of his journey shaped changing forms of scholarly memory in different contexts up to the twentieth century. At the end of the article, an appendix has been added consisting of a selection of transcriptions from the travelogue.

Keywords: travel writing – grand tour – Republic of Letters – scholarly identity – scholarly memory

Moet, spreekt hy, ik dan ook den vryen staat verlaaten,
 Waar in ik heb vernoegt zoo langen tyd geleeft?
Zal dan al 't heiligdom van Pallas my niet baaten,
 Waar naar ik moedig langs haar heirbaan heb gestreeft?
Moet ik, die in Italje en Vrankryks schoone streeken,
 Zoo veele wysheit, zoo bekoorlyk voor het hart,
Beschouwt heb, my nu van vrydom zien versteeken,
 Of quynen tot in 't graf door eene onheelebre smart?¹

¹ Excerpt from *Ter bruiloft van den heere Joan Kool, Raad en Schepen der Stadt Amersfoort, en juffrouw Elizabeth Looten [...]*, Amsterdam: François Halma, 1703, p. 7. Translation to English: 'Do I, he says, also leave this free condition, // In which I have delightfully lived for such a long time? // Will the holy shrine of Pallas be of no avail to me, // To which I have bravely strived on her paved roads? // I have seen the beautiful regions of Italy and France, // With so much wisdom, so appealing to the heart, // Do I have to see that take my freedom away // Or do I need to languish until the grave with an incurable yearning?'

Introduction

After working for an entire day in a Florentine library, Joannes Kool lamented: ‘I would not have copied this author, if Mister Gronovius would not have requested me to do so, therefore I have worked here for someone else again.’² Joannes Kool (1672–ca. 1708) was a Dutch scholar on his Grand Tour with more than one mission; with his own and – as he complained – with those of other learned men such as Leiden University professor Jacobus Gronovius (1645–1716) too. Kool studied at Utrecht University and obtained his doctoral degree in law from the same university in 1698. After his graduation, he ventured to Rome as a learned man well-versed in antiquities and law, together with his friend and fellow doctor in law, Lucas van Voorst (1670–1738).³ Recently, Kool’s extensive and undocumented travel journal was unearthed in a Roman library. It carries the title *Journal van een rijse gedaan door Italiën &^a in den Jaare Anno 1698 (Journal of a journey undertaken through Italy etc. in the year 1698)* (see figure 1).⁴

Kool’s travelogue describes his year-long journey through seventeenth-century Europe: its cities, roads, inns, courts, but, more importantly for Kool, its antiquities, music, libraries, books, and learned men. In comparison with other documented travel journals, this travel journal stands out for a variety of characteristics. Firstly, Kool travels after obtaining his doctoral degree and does not visit any university on his journey. Although many noble travellers and mature scholars ignored universities, Kool was neither of the two. Secondly, the manuscript contains an account of almost every single day (with two jumps in time). Thirdly, with its 970 folios bound in three volumes, it is the most elaborate Dutch travel journal concerning Europe handed down from the second half of the seventeenth century.⁵ And lastly, Kool’s account offers a unique insight into scholarly practices and encounters, which take centre stage in this paper.

² ‘Ik zoude dezen autheur niet gecopieerd hebben, ten waar de Heer Gronovius mij dit niet versocht had, daarom heb ik hier weder voor een ander gewerkt.’ (Rome, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte (hereafter: BIASA), mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 2, fol. 396^v). All translations in this article are ours; the original Dutch text, or a reference to the corresponding passages in the appendix, will be provided in the footnotes.

³ L. van Voorst, *Disputatio juridica inauguralis de hereditatis petitione*, doctoral thesis, Utrecht University, Utrecht: François Halma, 1693. Lucas van Voorst became a magistrate in Utrecht in 1701, see Utrecht, Het Utrecht Archief (hereafter: HUA), Raadsleden: Bestuurders Utrecht en Nieuwegein, no. 1000: Lucas van Voorst.

⁴ BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, 3 vols, 970 fols.

⁵ Compared to R. Lindeman, Y. Scherf, and R. Dekker, eds, *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders uit de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw*, Rotterdam, 1994; and the online list of Dutch travelogues: R.M. Dekker and A. Baggerman, ‘Reisverslagen tot 1814’, *Website of the Onderzoeksinstituut egodocument en geschiedenis*, <http://egodocument.net/reisverslagen.html>.

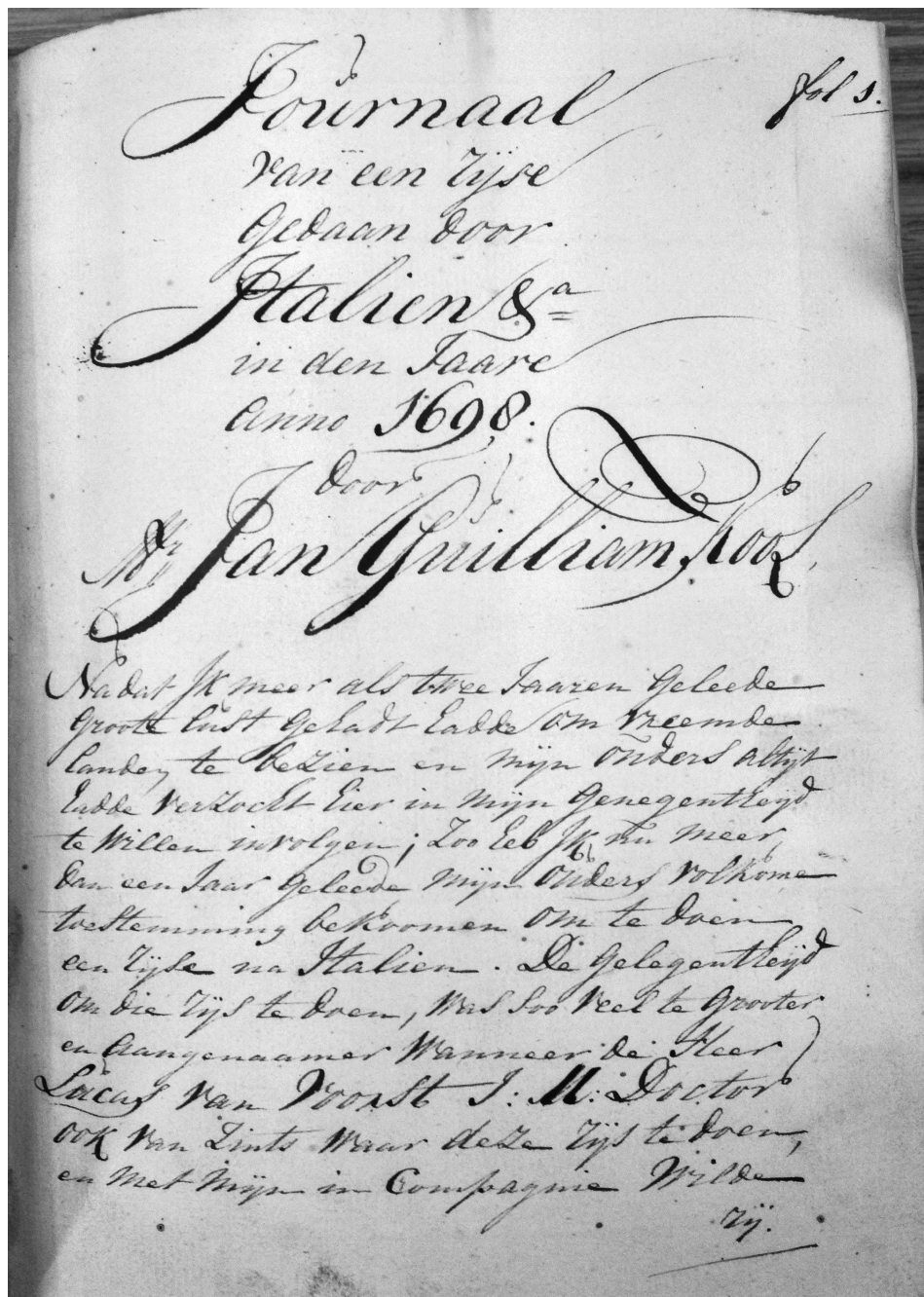


Figure 1. First folio of Joannes Kool's *Journaal van een rijse gedaan door Italien & [...]*. BIASA, mss. 34 A 1-3, vol. 1, fol. 1^r, by courtesy of the Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo. Image under copyright.

The goal of this article is twofold. Firstly, it will demonstrate how a scholarly travel journal such as Kool's offers us a way to understand the early modern community of scholars: the Republic of Letters. Through sustained scholarly travels throughout Europe, the ideals and practices of the Republic of Letters were both represented and experienced. We will show how Kool could experience this Republic of Letters — gain access to libraries and manuscripts, and move in local learned circles — by presenting himself as a scholar. In other words, Kool could successfully adopt an existing repertoire of social practices associated with scholarly personae. Secondly, we will address the afterlife of the travel journal itself, its own peregrination, including its ending up in Rome. This part focuses on how later scholars remembered Kool and shows how his travelogue was used well after his journey for the production of knowledge, as well as shaping different kinds of scholarly identities in different learned contexts. The first part thus focuses on Kool's account and travel, while the latter part unpacks the journal's changing use and perceived significance throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.

At the end of the article, an appendix has been added, which contains additional information about the manuscript and transcriptions of quoted passages concerning scholarly interactions. Since the focus of this article lies on the scholarly aspect of travelling, the remainder of this introduction will briefly introduce the Grand Tour and the *peregrinatio academica*, as well as the Republic of Letters, all central concepts in understanding the context of Kool's travel and journal.

Kool followed a widespread behavioural pattern amongst young and aspiring Western scholars in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Travelling around Europe was practiced by a wide array of figures: diplomats, ambassadors, merchants, students, but also pilgrims, colonists, and pirates.⁶ The Grand Tour in the early modern period — traditionally passing through France, Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries — was the name for the educational journey around Europe.⁷ Many young Dutch students travelled across the continent to

⁶ For a typology of early modern travellers, see W.H. Sherman, 'Stirrings and Searchings (1500–1720)', in: P. Hulme and T. Youngs, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge, 2002, pp. 17–36 (21–30).

⁷ A brief overview of scholarly literature on the Grand Tour: L. Schudt, *Italienreise im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien, 1959; A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour: Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw*, Amsterdam, 1983; J. Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1992; J. Elsner and J.P. Rubiés, eds, *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, London, 1999; J. Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, New Haven, 2003; J. Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, Basingstoke, 2003; M.G. Brennan, ed., *The Origins of the Grand Tour: The Travels of Robert Montagu, Lord*

study at a foreign university, learn a language, build up a network, obtain a doctoral degree, and become acquainted with local forms of civility. Noblemen and scholars alike considered travelling to be a formative experience, as well as a credential necessary to further one's career in statesmanship or academia.⁸

Kool carried with him to Italy a humanist and legal academic background. As argued by Jás Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, a humanist education was essential for a systematic empirical approach to travelling. It offered both philological tools and classical literary models, as well as a positive view of travels as a means of education.⁹ Humanist ideals of the Grand Tour were promoted throughout the early modern period, notably by the well-known humanist Justus Lipsius in his *Epistola de peregrinatione Italica*, a popular text that was republished and translated into Dutch in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Lipsius' morally-oriented text distinguished two aims of an educational journey: *utilitas* (utility) and *voluptas* (pleasure). 'Yet, beware', Lipsius informs future travellers, 'that it [the travelling of travellers of old] came to pass not merely with pleasure, but it also bore fruit: everyone can reel and rummage; few research and learn; that is, travel rightly.'¹¹ A virtuous and successful Grand Tour, in the eyes of the humanist, thus meant balancing both *voluptas* and *utilitas*. Throughout the seventeenth century, travellers increasingly moved away from studying and obtaining doctorate degrees, signalling the beginning of 'Grand Tourism'. Kool, however, took Lipsius' advice to heart: while enjoying the gardens of Versailles and many

Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663), London, 2004; G. Verhoeven, *Europe Within Reach: Netherlandish Travellers on the Grand Tour and Beyond, 1585-1750*, D. Webb, tr., Leiden, 2015; R. Sweet, G. Verhoeven, and S. Goldsmith, eds, *Beyond the Grand Tour: Northern Metropolises and Early Modern Travel Behaviour*, London, 2017.

⁸ For the role of travelling in the learned world, see K.R. Eskildsen, 'Exploring the Republic of Letters: German Travellers in the Dutch Underground, 1690-1720', in: K.H. Nielsen, M. Harbsmeier, and C.J. Ries, eds, *Scientists and Scholars in the Field: Studies in the History of Fieldwork and Expeditions*, Aarhus, 2012, pp. 101-122. For the role of travelling in natural history, see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley, 1994, pp. 155-193.

⁹ Elsner and Rubiés, *Voyages and Visions* (as in n. 7), p. 46.

¹⁰ J. Lipsius, 'Een groot oordeel van dien grooten en uytsteeckenden Justus Lipsius, over het reysen', in: N. Van Ravesteyn, *Wegh-Wyser, Vertoonende de besonderste vrende vermaecklijckheden die in t Reysen door Vranckryck en eenige aengrensende Landen te sien zijn*, Amsterdam, Nicolaes van Ravesteyn, 1647; originally published as J. Lipsius, *Epistola de peregrinatione Italica*, Leiden: Franciscus Haegerus, 1592; also discussed in Frank-van Westrienen, *Groote Tour* (as in n. 7), pp. 42-48.

¹¹ 'Doch men lette hier, dat dat geschiede niet alleen met vermaeck, maer oock met vrucht: een yeder kan wel swieren en snuffelen; weynige ondersoecken en leeren; dat is, recht reisen.' (Lipsius, 'Groot oordeel' [as in n. 10]; translation mine).

other exquisite palaces, he also spent a great deal of time researching manuscripts and books.

Travelling allowed young scholars to establish a learned network throughout Europe, as is underscored by Kool's case.¹² Local learned circles around Jacobus Gronovius, professor at Leiden University, and Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632–1703), professor at Utrecht University, enabled Kool to study and build a local network. Beyond these local circles of learning, however, waited the Republic of Letters.¹³ This Republic of Letters is often considered as the extensive epistolary network between scholars in the early modern period throughout Europe. Ideally, scholars shared knowledge across confessional and state-defined borders. However, in reality this ideal of sharing knowledge was sometimes hindered by personal, regional, national, religious, and intellectual conflicts.¹⁴ Joannes Kool had established himself as a learned man in the Dutch Republic on the basis of his academic work, such as his disputation and dissertation, and connections with widely-known scholars such as Gronovius, Graevius, Perizonius (1651–1715), and Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657–1712). On his Grand Tour, Kool could present himself as a disciple of Graevius and Gronovius to subsequently gain access to libraries and local learned men along the route. This point will be elaborated in the first section of this paper.

Kool's journey is typical in terms of route for a Grand Tour to Italy (see figure 2). After an eighteen-day travel, during which he stopped a few days in Dordrecht, Antwerp, and Brussels, Kool spent forty-nine days in the centre of learning and culture in France: Paris. Continuing through Lyon and Genève, Kool entered Italy, and took multiple-day stops in Turin, Genoa, Milan, and Bologna, to ultimately arrive in Florence. In Florence, Kool spent another forty-nine days to revel in Tuscan culture, but also to collate and copy manuscripts in the Laurentian library.¹⁵ On 10 October 1698, Kool reached his ultimate destination: Rome.¹⁶ During his ninety-day stay in Rome, he visited palaces, churches,

¹² D.S. Lux and H.J. Cook, 'Closed Circles or Open Networks? Communicating at a Distance during the Scientific Revolution', *History of Science*, vol. 36, 1998, pp. 179–211.

¹³ A brief overview of scholarly literature on the Republic of Letters: J.A.H. Bots and F. Waquet, eds, *Commercium Litterarium, 1600–1750: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters*, Amsterdam, 1994; A. Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750*, New Haven, CT, 1995; H. Bots and F. Waquet, *La République des Lettres*, Paris, 1997; M. Mulso, *Die unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik: Wissen, Libertinage und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Stuttgart, 2007; D. van Miert, 'What Was the Republic of Letters: A Brief Introduction to a Long History (1417–2008)', *Groniek*, vol. 204/205, 2010, pp. 269–287.

¹⁴ See Goldgar, *Impolite Learning* (as in n. 13).

¹⁵ BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 2, fols 342^r–419^r.

¹⁶ BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vols 2–3, fols 481^r–775^r.



Figure 2. An overview of the route taken by Joannes Kool in 1698–1699, interpolated plot based on the locations mentioned in the travel journal.

and libraries. The only other city where Kool stayed for a prolonged period of time is Venice, which got Kool’s attention for twenty-four days.¹⁷ From there, Kool slowly headed back to Utrecht in fifty-two days, travelling through Padua, Verona, Innsbruck, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfurt am Main, Aachen, Cologne, Liège, and Maastricht. In the matter-of-fact tone characteristic of this travel journal, Kool notes on the last pages:

At five in the morning, we sailed with an express yacht [...] to Gorichem, arrived there at nine, rode with an express carriage from there at ten, paid five guilders and a half for the carriage, and arrived at four in Utrecht.¹⁸

While there is always a balance between *voluptas* and *utilitas* on a Grand Tour, Kool’s journey is characterised by a distinct scholarly focus. In total, 82 of the

¹⁷ BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 3, fols 810^r–876^r.

¹⁸ ‘Des morgens ten vijf uren seijden wij met een expres jacht [...] naa[r] Gorcum, arriveerden aldaar te negen uren, reeden met een expresse waage daarvan daan te 10. uren, betaalden voor de waage vijf guldens en een half, arriveerden ten vier uren in Utrecht.’ (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 3, fols 968^r–969^r).

373 days of his travel were spent in libraries. Of those 373 days, 106 days were travel days, so 30% of the non-travel days was spent in libraries. At first sight, this number might now seem insignificant, but remember that Kool spent these days *working* in a library copying or collating manuscripts. On the remaining days, Kool visited locals, palaces, churches, antiquities, festivities, or stayed at the inn. The way Kool approached the material culture of Rome is also typical for an antiquarian. Armed with Alessandro Donati's *Roma Vetus ac recens*, a standard guide to Rome for the learned antiquarian, Kool visited sites of Roman antiquity.¹⁹ In the second half of the seventeenth century, Rome was increasingly interpreted as a 'historical' and 'antiquarian' space by travellers, who showed peculiar interest in Rome's monuments and antiquities, as well as in its countless statues and inscriptions.²⁰ Donati's *Roma* presented an antiquarian space and Kool experienced it. In the passages concerning Rome, Kool often compares his own observations with those of Donati, and provides the exact chapter and page where Donati describes a certain landmark. For example, after visiting the Pantheon, Kool finds nothing to add to Donati's description: 'I consider this temple the best remnant of Antiquity, I will not write down any more since Donati L[iber] III C[aput] 16 has everything.'²¹ When he visited the Arc of Constantine, Kool notes 'Donati L: III. Cap: 6. describes this arch so decently, and gives such a good explication of the bas-reliefs on it, that I cannot find anything to add to it.'²² Although in most instances Kool merely notes 'vide Donatum', there are times when Donati is apparently wrong, and requires emendation. For example, while Kool is visiting the Aventine hill in Rome, he considers the location of the Temple of Diana:

When we were at the Aventine [hill], we saw the Temple of Diana, currently named Santa Sabina, which contradicts Donati L[iber] III. Cap[itulum] 10. and proves, that the Temple of Diana could not have been here, where the Santa Sabina is now, but that the Temple of Diana was on the other side of the Aventine [hill].²³

¹⁹ Kool probably traveled with the 1695 edition printed in Amsterdam: A. Donati, *Roma vetus ac recens utriusque aedificiis ad eruditam cognitionem expositis*, Amsterdam: Janssons van Waesberge & Johannes Watters, 1695.

²⁰ R. Sweet, 'The Changing View of Rome in the Long Eighteenth Century', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 33:2, 2010, pp. 145–164 (146–147).

²¹ '[...] vorder acht ik deese tempel het beste overblijfsel van de oudheid, ik zal daar van niet meer aantekenen om dat Donatus L III C 16 alles heeft.' (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 2, fol. 660°).

²² 'Donatus L: III. Cap: 6. beschrijft deeze arcus zoo net, en geeft zoo een goede explicatie van de Bassreliëven, die daarop zijn, dat ik niets kan vinden om daar bij te doen.' (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 3, fol. 696°–697°).

²³ 'Als van deeze morgen op de Aventinus waaren, zoo zaagen wij het Templum Dianae, hede genaamt Santa Sabina, het welk even wel Donatus L. III. Cap: 10. tegenspreekt en bewijst, dat het templum Dianae niet kan geweest zijn, daar ter plaatse alwaar tegenwoordigh Santa Sabina is,

In a way, Kool approached Rome the same way he approached a manuscript: philologically collating or copying it.²⁴ These observations were later published in a posthumous work by Marquard Gude (1635–1689), the *Antiquae inscriptiones* (1731), which will be analysed in detail in the second part of this paper.²⁵ In sum, both the time spent in libraries and Kool's approach to Rome underline the antiquarian and scholarly character of his travel.

Scholarly Identity: Traveling through the Republic of Letters

Kool could draw on a distinct scholarly identity to gain access to local learned men, libraries, and rare manuscripts. The way in which Kool created a mutual understanding between himself and his contacts is central to understanding how knowledge travelled within the early modern Republic of Letters. As James A. Secord has stressed: 'Struggles for access and control, however, are always at stake in any form of communication: to make knowledge move is the most difficult form of power to achieve.'²⁶ Scholarly identity is more than mere self-fashioning: it is the way in which the perception of a typical ideal of a scholar helps facilitate communication as well as overcome struggles for access and control.²⁷

Kool was moving between the far ends of the confessional divide in the seventeenth century: Catholic Italy and the Protestant Low Countries.²⁸ While Kool was in Rome and Florence, he reported in his journal about his struggles to gain access to certain repositories. The crucial part, however, is that these issues were always resolved with a reference to Kool's identity and status as a scholar. This scholarly identity consisted of three aspects: material manifestations of scholarly civility such as books and letters, the 'othering' of clergymen

maar dat den Tempel van Diana aan de andere kant van den Aventinus is geweest.' (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 3, fol. 700^r).

²⁴ In the mind of seventeenth-century antiquarians Rome, and Antiquity in general, was not rendered 'ancient' or simply 'the past', but was directly relevant for the present, see V.P. Tschudi, *Baroque Antiquity: Archeological Imagination in Early Modern Europe*, New York, 2016.

²⁵ M. Gude, *Antiquae inscriptiones quum graecae, tum latinae* [...], Leeuwarden: François Hesselius, heir of François Halma, 1731.

²⁶ J.A. Secord, 'Knowledge in Transit', *Isis*, vol. 65:4, 2004, pp. 654–672 (670).

²⁷ For a consideration of scholarly persona and identity, see H. Paul, 'What is a Scholarly Persona? Ten Theses on Virtues, Skills, and Desires', *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History*, vol. 53:3, 2014, pp. 348–371.

²⁸ On scholarly exchange between Italian and Dutch scholars across the confessional divide, see J. Touber, 'Religious Interests and Scholarly Exchange in the Early Enlightenment Republic of Letters: Italian and Dutch Scholars, 1675–1715', *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia*, vol. 68:2, 2014, pp. 411–436; and Id., "'I am Happy that Italy Fosters such Exquisite Minds": Gijsbert Cuper (1644–1716) and Intellectual Life on the Italian Peninsula', *Incontri: Rivista europea di studi italiani*, vol. 30:2, 2015, pp. 91–106.

and ‘normal’ morally flawed young men, and Kool’s self-presentation as a disciple of a certain learned tradition.

To substantiate this claim, this section will elaborate on Kool’s involvement with two separate learned circles: Florence and Rome. The first case will focus on Joannes Kool’s meeting with Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714), librarian to Cosimo III de’ Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Kool’s subsequent issues in gaining access to the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana. The second case focuses on the more effortless attempt to gain access to the Bibliotheca Vaticana in Rome. Both cases illustrate the three aforementioned aspects of Kool’s scholarly identity.

Florence: Magliabechi and the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana

Among the Dutch scholars who travelled to Florence to visit its libraries and court, we find such luminaries as Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671, father of the Leiden professor Jacob), Isaac Vossius (1618–1689, son of Gerardus Vossius), Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681, son of Daniel Heinsius), and Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius (1649–1724, brother of the Leiden professor). Throughout the seventeenth century, Florence was a hub for scholarly correspondence and book dispersion, all directed by the bibliophile and court librarian Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714).²⁹ Moreover, the ruler of the Tuscan state, Cosimo III de’ Medici, had twice travelled to the Dutch Republic: first between 1667 and 1668, and Cosimo returned in 1669. During these trips, Cosimo acquainted himself with local learned men, such as Nicolaas Heinsius and Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680), and Kool’s intellectual fathers: Gronovius and Graevius.³⁰ Magliabechi’s centrality in the exchange between the Low Countries and Tuscany is not only exemplified by the extensive exchange of letters and books, but also by his recurrence in most Dutch travel journals of the second half of the seventeenth century. Through numerous contacts between

²⁹ I. van Vugt, ‘Using Multi-layered Networks to Disclose Books in the Republic of Letters’, *Journal of Historical Network Research*, vol. 1, 2017, pp. 25–51 (43–48). On Magliabechi’s peculiar ascension to the Medici court and his atypical behaviour at the court, see C. Callard, ‘Diogène au service des princes: Antonio Magliabechi à la cour de Toscane (1633–1714)’, *Histoire, Économie et Société*, vol. 19:1, 2000, pp. 85–103.

³⁰ G.J. Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de’ Medici, prins van Toscane, door de Nederlanden (1667–1669): journalen en documenten*, Amsterdam, 1919, pp. 1–liii. The travel journal of Cosimo III’s travels has been translated to Dutch as L. Wagenaar, *Een Toscaanse prins bezoekt Nederland: De twee reizen van Cosimo de’ Medici, 1667–1669*, B. Eringa, tr., Amsterdam, 2014.

Magliabechi and men like Kool, Jacobus Gronovius,³¹ Laurentius Gronovius,³² but also Coenraed Ruysch,³³ and the brothers van der Dussen,³⁴ relations between the Tuscan court and the nobility of the Low Countries were maintained.³⁵

The way in which Kool negotiated his way into the Laurentiana is exemplified by two passages in his diary. The first recounts Kool's meeting with Magliabechi at *Casa Magliabechi*.³⁶ The second passage describes Kool's struggle for access to manuscripts and the 'maliciousness of the monks', as Kool calls it, who deny him full access to manuscripts in the Laurentiana.³⁷

On the first day in Florence, on 19 August 1698, Kool immediately presented himself to Magliabechi. While standing in front of Magliabechi's house, Kool noted the contrast between the greatness of Magliabechi and the low esteem of the neighbourhood, 'which many [people] have told me', attesting to Kool's self-awareness of standing in the footsteps of scholars who have travelled before him.³⁸ Kool described his manner of presentation in great detail:

After we had knocked at the door [of Magliabechi], we took care to hold the books in the open, so Magliabechi could see them, to gain access more easily [...] we were welcomed and [Magliabechi] called from above *Adesso Signori*, after little waiting in front of the door, Magliabechi came to open the door, and after that, he adorned us with compliments, we gave him the books, which were all very pleasant.³⁹

Kool had brought a variety of books as gifts from himself and on behalf of Graevius, Gronovius and Nicolas Toinard (1629–1706), librarian of the Royal Library in Paris: Graevius' edition of Callimachus' *Hymni*, Gronovius' *Manethonis apotelesmatica*, and Dubos' *Histoire des quatre Gordiens*,

³¹ G.J. Hoogewerff, 'Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius en zijn reizen naar Italië. I. De reiziger, zijn reisgenooten en zijn wedervaren', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd series, Vol. 1, 1942, pp. 35–56 (42–43).

³² G.J. Hoogewerff, 'Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius en zijn reizen naar Italië. III. De briefwisseling met Antonio Magliabechi', *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 3rd series, Vol. 3, 1943, pp. 159–167 (159–160).

³³ The Hague, Nationaal Archief (hereafter: NA), FA Teding van Berkhout, no. 1408, fols 72^r–76^r; transcription generously provided by Alan Moss.

³⁴ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. KW 128 D 34.

³⁵ For an overview of the relations between Tuscany and the Low Countries under the rule of Cosimo III, see H.T. van Veen and A.P. McCormick, *Tuscany and the Low Countries: An introduction to the Sources and an Inventory of four Florentine Libraries*, Florence, 1984, pp. 49–56; see also Frank-van Westrienen, *Groote Tour*, pp. 196–197.

³⁶ For a full transcription of Kool's account of this encounter, see Appendix a.

³⁷ For a full transcription of Kool's account of his visit to the Laurentiana, see Appendix b.

³⁸ Appendix a, fol. 344^r in ms.

³⁹ Appendix a, fol. 345^r in ms.

respectively.⁴⁰ These books acted not just as presents, but also constituted a material manifestation of Kool's embeddedness in the learned circle of Graevius and Gronovius. Kool thus presented himself as a disciple of those two learned men by handing Magliabechi their latest printed works. Dubos' *Histoire*, the book Kool offered on behalf of Toinard, whom he had met in Paris at the Royal Library, underlined Kool's membership of the civil community of scholars. These books testified that Graevius, Gronovius, and Toinard, all celebrated members of the learned world, *trusted* Kool in performing these duties for them, Magliabechi, and the Republic of Letters at large. Along with these three material testimonies of virtue, Kool also offered Magliabechi his own printed oration and doctoral dissertation.⁴¹ These works were material reminders of Kool's scholarly merit. Kool thus presented himself as a reputable scholar, vouched for by illustrious learned men, all through the offering of five books.

According to scholarly ideals of reciprocity in the Republic of Letters, Magliabechi was now obliged to Kool.⁴² Magliabechi fulfilled this obligation by arranging an audience with Cosimo III, as well as arranging full access to the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana. At first, Cosimo III granted Kool full access to the library and the right to collate and copy manuscripts. But, as Kool describes in his journal, Magliabechi said

that he would go to the palace to advance our case, because this was a great maliciousness of the monks; [...] the Grand Duke has immediately sent an order to grant copying, yet those overseers have been at the court, [saying] it was not advisable to allow me into the library since I was a *gereformeerde* [member of the Dutch Reformed church].⁴³

Afterwards Magliabechi visited Cosimo III, and Kool received a letter 'so there was no doubt anymore, that the entire library would be open to me'.⁴⁴ All is well, Kool must have thought. Yet, when Kool retrieved a Manetho codex, he was not allowed to sit in the library, but had to sit at the stairs leading up to the library, and the doors on both sides were closed. Here, Kool notes, 'I was locked up like

⁴⁰ J.G. Graevius, *Callimachi hymni, epigrammata, et fragmenta*, Utrecht: François Halma & Willem vande Water, 1697; J. Gronovius, *Manethonis apotelesmaticorum libri sex*, Leiden: Fredericus Haaring, 1698; J.P. Dubos, *Histoire des quatre Gordiens, prouvée et illustrée par les medailles*, Paris: Florentin & Pierre Delaulne, 1695.

⁴¹ J. Kool, *Oratio de artibus quibus Augustus [...]*, Utrecht: François Halma, 1696; Id., *Disputatio juridica inauguralis ad legem aeternam tarpejam de multis [...]*, doctoral dissertation, Utrecht University, Utrecht: François Halma, 1698.

⁴² On the ideal of reciprocity in the Republic of Letters, see Goldgar, *Impolite Learning* (as in n. 13), pp. 21–26.

⁴³ Appendix b, fols 380^r–381^r in ms.

⁴⁴ Appendix b, fol. 382^r.

a prisoner, this place did not please me, since I did not have enough light'.⁴⁵ Two days later, in an attempt to continue his collating and copying of manuscripts, Kool visited the Laurentiana again: 'I was locked up [again] and it was so dark, that I could not see, and [I] progressed very little'.⁴⁶ This was the limit for Kool, and he complained to Magliabechi about the dire circumstances under which he had to work at the library. After Magliabechi visited both Cosimo III and the head librarian, a compromise was reached. Although Kool still could not work in the library, the librarian would leave the door open to let in more light. Kool's response:

To have more light the door, which only let through light through small gratings, would be open, and I would not be locked up, what can I do? I must be content.⁴⁷

After this brief conflict between Magliabechi, Cosimo III, and the monks of the abbey presiding over the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, Kool copied and collated manuscripts in the library for the remainder of his stay in Florence. This memory of religious intolerance is significant for how Magliabechi, and subsequently Kool in his journal, characterised the monks at the library as the other. More importantly, Magliabechi characterised the behaviour of the monks as 'evil', since it did not accord with the values of openly sharing knowledge with scholars, regardless of their confession.

Gaining access to libraries was not always troublesome, however. In Rome, we see similar strategies at work to gain access, especially the 'othering' of clergymen and the claim to moral superiority, as well as Kool's self-presentation as a disciple of Gronovius and Graevius.

Rome: Cardinal Enrico Noris and the Bibliotheca Vaticana

The role of scholarly diplomat and gatekeeper, played in Florence by Antonio Magliabechi and Cosimo III, had been fulfilled in Rome by Christina of Sweden, an educated patroness for scholars such as Isaac Vossius and Nicolaas Heinsius. Both spent several years at Christina's court in Sweden: Vossius between 1642 and 1645, and Heinsius between 1648 and 1655.⁴⁸ Kool, however, arrived in Rome a decade after Christina's death, and relied on the help of two cardinals:

⁴⁵ Appendix b, fol. 383^r.

⁴⁶ Appendix b, fol. 388^r.

⁴⁷ Appendix b, fols 393^r–394^r.

⁴⁸ F.F. Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden*, Delft, 1949; Id., *Isaac Vossius en zijn kring: Zijn leven tot zijn afscheid van koningin Christina van Zweden, 1618–1655*, Groningen, 1999, pp. 253–503.

Enrico Noris (1631–1704) and Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740). Cardinal Noris was well-acquainted with Magliabechi, whose recommendations had helped Noris become librarian of Christina of Sweden in Rome, and subsequently librarian of the Vatican library in 1692 until his death. Cardinal Noris had also met Kool's mentor, Jacobus Gronovius, when Gronovius was a professor in Pisa, although their relationship at the end of the seventeenth century appears to have been tense. Cardinal Ottoboni was widely considered a patron of the arts in the late baroque period, and was a well-connected Roman clergyman on account of having been the cardinal-nephew of Pope Alexander VIII.⁴⁹ Much as in Florence, Kool could rely safely on strong contacts between his two mentors, Gronovius and Graevius, and the local learned world.

Kool's strategy to enter the Roman learned world, as well as its libraries is strikingly similar to the process in Florence. The first step was to have an audience with Cardinal Noris, which took place at his palace on 27 November 1698. As during his meeting with Magliabechi, Kool offered a book, in this case Graevius' *Callimachus* on behalf of the author. Self-consciously, Kool avoided talking about Gronovius or alluding to him.

[...] we talked about a variety of books, and also some which are still under the press, we also talked about Magliabechi, and his Eminence asked me if we were good friends with mister Gronovius, we did not answer with determination, knowing there is not any *goet bloedt* [good blood] between the cardinal and mister Gronovius, as Magliabechi has told me multiple times [...] The Cardinal said of mister Gronovius that he was a *tropo critico* [too critical]. I told the cardinal how I had obtained permission in Paris and Florence to enter the libraries, as well as use them, regarding copying and collating, [the Cardinal] promised me to take care of it [...]⁵⁰

Gronovius might not have been as popular with Cardinal Noris as with Magliabechi.⁵¹ Yet, both Graevius' book, indicating Kool's closeness to the illustrious Utrecht professor, and the fact that Kool had gained access to libraries in Paris and Florence must have convinced Noris to help Kool access the Vatican libraries.

⁴⁹ A cardinal-nephew was a cardinal elevated by the Pope who enjoyed more status and power; this position was abolished after Ottoboni had made him the last cardinal-nephew. For more information on Cardinal Ottoboni and his relation to Pope Alexander VIII, see E.J. Olszewski, *Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) and the Vatican Tomb of Pope Alexander VIII*, Philadelphia, 2004.

⁵⁰ Appendix c, fols 727^r-728^r.

⁵¹ This conflict between Cardinal Noris and Gronovius is also mentioned by Coenraed Ruysch, see NA, FA Teding van Berkhout, no. 1408, fol. 72^r.

Just as Kool was about to leave Noris' palace, an abbot and secretary to Cardinal Noris questioned Kool's confession, and if he was a devout Christian. A local antiquarian, Francesco Ficaroni (1664–1747), came to Kool's defence:

This abbot asked Signore Ficaroni, if we were Christian, maybe he wanted to ask if we were Catholic, yet Ficaroni answered that we were no brutes, the abbot noticed his mistake, and said how it were possible that we spoke such good Italian[.] [Y]es, answered Ficaroni, one must not be surprised, these two gentlemen [Kool and Van Voorst] understand and speak all languages [...] they do nothing else but study, do not visit whores and do not engage in debauchery, like our [Italian] young folk. Upon hearing this the abbot said *Jesu Maria* in so many languages, one cannot imagine [...]⁵²

In other words, their virtue lay in the fact that 'they do nothing else but study'. Kool's scholarly identity thus came with an aura of virtue, which would render him morally superior to other young travellers.

After attaining permissions, Kool could enjoy the Bibliotheca Vaticana, where Kool found a helpful Lorenzo Alessandro Zaccagni (1652–1712), first librarian of the Bibliotheca Vaticana.⁵³ Zaccagni offered Kool several manuscripts and shared his knowledge about the quality and whereabouts of certain manuscripts. Kool's role as a disciple of Graevius and Gronovius was not a mere representational trope, but came with the assignment to spend time on collating manuscripts for the two professors, although Kool could not always fulfil this duty.

Mister Gronovius had requested me to learn about the manuscript of [Lucas] Holstenius' notes in Stephanus [of Byzantium], to collate it with the printed version, since it has been printed very badly [...] Yet, I cannot serve his Honourable [Gronovius], since I did not have enough time to stay in Rome [...]⁵⁴

Although Kool indicates that he did not have much time to serve his honourable mentors in Rome, he did spend many days collating for Graevius and Gronovius in Florence. In Rome, Kool must have felt that he had cleared his moral debt to Gronovius and Graevius and followed his own interests: he spent the following days collating and copying several manuscripts by the fourth-century writer Sallustius.⁵⁵

⁵² Appendix c, fols 730^r–731^r.

⁵³ For a transcription of Kool's delightful visit to the Bibliotheca Vaticana, see Appendix d.

⁵⁴ Appendix d, fol. 741^r in ms.

⁵⁵ See Appendix d, fols 745^r–746^r in ms., for an overview of the manuscripts that Kool consulted.

In all four passages concerning Kool's peregrinations in Florence and Rome, three ways in which a scholarly identity is shaped can be discerned. Firstly, the books Kool presented to both Antonio Magliabechi and Cardinal Noris, are important material manifestations of his scholarly civility. Exchange and presents were an important way of establishing oneself as both a gentleman and a scholar. Secondly, throughout the travel journal one can observe a process of 'othering', where the scholar or studious type is contrasted with less morally-inclined men. This othering is exemplified by Magliabechi's condemnation of monks and clergymen (see Appendix b) and Ficaroni's appraisal of Kool and Van Voorst as virtuous studious men vis-à-vis immoral local young men (see Appendix c). The third and most important way for Kool to establish his scholarly identity was to stress his relation to his professors and intellectual mentors, Graevius and Gronovius. By inscribing himself into this learned lineage, Kool was immediately recognised as a scholar of merit on his travels. This is further exemplified by responses of learned men along the trip. For example, the response of Simon de Valhébert, librarian and secretary to the abbot Jean-Paul Bignon:

Monsieur Valhebert said that I was a disciple of Graevius, of which he, like many other have done, exclaimed, *Jesus; un bon Maistre*, as well as praise one's luck, who has studied under that man [Graevius] and to show, how highly regarded Graevius' letters are here [...]⁵⁶

Aside from the commonplace praise of Graevius and Gronovius, letters from renowned Dutch scholars were considered prized possessions. Kool could conveniently deliver these letters, often on a first meeting, thereby enjoying 'great civility'. It was not unusual for a recipient to be delighted, and react like Magliabechi when receiving a letter from Graevius, as Kool recalls: 'When I handed the letter [from Graevius] to Magliabechi, he kissed it, before opening it.'⁵⁷ The importance of having renowned mentors is thus vital to be able to form connections with local learned men. A look at a visualisation of Kool's correspondence network based on the many letters sent and received during his travel affirms this centrality and importance of his father, Graevius, and Magliabechi, but also Van Almeloveen, Perizonius, and Gronovius (see figure 3). Since Kool

⁵⁶ 'Mons^r Valhebert zijde, dat ik een discipel van de Heer Graevius was, waar op hij, gelijk veele andere hier gedaan hebben, uijt riep, *Jesus; un bon Maistre*, alsoo prijzende het geluk van een persoon, die onder die man gestudeert hadden en om te toonen, hoe seer dat de brieven van d'Heer Graevius hier geacht zijn [...]' (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1-3, vol. 1, fol. 117^r).

⁵⁷ 'Wanneer ik den brief van de Heer Graevius aan Magliabechi overleverd, zoo kuste hij deselve, eer hij die oopen deed.' (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1-3, vol. 2, fol. 441^r).



Figure 3. Visualisation of the correspondence network of Joannes Kool, based on all the mentions of received and sent letters in his *Journaal*. Arrows indicate the direction of the letters and a darker gradient in colour indicates a higher number of letters (in either direction). Made using Gephi 0.9.2.

was, as his marriage speech recounts, ‘well fed with learning, fed from the breast of Graevius for years’, Kool did not only possess demonstrable knowledge, but also a distinct identity as a disciple of Graevius.⁵⁸ His ties to numerous well-known scholars helped him form new connections.

So how does Kool’s identity tie into scholarship on scholarly identity in the early modern period? Dirk van Miert has shown that Calvinist minister Abraham

⁵⁸ *Ter bruiloft van den heere Joan Kool* (as in n. 1), p. 3.

Trommius (1633–1719) recalls learned memories — both transconfessional and transnational in nature — of both Joseph and Julius Caesar Scaliger, and Erasmus. Van Miert argues ‘that the learned world of the seventeenth century saw embodied in sixteenth-century scholars the virtues of a scholarly ideal with which they identified themselves across religious and political boundaries, thus preventing a parochialism which was unhelpful for international communication.’⁵⁹ Kool’s journal strengthens this thesis. Not only does it show how Kool presented himself as a member of a learned community in the Dutch Republic, but it especially highlights the response of other scholars. Kool’s scholarly identity — based on material manifestations of civility, othering, and a learned lineage from Graevius and Gronovius — was generously praised by local learned men like Toinard, Magliabechi, and Ficaroni. When disputes about credibility and access did arise, Kool’s scholarly identity, and the superior moral position that came with it, helped resolve them. Local learned men could always overrule any objections of local religious men, who were seen as ‘evil’ and ‘opposing’. Kool’s journal thus demonstrates how a scholarly identity was vital to gain access to local learned circles, which was of vital importance to succeed in his scholarly travel. His scholarly identity was an essential mechanism to realise the ideal of a transconfessional and transnational Republic of Letters.

The Memory of Kool and his Journal

Not only did networks and reputations or the appropriate conduct of the scholar contribute to the careful construction of a scholarly identity and community, but so did Kool’s own later fame and that of his travelogue. The following section focuses on Kool’s afterlife and the vicissitudes of his journal. It shows how reputations can be forgotten if scholars fail to maintain a learned correspondence or no longer participate in learned circles. At the same time, the appearances and uses of Kool’s journal throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries indicate that it still served different purposes, shaping different kinds of learned identities for different audiences: the family circle, the scholarly community and the nation state.

Both the journal itself and Kool’s life upon his return were not favourable to his fame as a scholar. Firstly, because Kool wrote his journal in Dutch. The document was probably meant, at least in the first instance, for his father, who had paid for the journey. As ‘Camerbewaerder’ (officer) of the States of Utrecht,

⁵⁹ D. van Miert, ‘Trommius’s Travelogue: Learned Memories of Erasmus and Scaliger and Scholarly Identity in the Republic of Letters’, *Early Modern Low Countries*, vol. 1:1, 2017, pp. 51–70 (68).

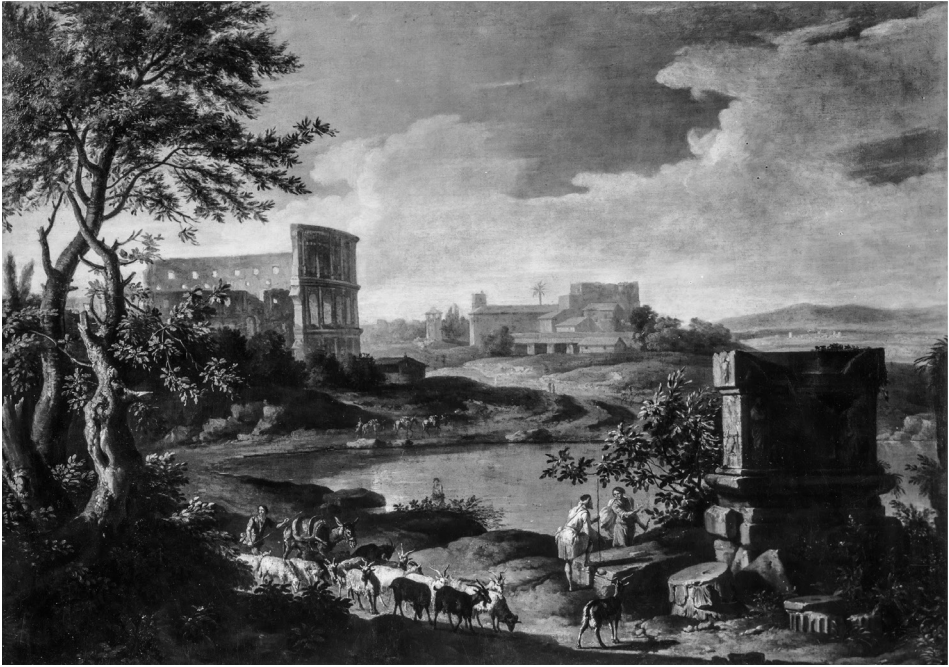


Figure 4. Jacob de Heusch, *Imaginary view on Rome from the funerary monument [the 'Tomb of Nero'] at 'La Storta'*, s.d. (ca. 1675–1698), photo RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History.

Jan Kool (d. 1705)⁶⁰ was a different kind of reader than the learned men whom his son addressed in his Latin letters during his journey. Nevertheless, Kool Sr. did share a taste for the antique with his son, judging by a painting that he owned by Jacob de Heusch (1656–1701), showing an imaginary scene at 'La Storta' just north of Rome (see figure 4).⁶¹ However, the journal does not seem to have been written for his father's eyes only. The beautifully regular handwriting and

⁶⁰ HUA, Burgerlijke stand gemeente Utrecht en van de voormalige gemeente Zuilen: retroacta doop- trouw- en begraafregisters, inv. nr. 128 (Nederduits-gereformeerd, later Nederlands-hervormd, 1701–1711), p. 321.

⁶¹ On 29 October 1698, Kool mentions a funerary monument near La Storta, about which he writes: 'de Heer de Heus, die voor mijn vader een stuk geschildert heeft, heeft dit sepulchrum in het leven ingebracht' (BIASA, mss. 34 A 1–3, vol. 2, fols 482^r–483^r). About De Heusch and the painting in figure 4, see A. Zwollo, *Hollandse en Vlaamse veduteschilders te Rome, 1675–1725*, Assen, 1973, pp. 63–64 and A. Busiri Vici d'Arcevia, *Jacob de Heusch (1656–1701) un pittore olandese a Roma detto il "copia"*, Rome, 1997, p. 105.

the use of catchwords (or ‘directions’) points at its being read aloud and, less likely, even an intended print publication.⁶²

A second circumstance unfavourable to Kool’s reputation as a scholar was the fact that, soon after his return, he decided to pursue a career as a magistrate rather than as a scholar, just like his fellow traveller Lucas van Voorst. He settled in Amersfoort, to where his father had moved in the early 1690s after inheriting the estates of a nephew, the former mayor Cornelis Sinapius (1640-1691).⁶³ There, Kool very soon became alderman, an office he held in 1700, 1701, and again from 1703 to 1706.⁶⁴

As a magistrate, Kool went through rather turbulent times in Amersfoort, the so-called ‘Plooijerijen’ (1703), a conflict widespread in the provinces of Gelre, Utrecht and Overijssel over the appointment of office-holders to the magistracies and town councils after the death of King-Stattholder William III in 1702. Kool’s role in this political turmoil is not quite clear. At first, when the moderate opponents of the old oligarchy took over and redefined the requirements for those elected in office, he lost his position as alderman, for he did not have the required citizenship status. Only at the peak of the disorders from May–July 1703, when the revolutionary wing of the ‘Gemeensliedenpartij’ forced the magistrate to install some of their candidates, he was reappointed as councillor — an illegal and highly revolutionary interference, since he still was not granted citizenship, until 13 July 1703.⁶⁵ Kool probably profited from the general amnesty

⁶² P.J. Verkruijssen, ‘Wacht u voor de bladwachter! Custodering, signering en pagineren in de handpersperiode’ in: F. Hendrickx and J.M.M. Hermans, eds, *E codicibus impressisque. Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege*, 3 vols, Leuven, 2004, vol. 2, pp. 571–594 (572–577).

⁶³ For Sinapius’ last will, see AE (Archief Eemland), Notariële Archieven, Copie van besloten testament: 23 November 1691 (old style), notary A. van Brinckestejn, ms. AT015 a006 folio 4 R; for the confirmation of citizenship, see AE, toegang 0001.01, Stadsbestuur Amersfoort, 1300-1801, inv.nr. 1847, 18 January 1692.

⁶⁴ On Kool’s service to the town of Amersfoort, see A. van Bommel, *Beschryving van de Stadt Amersfoort, derzelver Regeeringsvorm, Burgerye en Gilden, Jaarmarkten, Handel en Negotie, Vryheid en Grondgebied* [...], 2 vols, Utrecht: Henricus Spruyt, 1760, vol. 2, pp. 674–678; H.T. Horman, ‘Kool, Mr J(oh)an’, in: Id., *Register, alfabetisch gerangschikt op patroniemen en achternamen van gezagsdragers van de stad Amersfoort 1405-1795*, Leusden, 1998. No death or funeral records of Kool, nor a last will have survived. On 28 March 1706, his youngest daughter Aletta was baptised in his presence (AE, toegang 13.29h, Amersfoort NH, dopen 1687–1708, p. 153); in 1707 he and his wife registered in the Amersfoort Weeskamer (AE, toegang 0039.2, Weeskamer te Amersfoort 1519-1818, inschrijving 1707). His last letter known to us, written to Almeloventius, is dated July 1706, see Utrecht University Library, Hs 996, vol. I, fols 293^v–294^v. In November 1709, his widow Elisabeth Loten married her second husband (HUA, entry 711.100, Utrecht NH trouwen 1692–1712, 787 dated 17-11-1709).

⁶⁵ J. Hovy, ‘De regeringsverandering te Amersfoort in 1703. Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Plooijerijen in de provincie Utrecht’, *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 15, 1960, pp. 177–216 (198–199 and 206–207).

proclaimed by the States of Utrecht in October 1703 after their military intervention to put an end to the upheaval. Like most of the old regents, he returned to his position after 1703 and was re-elected as alderman until 1706. It remains unclear if the financial troubles that he encountered in his later years are somehow related to these years of political turmoil.⁶⁶

During these turbulent years, Kool might have been more concerned with his political career than with his reputation as a scholar. Still, he established himself in the learned world, both through his academic oration and dissertation, and especially through his scholarly journey. His correspondence with the physician, ‘polyhistor’, and professor in Harderwijk Theodorus Janssonius van Almeloveen (1657-1712) provides a clear example. On his tour, Kool had made various collations for Van Almeloveen of manuscripts by Florus, Quintilianus, and by and on Isaac Casaubon; he had purchased some books for him and he had introduced him to scholars abroad, such as Antonio Magliabechi. After his return, Almeloveen in turn introduced Kool to other scholars, such as his friend Anthonie van Dale (1638-1708), another physician who shared Kool’s interest in epigraphy.⁶⁷ Van Almeloveen’s recommendation, in fact, was mainly based on Kool’s work on a critical and enhanced edition of the *Antiquae Inscriptiones* by the German scholar Marquard Gude (1635-1689).⁶⁸ Gude had collected his materials on a journey to France and Italy in 1660-1664, leaving his manuscript unpublished but ready for print. His papers came into the hands of Petrus Burman (1668-1741) and were then passed to Graevius, who assigned the task of correcting and completing them to his pupil Kool.

⁶⁶ See the remark by S. Stegeman, *Patronage en dienstverlening* (as in n. 64), esp. p. 58, based on the letters from Kool to Almeloveen. In fact, the notarial archives preserved in Het Utrechts Archief contain many records that point to financial and legal problems of Kool and his heirs, starting from the death of Kool’s father (1705) and continuing until well after his own demise. For a few examples, see HUA, entry o34-4.U078a008 (notary H. Vyandt), ‘Procuratie tot het innen van vorderingen van Elisabeth Verbessel, wed. Johan Kool [sr.] [...] en samen met de andere crediteuren van Johan Kool de boedel te verkopen’, act 104, d.d. 23-07-1706; HUA, entry 34-4.U127a005 (notary D. Houtman), ‘Procuratie om te procederen tegen Cornelis Houwert, geh. met Elisabeth Looten, wed. Johan Kool [jr.]’ in which the dozens of claimants are ‘creditors of the estates of the late Johan Kool sr.’, act 64, d.d. 01-07-1710.

⁶⁷ Stegeman, *Patronage en dienstverlening* (as in n. 64), pp. 57, 253, 266, and 293. The surviving correspondence between Kool and Van Almeloveen is preserved in the Special Collections Department of Utrecht University Library, Hss 995, Hss 996, and Hss 998. One letter from Kool to Van Dale dated 1700 is preserved in the Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, UB: HSS-mag. I 40.

⁶⁸ On Gude, see C. Bursian, ‘Gudius, Marquard’ in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 10, 1879, pp. 88–89. On Gude’s connections to the Dutch world, see D. van Miert, *Humanism in an Age of Science: The Amsterdam Athenaeum in the Golden Age, 1632–1704*, Leiden, 2009, pp. 87–88.

On his journey, Kool had gathered ample materials for this publication, and the process soon proved to be critical to the endurance of his reputation and memory. The 1703 wedding poem clearly refers to the collection of inscriptions as the main achievement of his journey, which should earn Kool the fame of being the true heir to the intellectual legacy of the ‘Hero of letters’ Graevius, ‘of late overtaken and caught by death’. At the same time, this collection should also allow him to follow in the footsteps of Jan Gruter (1560-1627) and Gude ‘and other men of letters of the past century’.⁶⁹

In Italy, Kool’s reputation had spread through letters of recommendation and through the letters that Kool himself exchanged with men like Magliabechi, who sometimes shared their correspondence with him amongst each other or briefly exchanged their impressions of him.⁷⁰ Kool’s presence in Italian learned networks probably explains how he ended up in several editions of the *Galleria di Minerva* (1703-1707), an encyclopedic collection of ‘news on what has been written by European men of letters [...] drawn not only from printed books but also from books still to be printed [...] to the profit of the Republic of Letters’.⁷¹ His main works are mentioned here, and he is introduced as a ‘very young man’, but ‘eruditissimo’, whence his intention to ‘bring out various works’.

⁶⁹ *Ter bruiloft van den heere Joan Kool* (as in n. 1), pp. 3-4, in reference to the men of letters in the footnote on p. 4: ‘en andere geletterden der naastvoorgaande eeuw’. The quote on Graevius, ‘Letterheld / Nu jongsteleên door de dood verrascht en overrompelt’ is found on p. 3.

⁷⁰ For letters by Graevius and Gronovius to Magliabechi in which Kool is recommended or praised, see *Clarorum Belgarum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnu losque alios epistolae*, 2 vols, Florence, 1745, vol. 1, p. 318, letter XI (one letter by Graevius) and vol. 2, pp. 199–208 (three letters by Gronovius); for four of Kool’s own letters to Magliabechi, see *Clarorum Belgarum*, vol. 2, pp. 329–340. For the ‘shared correspondence’, see the letter dated 3 January 1699 by the Venetian Giusto Fontanino, who was supposed to deliver a letter of Magliabechi to Kool, but first ‘enjoyed the notices with several erudite friends’ (*Clarorum Venetorum ad Ant. Magliabechium nonnu losque alios epistolae*, Florence: ex typographia ad insigne Apollinis, 1745, vol. 1, p. 220). For other impressions of Kool, see the letters by Ludovico Antonio Muratori in which Kool is (positively) mentioned in F. Bonaini, F.-L. Polidori, C. Guasti and C. Milanese, eds, *Lettere inedite di Ludovico A. Muratori scritte a toscani*, Florence, 1854, letters xli-xliv, pp. 86–90.

⁷¹ *La Galleria di Minerva ovvero notizie universali, di quanto e stato scritto da letterati di Europa non solo nel presente secolo, ma ancora ne’ già trascorsi [...] tratte da libri non solo stampati ma da stamparsi [...] a profitto della Republica delle lettere*, Venice: Girolamo Albrizzi, 1703, p. 99. Editions of the years 1704–1707 reproduce the same profile. The quote on Kool says: ‘È il signor Kool giovane assai, ma eruditissimo; onde è per dare in luce diverse opere.’

Death and Posthumous Reputation

However, as the wedding poem ironically prophesied, Kool would never finish his work on the inscriptions, much to the regret of Gronovius.⁷² When he died, it was left unfinished. His notes were not part of the *Bibliotheca Kooliana* that was put up for auction on 9 May 1712 by Willem van de Water at the Viebrug in Utrecht, but many of the works he had collected in the process were. The auction catalogue ensured Kool's reputation as a scholar, praising his collection of 'most excellent books, of all kinds and sorts' and — what was considered most important — 'a consistent selection of Miscellanei on antiquities and numismatics, Greek and Latin poetry, lexicography and other literature, among which most prominently editions by Aldus [Manutius] and [Henricus] Stephanus', completed by a collection of antiquities (pottery and bronze items, statues, vases, oil lamps, gold and silver coins).⁷³ Later, copies of this catalogue ended up in other collections and catalogues, such as the libraries of Zacharias Konrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734) in Frankfurt am Main and Charles Jérôme de Cisternay du Fay (1698–1739) in Paris.⁷⁴

Kool's memory was preserved, most importantly, through the publication of Gudius' *Inscriptiones* in 1731 (see figure 5).⁷⁵ After Kool's death, the manuscript had come into the possession of his publisher François Halma. Halma's heirs finally entrusted it to the Utrecht François van Hessel (1680–1746), who wrote an extensive preface, in which he recalls how 'Kool has died in the middle

⁷² For Gronovius' disappointment, see his letter to Magliabechi 27 November 1705: 'Factum Koolii enimvero displicet, ac abominor' — which could also point to Kool's misfortune, see above.

⁷³ '[...] quod caput rei est, Miscellanei, constantes praecipue, ex Antiquariis & Numismaticis rarissimis, Poëtis Graecis et Latinis, Lexicographis aliisque, in quibus multae eminent altinque Aldi, Stephani & c. editiones' (*Bibliotheca Kooliana instructa elegantissima ac nitida supellectide librorum [...]* *Thesaurum hunc Musis dicatum reliquit Vir Doctissimus D. Joannes Kool, J.U.D. Senator Urbis Amisfurtensis. Publica licitatione distractio fiet Ultrajecti (op de oude Gragt by de Viebrug.) Ad diem Lunæ 9. Maji 1712*, Utrecht: Willem van de Water, 1712, title page. The catalogue is included in the project *Bibliopolis – History of the Printed Book in the Netherlands*, <http://www.bibliopolis.nl/>, IDC-cat. 1476, and in Brill's *Book Sales Catalogues Online, a comprehensive bibliography of book sales catalogues printed in the Dutch Republic before 1801*, <https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/book-sales-catalogues-online>.

⁷⁴ *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana, sive catalogus librorum quos collegit Zach. Conr. ab Uffenbach quorum publica habetur auctio 7 Mrt. 1735*, Frankfurt am Main: Franz Varrentrapp, 1735, vol. 2, p. 142 and the *Bibliotheca Fayana: seu catalogus librorum bibliothecae ill. viri D. Car. Hieronymi de Cisternay Dufay Gallicanae cohortis praetorianorum militum centurionis*, Paris, 1725, nr. 4107.

⁷⁵ M. Gude, *Antiquae inscriptiones quum Graecae, tum Latinae, olim a Marquardo Gudio collectae; nuper a Ioanne Koolio digestae hortatu consilioque Ioannis Georgii Graevii; nunc a Francisco Hesselio editae cum adnotationibus eorum*, Leeuwarden: François Halma, 1731.

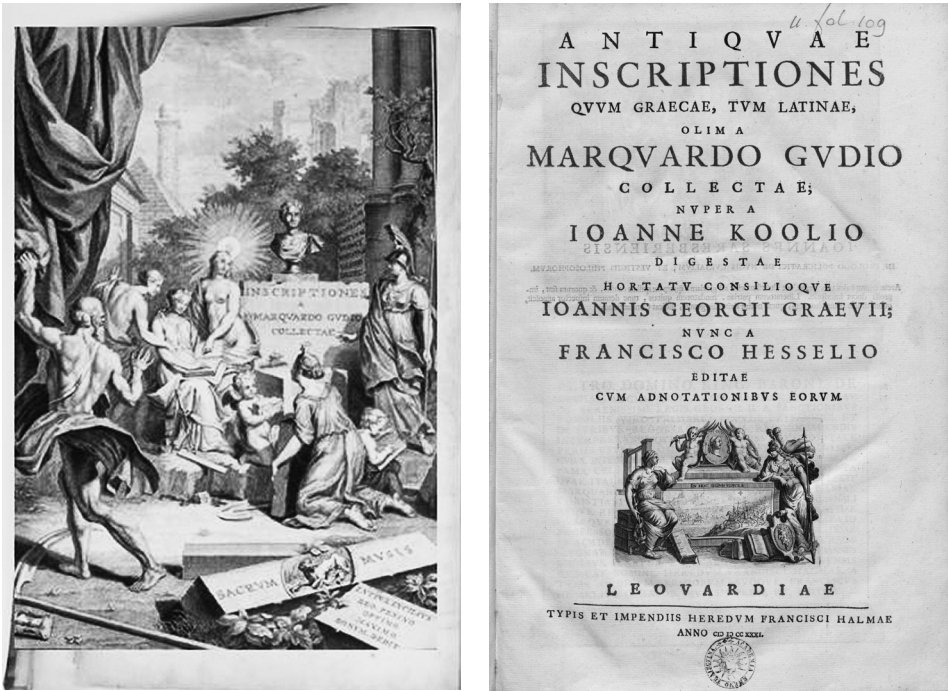


Figure 5. Frontispiece and title page of Marquard Gude, *Antiquae inscriptiones quum Graecae, tum Latinae*, Leeuwarden: François Halma, 1731. Photo: Utrecht University Library.

of the work'.⁷⁶ Hessel also refers to how Halma had saved Gude's and Kool's manuscript from the auction where it had ended up — much to the astonishment of a scholar like Gisbert Cuper (1644–1716). In fact, it is mentioned in the catalogue of the *Bibliotheca Kooliana* as a 'large corpus of various inscriptions, collected from all over [Italy], carefully edited by Gude'.⁷⁷ In his preface, Hessel refers to Kool's letters written during the journey to Van Almelooven and other learned men. Furthermore, he quotes Kool's preliminary introduction to Gude's

⁷⁶ 'Mortuus est medium Koolius inter opus' (Hessel, 'Praefatio' in: Gude, *Antiquae inscriptiones* (as in n. 75), p. 12 and the dedicatory poem that follows the introduction, 1). For the letter of Gisbert Cuper to Io. Alberto Fabricius, 7 May 1712, see: *Sylloge nova epistolarum varii argumenti. Volumen I*, Nuremberg, 1760, vol. 3, letter 116, p. 496.

⁷⁷ 'Corpus magnum Variorum Inscriptionum, undique sollicita cura a Gudio collectum' (*Bibliotheca Kooliana*, nr. 20, p. 23). The same catalogue mentions several other books that contain collections of inscriptions adorned with handwritten notes by Kool, such as the works of Jan Gruter (1560–1627) and Raffaello Fabretti (1618–1700), see nrs. 55 and 66 in the catalogue, pp. 4–5.

collection and says that he ‘inspected the papers with Kool’s observations on epigrammatic affairs’.⁷⁸

Apart from a few references to his previous works,⁷⁹ Kool’s reputation would be primarily connected with the *Inscriptiones*. His share in the edition is mentioned in numerous biographic and bibliographic compendia over a long period, from an interesting ‘prospective’ reference in the *Memoires pour l’histoire des sciences et des beaux arts* (1715) to the *Biografia universale* (1826), to mention just a few.⁸⁰ In the meantime, from the 1740s, parts of Magliabechi’s letters were published, wherein Kool figures as a correspondent.⁸¹ Later, he appeared in the collected letters of the Modenese Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750), published in the 1850s. Thus, Kool appeared as one of hundreds of supporting parts in the — later nationalist — cult of learned Italians.⁸² In many of these letters, his work on the inscriptions is brought up.

In his *Onomasticum Litterarium*, Christophorus Saxe (1714–1806), professor of antiquities and later rector at Utrecht University,⁸³ mentions Kool both as an alumnus of Dutch academia and for his work on Gude’s *Inscriptiones*. Interestingly, Saxe not only refers to Kool’s journey to Italy, but reveals that he knows about it because ‘I inspected his travel papers, in which I recall having once read [about] several inscriptions, even though these had already been published by Gruter, Reinesius, Fabretti and Muratori’.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ ‘[...] schedas Koolianarum observationum epigrammaticae rei excussi.’ (Hessel, ‘Praefatio’ in: Gude, *Antiquae inscriptiones*, p. 16).

⁷⁹ E.g. see how Kool is praised as a scholar of Roman law as ‘vir praeclarus’ and ‘doctissimus’ by G. d’Arnaud, *Variarum coniecturarum. Libri duo, in quibus passim ius civile illustatur, et plurima iuris aliorumque auctorum loca emendantur aut explicantur*, Franeker: M. van der Veen, 1738, pp. 26 and 106–108.

⁸⁰ *Memoires pour l’histoire des sciences et des beaux arts – Janvier 1715*, Paris: Étienne Ganeau, 1715, p. 167; *Biografia universale, ossia storia per alfabeto della vita pubblica e private di tutte le persone che si distinsero per opere, azioni, talenti, virtù e delitti*, Venice, 1826, vol. 26, p. 444.

⁸¹ For these three publications of collected letters, see above, n. 68.

⁸² On Muratori, see I. Porciani, *L’“Archivio Storico Italiano”: organizzazione della ricerca ed egemonia moderata nel Risorgimento*, Florence, 1979, pp. 112–116.

⁸³ On Saxe, see J. Roelevink, ‘Imago vetustatis. Het oudheidkundig onderwijs van Christophorus Saxe in nationale en internationale context’, *Documentatieblad 18e eeuw*, vol. 22, 1990, pp. 27–39. For the eight-volume *Onomasticum*, see C. Saxe, *Onomasticum litterarium sive nomenclator hist. criticus praestantissimorum omnis aetatis populi artiumque formulae scriptorum*, 8 vols, Utrecht: Gisbert van Paddenburg.

⁸⁴ ‘mihi apparuit ex eius Schedis hodoeporicis, in quibus varios aliquando lapidum titulos, etsi a Grutero, Reinesio, Fabretto & Muratorio iam vulgatos, legere me memini’ (*Ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 479–480). Cf. J. Ramminger, ‘hodoeporicos’, in Id., *Neulateinische Wortliste. Ein Wörterbuch des Lateinischen von Petrarca bis 1700*, www.neulatein.de/words/0/002952.htm, accessed 21 March 2019.

The reference to the travel journal was no coincidence. When Kool's library was put up for auction in 1712, the journal had remained in the family's hands. The first generation of his descendants had no scholarly aspirations, but pursued political careers in the local Amersfoort administration, and quite successfully: his son Jan Guiliam (1704–1759) had a long career as councillor and alderman and his daughter Elizabeth Johanna (1703–1780) married Coenraad Temminck (1687–1762), scion of a family that had been in the town magistracy for at least three generations. In 1746–1747, Coenraad even served as mayor.⁸⁵

In the possession of Coenraad's son Matthias Temminck (1734–1814),⁸⁶ the manuscript moved to Leiden. Temminck pursued a career as a regent as well, first at the Dutch East India Company VOC, then in the town council of Amsterdam, the provincial government of Holland and finally in the town council of Leiden. Besides all this, he did have an interest in scholarly matters and in this learned context, whether in Leiden or Utrecht, he might have met Saxe. Just like his grandfather, Temminck wrote a dissertation on legal history, *Dissertatio Antiquario-Juridica* (Utrecht, 1757). Later, he was a member of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde* (Society for Dutch Literature), and at the time of his death, he was preparing an edition of Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*.

For a man of letters like Temminck, being descended from a learned ancestor appears to have been meaningful. In the obituary pronounced by Jona Willem te Water after his death (1740–1822) at the gathering of the mentioned Society for Dutch Literature in July 1815, Temminck's lineage from Kool is used repeatedly to confirm his identity as a scholar: 'Erudition is not a matter of inheritance, and transmigration of the soul is a poetic invention: nonetheless, it was as if the learned grandfather lived again in his grandson.'⁸⁷

A constitutive part of Temminck's (posthumous) reputation as a learned man was the impressive library he left behind, which was put up for auction by Hazenberg in Leiden.⁸⁸ Part of it seems to have overlapped with Kool's

⁸⁵ Van Bommel, *Beschryving van de Stadt Amersfoort* (as in n. 64), vol. 2, pp. 685–708; H.T. Horman, 'Kool, Jan Guiliam' and 'Temminck, Coenraad', in: Id. *Register [...] van gezagsdragers van de stad Amersfoort* (as in n. 64).

⁸⁶ On Matthias Temminck, see 'Matthias Temminck', *Biografisch portaal van Nederland*, <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/89474441>, accessed 21 March 2019.

⁸⁷ 'Geleerdheid is geen erfgoed, en de zielsverhuizinge is een verdichtsel: men zag echter den geleerden grootvader als herleven in zijnen kleinzoon' (J.W. te Water, 'Levensbericht van Mattijs Temminck', *Handelingen van de jaarlijksche vergadering der Maatschappij van Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leyden*, vol. 14, 1815, pp. 11–17 (11)). In the same necrology, Temminck's unpublished essay *Het verlies der Romeinsche vrijheid* is thought to be inspired by Kool's *Oratio de artibus quibus Augustus callidè Rempubicam Romanam invasit*, Utrecht, 1695, esp. p. 15.

⁸⁸ *Catalogus Bibliothecae viri amplissimi Matthiae Temminck, continens omnis generis et disciplinae libros pretiosissimos*, Leiden, 1815 (sale on 13 November 1815 a.f.). See also the announcement of the sale in the *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, vol. 127, 24 October 1815.

collection, although in most cases a direct connection remains hard to establish.⁸⁹ It contained many books on legal history, antiquities, classical literature that had previously been owned and in many cases annotated by scholars like Perizonius, Graevius, Gronovius, Almeloveen, Burmannus the Elder, Gerard Vossius, Daniel Heinsius, Marcus Meibomius, Joseph Scaliger, Valckenaer, Scriverius, Goezius, and many others. Most interestingly, both catalogues refer to the same edition of Sallustius' works, edited and commented by Gruterus in 1607, that had been used and annotated by Kool when he compared it to the parchment manuscript from the Vatican.⁹⁰

Te Water, the author of Temminck's obituary, was a philosopher, historian, professor of Church History and New Testament exegesis, and president of the Society for Dutch Literature from 1793 until 1822. In Leiden, he was thus part of the same circle of learned men as Temminck.⁹¹ In the immense *Bibliotheca Te Waterana* that he left, a huge collection of scholarly letters stands out, in which the attempt to create some sort of learned genealogy from the past to the present is evident. All of Kool's most important contemporaries are present here, and he is most probably cited in several of these letters, but there is no trace of any of his own writings, nor is there direct evidence of books from his library.⁹²

The Journal: away from the Family, on the Market

Te Water's necrology of Temminck circulated in a number of magazines in the years following 1815. In one of these, the *Mnemosyne. Mengelingen voor wetenschappen en fraaije letteren* (1820), editor Hendrik Willem Tydeman (1778-1863) added an interesting note to Te Water's remarks on Kool: 'The extensive notes of his scholarly ['letterkundige'] journey have been acquired by me some years ago at an auction and provide subject matter for some sort of

⁸⁹ An example is the case of the very rare *editio princeps* of the incunable *Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis Graece*, Venice, 1496, present in both collections, see *Bibliotheca Kooliana*, 20, nr. 250 and *Catalogus Bibliothecae [...] Matthiae Temminck*, p. 17, nr. 413.

⁹⁰ *Bibliotheca Kooliana*, p. 22, nr. 15 and *Catalogus Bibliothecae [...] Matthiae Temminck*, p. 59, nr. 472, where it says: 'contulit Johannes Koolius [...] cum suo codice membranaceo'. Kool's copy of the Vatican manuscript is also mentioned in the catalogue of his library, but does not appear in Temminck's collection. For the manuscripts which Kool consulted in the Vatican Library, see Appendix d, fol. 746'.

⁹¹ On Te Water, see J. de Mooij, *Jona Willem te Water (1740-1822): historicus en theoloog tussen traditie en Verlichting*, PhD thesis, Leiden University, 2008.

⁹² *Bibliotheca Te Waterana sive catalogus librorum selectorum in vario disciplinarum genere praestantissimorum, aut editorum, aut MSS. [...] quae omnia per septuaginta circiter annuos collegit vir celeberrimus Jona Gulielmus te Water*, Leiden, 1823 (sale on 13 October 1823 a.f.). For the scholarly letters, see 'Pars altera', pp. 11-27.

excerpt of his collection [the *Mnemosyne*] or a similar one.’⁹³ As far as we know, the jurist and polygraph Tydeman never dedicated any of his many writings to Kool’s travelogue. It is likely that he bought the manuscript at the auction of Temminck’s collection, since Tydeman was part of the same academic circles and a honorary member of the Society for Dutch Literature.⁹⁴

After the manuscript had left Temminck’s collection, two notes were added to its pastedown. First, the same bibliographical reference to Gude’s *Inscriptiones* was added that had already been mentioned in Saxe’s *Onomasticum Litterarium*.⁹⁵ A second note reports where the manuscript came from: ‘Codex Bibl. Temm. 213 1815, 53’, an inventory number we cannot verify since no inventory of Temminck’s manuscripts is known today (none are mentioned in the auction catalogue). This provenance is altogether highly plausible because we do know of some other manuscripts from Temminck’s collection that ended up in Tydeman’s library.⁹⁶ When Tydeman died in 1863, yet another catalogue of a scholarly library was prepared for auction. Its title, *Bibliotheca Tydemanniana*, clearly refers to a century-long tradition of classical book collecting, although now its content was in French. In part five (‘Catalogus der Handschriften’), in a section dedicated to ‘Géographie, Voyages’, we finally find Kool’s travelogue, with a short note that defines it as a ‘Journal remarquable inédit d’un savant Hollandais.’⁹⁷

Information from the archives of Tydeman and those of his bookseller Martinus Nijhoff (1826-1894) shows that Kool’s journal was not sold at the auction, but was eventually acquired by Nijhoff himself, together with three

⁹³ ‘De omstandige aantekeningen, van zijne letterkundige reis [...] zijn door mij voor eenige aren op eene auctie gekocht, en leveren stof op tot een en ander belangrijk uittreksel voor deze of eene soortgelijke verzameling’ (‘Levensbericht van wijlen Mr. Matthias Temminck door den hoogleraar J.W. te Water’, *Mnemosyne. Mengelingen voor wetenschappen en fraaije letteren verzameld door Mr H.W. Tydeman en N.G. van Kampen*, vol. 8, Dordrecht, 1820, pp. 129–144; see there ‘Eenige aantekeningen door H.W.T.’ pp. 143–144, note a.

⁹⁴ The journal is not mentioned in the catalogue of Temminck’s library, nor are any other manuscripts. The note on the pastedown suggests that there was a second part that was auctioned, of which no catalogue is known.

⁹⁵ ‘J. Kool - Hessl. Pref. Guid. Inscr. p. XI’, cf. Saxe, *Onomasticum litterarium* (as in n. 81), vol. 5, p. 480.

⁹⁶ For these manuscripts, later bought by the Historisch Genootschap in Utrecht and donated to Utrecht University Library, see *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae universitatis Rheno-Trajectinae*, Utrecht, 1887, nrs. 1515, 1516 and 1518.

⁹⁷ *Bibliothecae Tydemanniae pars quinta – Catalogus der handschriften, portretten, platen en kaarten, nagelaten door den WelEd. HoogGel. Heer Mr. H.W. Tydeman*, The Hague, 1865 (sale on 23 October 1815 a.f.); see there 19, nr. 236. The catalogue describes the MS as three quarto volumes ‘en veau’ of 964 pages, which corresponds to the original numbering still to be found in the manuscript.

other manuscripts, for the sum of 6,25 Dutch florins.⁹⁸ Unfortunately, we do not know how long the bookseller held on to it. At some point, however, the travelogue started a journey that followed the same route as Kool had done some two hundred years before, and that would alienate it from its Dutch roots, and found a place in transnational, classical and scholarly contexts.

The consequent appearance is in Louis Gonse's (1846-1921) collection. He was not an academic, nor a scholar of classical literature, antiquities, or law, but the perfect example of the kind of *connoisseur* to which fin-de-siècle culture gave rise. He was an important collector and one of the most prominent French art historians of his generation, as the editor-in-chief of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and member of a number of governmental commissions on fine arts, monuments and museums. His library reflected far more than his renowned expertise on Japanese art, including a broad knowledge of (western) art and history. A particular part of Gonse's book collection sold in the years following his demise (1921) aroused some excitement when bookdealer Joseph Baer in Paris, in whose possession it had ended up, started to approach some potential buyers.⁹⁹ It consisted of a considerable 'collection of voyages', some 1500 books from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century with descriptions of travels and *geografica*, mainly but not exclusively about Italy. Among other things, it contained Boissard's *Topographia Urbis Romae* (1597) and many *Mirabilia Romae*. The books were in large part illustrated, well bound and written in all 'civilised' languages, first of all in Latin. The collection listed some 86 manuscripts as well, and we now know Kool's travelogue was one of them.

From the Republic of Letters to the Kingdom of Italy

With the sale of Gonse's collection, the travel journal and its likes entered a new phase, in which the activities of private collectors intertwine with, and are finally taken over by that of the nation state. During his last stay in Rome from September 1928 to June 1929, Aby Warburg (1866-1929) found out about the collection of voyages sold by Baer and made various attempts to buy at least a

⁹⁸ 'Lijsten van verkochte boeken van Hendrik Willem Tydeman (1778–1863) op veilingen bij Martinus Nijhoff, 1865-1866', inv. nr. 472; see there nrs. 235-238 (the same numbers as in the sales catalogue), Tydeman Family Archive (0540), Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken; A copy of the catalogue, annotated by the bookseller(s) is preserved in the Archives of the Martinus Nijhoff Firm (1839–1984) in Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections, 'verkoopcatalogi'.

⁹⁹ Although there exists no catalogue of Gonse's library nor of the 'collection of voyages', many works included in it are mentioned in Baer's catalogue nr. 729, which is also mentioned in the correspondence of the Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (see below): *Archaeologia classica Graecorum Romanorum Gallorum Antiquitates Monumenta Inscriptiones Nummi*, Frankfurt am Main., s.d.: the table of contents mentions a large number of 'Reisen in Italien'.

part of it, possibly for his own Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Hamburg, more likely for the Bibliotheca Hertziana, the German art historical institute in Rome, whose director Ernst Steinmann (1866-1934) and librarian Ludwig Schudt (1893-1961) he frequently consulted. Warburg eventually acquired only nine books from Baer for the Bibliotheca Hertziana. Much to his frustration, the collection of voyages was eventually bought by the Italian Ministry of Education.¹⁰⁰ Thus, by the end of June 1929, Kool's manuscript 'returned' to Rome.

After the Italian unification of 1861 and again after the transfer of the capital to Rome in 1870, one of the Ministry's main concerns had been to survey the immense library patrimony across the peninsula. The opulence of historical book collections was believed to confirm the idea of a 'primacy' of an age-old Italian civilisation that had been at the heart of Risorgimento nationalism. The cosmopolitan library patrimony from numerous collections of noble families, scholars and above all the Church was, so to speak, 're-appropriated' by the Italian state, since it had always belonged to the nation.¹⁰¹

After World War I, these ideas persisted and would be enhanced by new ideals of autarky in Italian scholarship, leading to a more active acquisition policy on the part of the Ministry. It enabled Italian national institutions to purchase library materials directly, but it also operated on the market itself. Both scenarios seem to have been the case for the library of the Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.¹⁰² The institute was founded in 1918, but the library had originated in 1875 as a service library of antiquities and fine Arts at the Ministry. From the start, it had incorporated several other collections and donations of both foreign and Italian origin, a policy that was intensified after the library had merged with the Istituto and moved to Palazzo Venezia in 1922.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ For Warburg's interest in the collection of voyages, see A. Warburg, *Tagebuch der Kulturwissenschaftlichen Bibliothek*, K. Michels and C. Schoell-Glass, eds, Berlin, 2001, pp. 374, 377, 383 and 430.

¹⁰¹ Cf. P. Traniello, *Storia delle biblioteche in Italia dall'Unità a Oggi*, Bologna, 2014, pp. 1-66.

¹⁰² For a general impression of the library, see A. Benedetti, 'La Biblioteca di archeologia e storia dell'arte', *Biblioteche oggi*, vol. 10, 2005, pp. 33-39.

¹⁰³ Important examples are donations by the German archaeologists Wilhelm Henzen and Heinrich Dressel in the 1880s, the acquisition of the collections of the noblemen Fabrizio Ruffo (1920) and Rocco Pagliara (1922), and those of the German archaeologist Walther Amelung (1928), historian Julius Beloch and the Italian archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani (1929). For Henzen and Dressel, see Rome, Archivio Centrale dello Stato Archivio, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione antichità e belle arti, Archivio generale: 16/019 (Biblioteca della Direzione Generale). For Ruffo, see Archivio della Biblioteca del Ministero dell'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca (hereafter: MIUR), 'Relazione a S.E. il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione della commissione incaricata di presentare proposte per il riordinamento della biblioteca del ministero',



Figure 6. The ‘Collection of Travels’ in the library of Palazzo Venezia, ca. 1929–1934. Photo: Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell’Arte, Roma, Fondo Istituto, Roma BIASA s.n.inv. (Sala Viaggi)

By the end of June 1929, Gonse’s collection of voyages was added to the library of the institute as well (see figure 6). Its president Corrado Ricci (1858–1934),¹⁰⁴ had first tried to buy it directly from the bookseller Baer, had then vainly tried to convince the ministerial directorate of libraries to do so, but finally the Minister Giuseppe Belluzzo (1876–1952) himself intervened and purchased the collection for 100.000 lire, before handing it over to the library in Palazzo Venezia. In the presence of the director-general of academies and libraries Francesco Alberto Salvagnini (1867–1947), librarian Maria Ortiz

11 December 1922 (no archive shelfmarks in use; courtesy of Vincenza Iossa). For further information, see F.A. Salvagnini, *Le accademie e le biblioteche d’Italia nel sessennio 1926/27–1931/32*, Rome, 1933, pp. 368–371; I. Santinelli Frascchetti, ‘La biblioteca del Reale Istituto di Archeologia e storia dell’arte in Roma’, *Accademie e biblioteche d’Italia*, vol. 8:1, 1934, pp. 16–38; *Le biblioteche d’Italia dal 1932-X al 1940-XVIII*, vol. 20, Rome, 1942, pp. 363–372.

¹⁰⁴ On Ricci, and particularly his relation to the institute and its library, see M. Pomponi, ‘L’istituto di archeologia e storia dell’arte e la questione dell’archeologia romana’, in: A. Emiliani and C. Spadoni, eds, *La cura del bello – musei storie paesaggi per Corrado Ricci*, Milan, 2008, pp. 81–95.

(1881–1960) registered the books and put them on their shelves during the last days of August that year.¹⁰⁵ Although it stood out for its Dutch language, Kool's travelogue seemed to have found an ideal habitat in this library, amidst the works of fellow scholars from the north like Lipsius, Cluverius, Cuperius and Graevius and a great many editions on ancient inscriptions, among which his 'own' *Antiquae inscriptiones*.

At the same time however, this collection of universal erudition served a clear nationalist purpose within the larger framework of Italian cultural politics following World War I, particularly from the rise of the fascist regime in 1922 to the early 1940s. Among other things, this policy would manifest itself in the new name for the ministry, from 1929 'of National Education', and in the attempts to restore Latin as the language of classical scholarship, by means of which Rome would appear the natural centre and Italy could claim its primacy among civilised nations.¹⁰⁶ With the institution of the General Directorate of Academies and Libraries in 1926, the ministry strengthened its grasp on the Italian libraries. Among other things, an active campaign of acquisitions was initiated, of which the results were presented in the 'Exhibition of Italian Libraries' (1934) to celebrate the 'exceptional increase' of the bibliographical collections since their promotion was taken up by the regime.¹⁰⁷

Such ideals found a ready reception in the Istituto di Archeologia. Its director Corrado Ricci had witnessed how Rome's most important centre of knowledge on the antiquities, the Kaiserlich-Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (formerly

¹⁰⁵ How the institute obtained the Gonse collection can be deduced from Ricci's correspondence (Rome, Archivio storico dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 'Serie Roma, Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte', vol. 4, 1929, nrs. 36-71 and 122 [courtesy of Massimo Pomponi]). The entry date of Kool's manuscript (29 August 1929) in the library can be found in the *Register of Entries of the Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, Sala Lanciani (courtesy of dott.ssa Laura Plazzi). There, it says, in fact, that the three volumes were donated by the Ministry of Education. Their estimated value is 420,- Italian lira. On Salvagnini, see A. Petrucciani, *Francesco Alberto Salvagnini*, in: *Dizionario biografico dei direttori generali, Direzione generale accademie e biblioteche, Direzione generale antichità e belle arti (1904-1974)*, Bologna, 2011, pp. 168-179. See S. Buttò, 'Ortiz, Maria' in: Id., ed., *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari italiani del XX secolo*, <https://www.aib.it/aib/editoria/dbbi20/ortiz.htm>, accessed 25 March 2019.

¹⁰⁶ On the topic of Latin under fascism, see H. Lamers and B. Reitz-Joosse, eds, *The Codex Fori Mussolini: a Latin Text of Italian fascism*, London, 2016, pp. 17-22 en *Iid.*, "'Lingua Lictoria". The Latin Literature of Italian Fascism', *Classical Receptions Journal*, vol. 8:2, 2016, pp. 216-252.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. A. De Pasquale, 'I musei nelle biblioteche: una politica culturale antica e nuova', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. 10:1-4 (new series), 2015, pp. 13-36 (23 and 36). On the topic see also: C. De Maria, *Le biblioteche nell'Italia fascista*, Milan, 2016, and Traniello, *Storia delle biblioteche* (as in n. 101), pp. 167-208.

the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica, 1829) had closed its doors to Italian scholars in a climate of rising international tensions before World War I. By the end of the war, the Italian state considered confiscating it, but instead, on the initiative of Ricci and others, the Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte was founded (1918).¹⁰⁸ It was meant as an instrument to enable Italian *studiosi* to deepen their knowledge through Italian institutions, without having to depend on foreign collections, abroad or in Italy. This was particularly the case in Rome, where from the late nineteenth century a growing number of foreign academies and libraries had been founded, that competed with Italian institutions on the antiquarian book market.¹⁰⁹ In this 'national' vein, from 1922 the institute's library was steadily expanded. The acquisition of a collection as Gonse's, consisting mainly of foreign travels to Italy, could be of particular support to Ricci's aspirations. It expressed a long-standing tradition of admiration for Italy's history, culture and natural scenery, and strengthened the independence of Italian researchers studying the history of foreign travels and scholarship in Italy.

From this national perspective, Palazzo Venezia seemed an appropriate space for the Istituto di Archeologia and its library. During World War I, the Italian Kingdom had claimed the building from the Austrian empire, which had used it for its embassy since 1797. Its symbolic, nationalist connotation led Benito Mussolini to choose the palazzo as the seat of his government; his office was only a few metres from where the collection of voyages was housed in 1929. The Republic of Letters seemed light-years away, and Kool's manuscript was hidden away and remained unknown. Its rediscovery and disclosure by means of this article may be seen as a first attempt to restore it to the world of international scholarship, very much in the spirit of Kool.

¹⁰⁸ See F. Zevi, 'L'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte' in: P. Vian, ed., *Speculum Mundi. Roma centro internazionale di ricerche umanistiche*, Rome, 1993, pp. 695–705 and Pomponi, 'L'istituto di archeologia e storia dell'arte' (as in n. 104), pp. 81–82.

¹⁰⁹ On Italian institutions and foreign academies, and their book acquisitions in the early twentieth century, see A. Windholz, *Et in Arkadia Ego. Ausländische Akademien in Rom 1750-1914*, Regensburg, 2008, p. 239. For a 'reconstruction' of the antiquarian book market in early twentieth-century Rome, see A. Witte, E. van Kemenade, N. Graaf, and J. Terburg, 'Codifying the Genre of Early Modern Guidebooks: Oskar Pollak, Ludwig Schudt and the Creation of Le Guide di Roma (1930)', in: A. Blennow and S. Fogelberg Rota, eds, *Rome and the Guidebook Tradition. From the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Berlin 2019, pp. 313–337 (331–333).

APPENDIX: Excerpts of Kool's *Journal*

Codicological Notes

Location: Rome, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Sala Lanciani.

Shelfmark: Mss. 34 A 1-2-3.

Title: *Journal van een Rijse gedaan door Italien &c in den Jaare anno 1698 door Mr. Jan Guilliam Kool.*

Collation: 3 volumes, 970 fols. Vol. 1: fols 1–313; vol. 2: fols 314–617; vol. 3: fols 618–970.

Leaf size: 21 x 15.5 cm.

Binding size: 21 x 16 cm.

Binding: Leather back, hardpaper front and back covers.

Written on the recto side only on all folios; inconsistently paginated in pencil.

Editorial Principles

In the text of this article, Dutch has been translated into modern English; the original Dutch texts appear in this appendix. Folio numbers are placed between square brackets. Spelling variations appear frequently in names and remain unaltered in the transcription. We have printed booktitles in italics and added Gregorian dates for clarification. The use of [sic] has been kept to a minimum and has only been inserted where it causes confusion.

Text which has been left out in our transcription is indicated by square brackets and dots: [...]. If one or more lines have been left out, this is indicated by [...] after a line. Where helpful, we have provided modern Dutch meanings or spellings in a footnote for clarification followed by an English translation between round brackets. Full titles of books, names of persons and current shelfmarks of manuscripts are also mentioned in the footnotes. Titles such as 'Ed^e', 'Sig^e' and 'Sign:.' are maintained as in the original, unless indicated.

Editorial insertions and comments are enclosed with square brackets. Words of which the meaning remains unclear are followed by a question mark between square brackets. Crossed out words remain visible in the transcription (~~like this~~). A division into paragraphs has been silently made to improve readability and the folio numbers are indicated within the text between square brackets.

Appendix a. Meeting with Magliabechi at the Casa di Magliabechi, Florence.Vol. 2, fols 344^r–349^r.[Tuesday, 19 August 1698; fol. 344^r]

[...]

Daar van daan gingen wij Sign^r Magliabechi opzoeken om zijn Ed^e te offereren deese volgende praesenten. *Callimachus Graevii*, uijt de naam van Graevius.¹¹⁰ *Manethonis apotelesmata Gronovii* uijt name van Gronovius¹¹¹ en *P Mela L'Histoire des quatres Gordiens* uijt name van Mons^r Toinard.¹¹² En ik vereerde zijn Ed^e [met] mijn *disputatio ad Legem Ateriam Torpejam*,¹¹³ *oratio de artibus Augusti*.¹¹⁴ *Nouvellé Explication d'un medaille de Gallien*.¹¹⁵ Als wij voor het huijs van Magliabechi quaamen, zoo bevond ik voor eerst waar te zijn, het welk veele mij gezeght hadden, naamentlijk dat het een klijn vervallen huijs was, staande in een straat van geen aansien, Daar deese groot man in woonde. Als wij aan de deur geklopt hadden, zoo [fol. 345^r] gebruikten wij de voorsichtigheid van de boeken bloot te houden, dat Magliabechi die zien konde, om des te lichter acces te krijgen. Magliabechi zag aan de rechterhand van zijn deur door een vierkant gaas, dat in de muur is, om te zien, of de menschen, die voor de deur zijn hem ook aanstaan, dogh wij waaren welkom en riep van boove Adesso Signori, naa een wijnigh gewacht te hebben voor de deur, quam Magliabechi de deur opdoen, en na dat hij ons met complimenten geacombleerd had, zoo gaaven wij hem de boeken over, die alle zeer aangenaam waaren. Magliabechi kuste ons de handen en hoe zeer ik inisteerde om het zelve aan zijn Ed: insgelijks te doen, zoo konde ik echter daar toe niet geraaken. Wanneer wij de boeken overleeverde zoo offereerde ik zijn Ed^e ook mijn [fol. 346^r] *oratio*,¹¹⁶ en

¹¹⁰ T.J.G.F. Graevius and E. Spanheim, eds, *Callimachi hymni, epigrammata, et fragmenta* [...], Utrecht: François Halma & Willem van de Water, 1697.

¹¹¹ J. Gronovius, *Manethonis apotelesmaticorum libri sex*, Leiden: Fredericus Haaring, 1698. This book is dedicated to Antonio Magliabechi and Coenraad Ruysch.

¹¹² J.B. Dubos, *Histoire des quatre gordiens, prouvée et illustrée par les medailles*, Paris: Florentin & Pierre Delaulue, 1695.

¹¹³ J. Kool, *Disputatio juridica inauguralis ad legem arteriam tarpejam de multis*, doctoral thesis, Utrecht University: François Halma, 1698.

¹¹⁴ J. Kool, *Oratio de Artibus quibus Augustus callide Rempub.R. invasit*, Utrecht: François Halma, 1696. This book is dedicated to Jacobus Gronovius and Perizonius.

¹¹⁵ P. Le Lorrain de Vallemont, *Nouvelle explication d'une medaille d'or du cabinet du roy, Sur laquelle on voit la Tête de l'Empereur Gallien, & cette Legende, Gallinae Augustae*, Paris: Jean Anisson, 1699, 1699.

¹¹⁶ Kool, *Oratio de Artibus* (as in n. 114).

disputatio,¹¹⁷ die het geluk hadden van Magliabechi geküst te worden. Doe was het anders niet als Signori Cavallieri entrate vedete la mia libreria.¹¹⁸

Aan de linkerhand van de deur als men inkomt lagh een groote stapel met boeken, die aan Magliabechi gedediceert waaren. Aan de rechterhand leijden eenige ongebonde boeken. Ten eerste verhaalde mij Magliabechi zijn manier van leeven. Hoe dat hij zigh noijt outkleede, maar altijd in zijn kleeren sliep, daar hij maar vier eijers daags aat, daarvan hij mij twee toonde, in een laaij van een oud[e] vermolmde kast, boove op de kast stond een rond mandtje, daar zijn geld in leijde, als eenige testons en eenige gratien [?],¹¹⁹ daar neemt hij geld af als hij het van nooden heeft, hij slaept boove op de [fol. 347^r] boeken, want hij heft wel een ledikant, maar dat leght vol boeken, zoo dat hij wel genootzaakt is op de boeken te slaapen. In dit huijs woont hij alleen zonder meijd of kneght, en zijde dat hij geen dienstbooden wilde hebben, om dat die zijne boeken stoolen.

Hij leijde ons benede door eenige kaamers, die zoo vol boeken leijden, dat men geen voeten kan zetten, telkens moet men over de boeken stappen, men ziet klijne heuvels met boeken, als men de trappen opgaat, zoo leggen de trappen zoo vol boeken dat men ter nauwer not naa boove kan gaan, daar zijn wederom eenige kaamers alle vol boeken, daar staat zijn ledikant, het welk vol boeken lagh en daar sliep hij op.¹²⁰ Als wij weder af quaamen, zoo nam Magliabechi een oude plank, die hij op een steene muur leijde, [fol. 348^r] daar zaaten wij te zaamen om wat te discoureeren¹²¹ over de boeken die wij gebracht hadden. In Buologne had ik een groot snuijftabaks doos gekoft,¹²² die zette ik tusschen ons beijde, Magliabechi naam na zijn gewoonte een groote quantiteit, en storte zeer behendigh in een papier eenige tabaq en bedekte dat met een boek[,] dit was provisie, want Magliabechi magh geen tabak bij zigh dragen, den groot Hartogh heeft het hem verboden. Tegenwoordigh was Magliabechi gekleet met een kort wammes,¹²³ en een weije broek, en had een laakense kalat op; hij naam zoo veel snuijftabak, dat die hem met proppen weder uijt de neus quam vallen. Daarnaa naamen wij ons afschijjt, en door wandelde de Stad waarvan ik hier naa verder [fol. 349^r] zal spreken.

¹¹⁷ Kool, *Disputatio juridica* (as in n. 113).

¹¹⁸ 'Signori ... libreria': Italian for 'Courtly gentleman[,] enter to see my library'.

¹¹⁹ 'als eenige ... eenige gratien': unknown meaning.

¹²⁰ A similar description can be found in I. Disraeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, London, 1881, ch. 115.

¹²¹ 'discoureeren': praten (discuss)

¹²² 'gekoft': gekocht (bought).

¹²³ A 'wammes' or 'wambuis' is a long linen or woolen vest.

Appendix b. ‘Een groote quaataardigheid van de Münniken’: the Incident at Bibliotheca Laurentiana. Vol. 2, fols 380^r–395^r.

[Friday, 29 August 1698; fol. 380^r]

[...]

Sign: Magliabechi had wederom de goedhijt van ons deezen ochtent te koomen opwachten, en naa dat wij eenige snuijftabaq met malkander genoomen hadden, zoo zejide zijn Ed^e dat hij naa het Palijs wilde gaan om onze zaaken te vervorderen te meer, omdat hier in een groote quaataardighijt¹²⁴ van de Münniken was; want verhaalde hij mij, den Groot Hartogh¹²⁵ heeft aanstonts naa U Ed: audientie order gezonden om te laten copieren [in de Bibliotheca Laurentiana], dogh die H[eer]e Preters¹²⁶ hebben aan het hof geweest, dat het niet [fol. 381^r] raatzaam was mij op de Biblioteeq te laten door dien ik een gereformeerde was. Deeze suspicie¹²⁷ vermenght met quaataardighijt heeft de Italianen ten meesten deeze gegeven Tollius,¹²⁸ die te Milanen, en hier te Florence Mss: uijt de Biblioteeq gestoolen heeft, waarom andere eerlijke nogh ten deezen daage leijden moeten.¹²⁹ Maar ik geloof dat zelve de Heer Gronovius hier vaa[r]t gemaakt heeft,¹³⁰ om dat hij met de geestelijke niet konde accordeeren.¹³¹ Ik ging tegens den avond naa Sign: Magliabechi, en vond ten zijnen huijze een brief geschreeve van de kaamer Heer van den Groot Hertogh, waar in mij volkome permissie gegeven wierd om in de Biblioteeq te moogen Copieren.

[...]

[Saturday, 30 August 1688; fol. 382^r]

[...]

De Heer van Voorst en ik gingen te zaamen met Magliabechi naa de Bibliotheca Laurentiana. De Bibliothecaris was ten eersten gereed om de Bibliotheeq te oopenen. Het vertrek is langh en vierkant; de trap met welke men daar in gaat

¹²⁴ ‘quaataardighijt’: kwaadaardigheid, onwelwillendheid (maliciousness).

¹²⁵ Cosimo III de’ Medici (1642–1723), Grand Duke of Tuscany.

¹²⁶ ‘Preters’: Opzichters (watchers).

¹²⁷ ‘suspicie’: wantrouwen (suspicion or mistrust)

¹²⁸ Jacob Tollius (1633–1696) was a learned man who held various positions in the learned world, such as secretary to Nicolaas Heinsius and professor in Duisburg. Tollius spent the last period of his life travelling around Italy.

¹²⁹ Tollius stole the oldest Cicero manuscript in the collection according to the head librarian Francesco Ducci, see Van Veen and McCormick, *Tuscany and the Low Countries* (as in n. 33), p. 53. Consequently, Nicolaas Heinsius did not hire Tollius as a guide on his travel to Italy, due to his reputation as a thief, see F.F. Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius* (as in n. 46), p. 102.

¹³⁰ ‘vaa[r]t gemaakt heeft’: vluchten, vertrekken (leave or take off)

¹³¹ ‘niet konde accordeeren’: niet met elkaar overweg kunnen (to not get along well with one another)

is van een sonderlinge structuur, het dessein¹³² is van Michael Angelo,¹³³ de boeken zijn alle met kettens aan de banken [fol. 383^r] vast gemaakt, en de banken zijn met haar No. genoteert.¹³⁴ Den Bibliothecaris zogh mij op de Codex van Manethon[is],¹³⁵ om uijt dezelve de vier a vijf eerste blaaderen te copieren. Ik dacht op deese Biblioteeq te moogen blijven, dogh de Bibliothecaris zejde mij, dat het daar te heet was, en dat hij mij een ander plaats zoude geeven, ik antwoorde, dat ik wijnigh onderschijd omtrents te plaats had. De deur van de Bibliotheeq wierd dan toe geslooten, en ik mo[e]st met het codex, dat uijt de keetenen los gemaakt was benede aan de trap voor den ingangh blijven, daar ik eve als een gevange[ne] opgeslooten wierd, deeze plaats behaaghde mij niet zeer, de wijl ik geen licht genoeg hadde[.] omtrent zestien uren wierd de deur opgeslooten,¹³⁶ en ik gingh uijt. [...]

[Monday, 1 September 1698; fol. 388^r]

[...]

Deezen ochtent ben ik in de Bibliotheeq geweest. ik wierd opgeslooten en het was zoo donker, dat ik niet konde zien, en vorderde zeer wijnigh in het copieren van de Carmina Maximi poëtee,¹³⁷ en des naa de middags, om dat het zoo duijster was, gingh ik niet op de Bibliotheeq maar tegens den avond gingh ik naa Sign: Magliabechi, om zijn Ed^e te versoeken, dat hij de goethijt wilde hebben van de Sign: [fol. 389^r] Duci Bibliothecaris te spreken, om mij een andere plaats te versorgen, want ik in die plaats niet gauderen¹³⁸ konde van de [permissie] die den Groot Hertogh mij günstelijk verleent had. [...]

[Tuesday, 2 September 1698; fol. 393^r]

Wanneer ik huijden ochtent op de Bibliotheeq opgeslooten zat zoo quam de Heer Magliabechi aan wie ik mijn beklagh gedaan had, dat het der zeer duijster was met Sign: Duci mij bezoeken[.] Sign: Duci versocht dat hij mij, of op de Bibliotheeq zoude laten of op een andere plaats zetten, Dogh geen van beide konde weezen, op de Bibliotheeq moght ik niet weezen, zoo Sign: Duci zeijden, om dat de Jesuiten aldaar laatst geweest zijnde eenigh rumoer hadden aangere-

¹³² 'dessein': ontwerp (design)

¹³³ On Michelangelo's design process of the Laurentian Library, see J.G. Cooper, 'Michelangelo's Laurentian Library: Drawings and Design Process', *Architectural History*, vol. 54, 2011, pp. 49–90.

¹³⁴ In the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana books had a fixed position and were chained to their respective reading tables.

¹³⁵ The Manetho Codex lies in Florence, Bibliotheca Medicea Laurentiana, Laur.LXIX.22.

¹³⁶ 'opgeslooten': opensluiten, ontsluiten (to open or disclose).

¹³⁷ *Carmina Pacifici Maximi poetae Asculani*.

¹³⁸ 'gauderen': zich verlustigen (to take delight in); from the Latin *gaudere*.

cht, waarop geresolveert¹³⁹ was, niemand wieder op de Bibliotheeq te laten, en een andere plaats konde ik niet hebben, dogh op dat ik meerder licht zoude hebben[,] zoo zoude de deur, daar ik alleen door klijn gesneede tralien licht kreeg, open blijven, en ik zoude [fol. 394^r] niet opgeslooten zijn, wat zoude ik doen? ik moest te vrede weezen. [...] Ik [ging] weder naa de Bibliotheeq en bevond, dat het Mss: nu niet half zo moeijelijk te leezen was.

[...]

[Wednesday, 3 September 1698; fol. 394^r]

Deeze ganschen Dagh ben ik op de Bibliotheeq geweest voor de middagh, quam bij mij eene Signor Salvini¹⁴⁰ Doctor linguae [fol. 395^r] Graecae alhier, die mij zijn schrijven toonde en mij wel voor amanuensis zoude hebben willen dienen, ik antwoorde niet veel op deese praesentatie, om dat ik die man niet kende, ik wilde eerst uijt Sign^r Magliabechi verstaan, wie het was, hij [Salvini] zijde mij, dat uijt Sign: Duci verstaan had, dat ik daar copieerde. Tegens twee en twintigh uu[r]en gingh ik naar Sign^r Magliabechi wegens deezen Doctor Linguae Graecae, en hij zijde mij dat het voor mij gansch niet raatsaam zoude weesen mij met deeze menschen in te laten om dat het maar spions zijn, die iemand zoeken te aghter haalen.¹⁴¹

Appendix c. Audience with Cardinal Noris to gain Access to Bibliotheca Vaticana. Vol. 3, fols 726^r–731^r.

[Thursday, 27 November 1698; fol. 726^r]

Hede naa de middagh gingen wij naa de Cardinaal Noris om audientie bij hem te hebben, die wij ook bequaamen, eerst wachten wij wat in de anticamera,¹⁴² en wieder onderhouden van een Abbate, die aan het hof van den Cardinaal is, Terwijl andere de meeste part geestelijke persoonen bij den Cardinaal audientie hadden, de Cardinaal leijde de meeste tot buijte de anticamera, en nogh een vertrek verder wanneer de Cardinaal iemand uijtgelijd had, en weder naa de audientie [fol. 727^r] gingh gaf ons de maestro di camera, welke een Comte¹⁴³ is, een tijke,¹⁴⁴ dat wij volgen zouden, gelijk wij deden, in der audientie kaamer koomende stonden aldaar drie stoelen, op de eene, die recht tegen over de twee

¹³⁹ ‘geresolveert’: besloten (to resolve or decide).

¹⁴⁰ Possibly the classicist Anton Maria Salvini (1653–1723), who was professor of Greek in Florence between 1673 and 1725.

¹⁴¹ Magliabechi’s suspicious response is odd. Possibly Magliabechi thought that someone pretending to be Salvini had presented himself to Kool.

¹⁴² ‘anticamera’: voorvertrek (antechamber).

¹⁴³ ‘Comte’: van adel (belong to the nobility).

¹⁴⁴ ‘tijke’: teken (sign or signal).

andere stond ginch de Cardinaal sitten, en wij op de twee andere, eer wij ons nederzetten, wilden wij het gewoone compliment aan de Cardinaal maaken, het welk bestaat in een slip¹⁴⁵ van zijn tabberd¹⁴⁶ te küssen, Dogh zijn Eminentie wilde zulks niet toe laten, ik presenteerde een exemplaar van *Callimachus* uijt naame van de Heer Professor Graevius,¹⁴⁷ en zijn Eminentie betuijgde dat het selve hem zeer aangenaam was, wij discoureerden over verschijde nieuwe boeken en over sommige, die nogh onder de pers waaren,¹⁴⁸ wij spraaken ook van Magliabechi, en zijn Eminentie vroegh mij of wij ook goede vrienden met de Heer Gronovius waaren, wij antwoorden [fol. 728^r] niet resolut¹⁴⁹ op deeze vraagh, wel wetende, dat der geen goet bloedt tüsschen den Cardinal, en de Heer Gronovius is, want naa Magliabechi mij verschijde maalen verhaalt heeft, is de Cardinaal nooit te gelijk met de Heer Gronovius te Pisa professor zijnde was de voornaamste oorsaak,¹⁵⁰ dat de Heer Gronovius van zijn professie ontzet wierd: De Cardinaal zejde van de Heer Gronovius, dat hij een troppo critico¹⁵¹ was.

Ik verhaalde aan de Cardinaal hoe ik in Parijs en Florence de permissie gehad hadde van op de Bibliotheequen te moogen gaan en dezelve te gebruiken, zoo wat belangde het copieren als confronteeren¹⁵² en voeghde daarbij oft men ook die permissie alhier niet zoude kunnen hebben [bij] de Bibliotheca Vaticana, waarop de Cardinaal antwoorde, dat de permissie dan copieren aan niemant gegeven wierd, dogh die een autheur wilde confronteeren, konde de permissie bekoomen, en beloofde mij die te züllen versorgen zullende [fol. 729^r] daarover met Sig^r Zaccagne¹⁵³ spreken, ik brak het discours af zeggende dat wij zijn eminentie niet langer wilden incommodeeren,¹⁵⁴ maar ik gisse er niet sonder reede, dat wij de Cardinaal niet incommodeerden want wanneer wij opgestaan waaren, toonde ons de Cardinaal de apartementen van zijn huijs, welke op de Italiaanse manier alle naa malkander volgende; en van het een in het ander gaat, aan alle bijde de eijnden waaren de deuren met spiegels bekleet, aan het eene

¹⁴⁵ ‘slip’: onderste deel van een kledingstuk (lowest part of a garment).

¹⁴⁶ ‘tabberd’: wijd en lang bovenkleed (wide and long outer garment).

¹⁴⁷ Graevius and Spanheim, *Callimachus* (as in n. 108).

¹⁴⁸ ‘die nogh ... pers waaren’: momenteel gedrukt worden (to currently be at the printer’s).

¹⁴⁹ ‘resolut’: openhartig, ronduit (frank or candid).

¹⁵⁰ The Cardinal and Gronovius could not be professors at the same time in Pisa, therefore Gronovius was fired.

¹⁵¹ ‘troppo critico’: Italian for too critical.

¹⁵² ‘confronteeren’: collationeren (to collate).

¹⁵³ Alessandro Zaccagni (1652–1712) was the first librarian of the Biblioteca Vaticana at that time.

¹⁵⁴ ‘incommodeeren’: lastig vallen, ongelegen komen bij (to incommode or inconvenience someone).

eijnde ter linker hand als men inkomt hongh boove de deur een klijn versilvert engeltje, het welk een ander rond spiegel in zijn hand had, in 't welk de ruijten van de vensters gezien wierden, de wijl het dicht bij een venster hongh, aan het ander eijnd zagh men dit rond spiegelkje in de glaase deur, en van daar scheen het, of men door eenige ruijten zagh, het welk perspectief mij zeer behaagde, dit alles toonde ons de Cardinal zelfs zeggende dit gepractiseert te hebben, op dat daar door zijn huijs grooter zoude [fol. 730^r] schijnen, de Apartementen waeren vrij wel gemeubileert met schilderijen en andere meubilen in een apartement was een sierlijke Dais [?],¹⁵⁵ naa dat wij met zijn Eminentie het huijs doorwandelt hadden, gelijde hij ons tot op het apartement naa aan de trap, gelijk hij aan alle andere gedaan had, de maestro di camera en eenige andere gelijden ons tot aan de trap.

Om geen abusen¹⁵⁶ te begaan in het versoecken van audientie hadden wij Sig^r Ficaroni mede genoomen, dogh die bleef op de Anticamera, wanneer wij ter audientie van de Cardinaal waeren had Sig^r Ficaroni met een Abbate welke een geruijme tijt met mij gesproken had dit volgende discours.¹⁵⁷ Deeze Abbate vroegh aan Sig^r Ficaroni, of wij ook Christenen waeren, misschien wilde hij vragen, of wij ook Catholijke waeren, Dogh Ficaroni antwoorde, dat wij geen beesten waeren, den Abbate wel merkende, dat hij mis had seijde hoe het moegelijk waar, dat [fol. 731^r] wij zoo goet Italiaans spraaken, jaa antwoorde Ficaroni daarop, hier over moet gij U Ed: niet verwonderen, die twee zijn heeren, welke alle taalen verstaan en spreken Frans, Engels, Hebreuw, Griex, Arabisch, Italiaans, Spaans enz[.] deeze doen anders niet als studeeren, gaan bij geen hoeren en doen geen debauches,¹⁵⁸ gelijk onze jonge lieden doen, den Abbate dit hoorende cruijsighde zich, en seijde *Jesu Maria* zoo veel taalen, hoe is het moegelijk, dus coljoneerde¹⁵⁹ Ficaroni deezen Abbate.

NB dit cruijsen, wanneer men zich over verwondert en *Jesu Maria* te seggen is bij de Italiaanen zeer gebruikelijk; ik hoop maar, dat dit discours den Cardinal niet magh ter ooren koomen, dogh zülke gouwe¹⁶⁰ lieden hebben de Cardinalen doorgaans voor haare bedienden, de Cardinal Ottoboni alleen heeft de reputatie van bequaame en geletterde bedienden te hebben.

¹⁵⁵ 'Dais': probably a reference to the French word for a baldachin.

¹⁵⁶ 'abusen': vergissingen (mistakes).

¹⁵⁷ 'discours': gesprek (discourse or conversation).

¹⁵⁸ 'debauches': daden van losbandigheid (deeds of debauchery).

¹⁵⁹ 'coljoneerde': het zwijgen opleggen? (to silence someone?)

¹⁶⁰ 'gouwe': gouden, dus zuiver en trouw (gold, so pure and faithful).

Appendix d. Visit to Bibliotheca Vaticana. Vol. 3, fols 740^r–743^r.[Friday, 5 December 1698; fol. 740^r]

[...]

Huijde heb ik mijn voornemen geexecuteert,¹⁶¹ en aldaar gesproken met de eerste en tweede Bibliothecaris, de eerst is Laurentius Zaciagna, de tweede Benedictus de Miro.¹⁶² Deeze twee Heeren ontongen mij zeer beleeft, en wanneer ik versocht de permissie¹⁶³ om de Bibliotheeq te gebruiken zeggende, dat ik niet wist of de Cardinaal Noris reets van mij gesproken had, zoo antwoorde mij Zacciagna dat de Bibliotheeq altijd voor mij zoude oopen wezen, en dat ik [fol. 741^r] konde beginnen, wanneer ik wilde. De Heer Gronovius had mij versocht alhier te verneemen naa het Mss. van Holsteni *Notae in Stephanum*¹⁶⁴ om dezelve met de gedrukte te collationeeren, door dien dezelve zeer viteus¹⁶⁵ is gedrukt zijn, gelijk ook Zaciagna bekende, dogh Zaciagna onderrichte mij, dat wanneer Holstenii Bibliotheeq¹⁶⁶ verkost¹⁶⁷ wierd, zoo wierdt alles over geleevert, maar dit eene Mss. wierd achter gehouden en is tegenwoordigh te Napels in handen van de Capiteijn van de garde van de vice Re, Den Ammianus Marcellinus,¹⁶⁸ daar de Heer Gronovius van melt, is in de Bibliotheeq, dogh ik kan zijn Ed^e daar ontrent niet dienen; door dien ik geen tijt genoeg hadde mij in Roma op te houden, om te collationeeren, en eene zoo grooten autheur te onderneemen;¹⁶⁹ Latini Latini *emendationes et observationes in Tallium*¹⁷⁰ daar de Heer Graevius van geschreeven had, verzeekerde mij Zacciagna dat niet gevonden waeren onder [fol. 742^r] de Mss: van Arriani *Periplus Ponti [Euxini]*¹⁷¹ [empty space] het welk zijn Ed^e gansch afschreef, om dat hij bevond, dat het selve veel compleeter is als de gedrukte. In deeze Bibliotheeq is ook een oude

¹⁶¹ ‘geexecuteert’: uitgevoerd (executed or carried out).

¹⁶² Giovanni Battista De Miro (1656–1731) was the second librarian of the Vatican Library.

¹⁶³ ‘permissie’: toestemming (permission).

¹⁶⁴ L. Holstenius, *Notae & castigationes in Stephanum Byzantium de urbibus*, Leiden, 1692. Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661) was a well-known classicist with an interest in history and geography.

¹⁶⁵ ‘viteus’: gebrekkig, slecht (faulty or bad).

¹⁶⁶ For a complete, annotated overview of the library of Lucas Holstenius, see A. Serrai, ed., *La biblioteca di Lucas Holstenius*, Udine, 2000.

¹⁶⁷ ‘verkost’: verkocht (sold).

¹⁶⁸ Ammianus Marcellinus (b. 330, d. ca. 391–400) was a late-Roman soldier and historian known for his history of Rome called *Res Gestae*.

¹⁶⁹ ‘eene zoo ... te onderneemen’: zo een groot werk collationeren (to collate such a large work).

¹⁷⁰ Latinus Latinius of Viterbo, *Observationes et emendationes in Tertullianum*. Gronovius most likely referred to the following edition of Latinius’ works: *Bibliotheca sacra, et profana. Sive Observationes, Correctiones, Coniecturae, & Varie Lectiones. In Sacros, et Profanos Scriptores E Marginalibus Notis Codicum Eiusdem*, D. Macro, ed., vol. 1, Rome, 1677, pp. 191–211.

¹⁷¹ There is one manuscript containing Arrian of Nicomedia’s *Periplus Ponti Euxini* in the Vatican Library (hereafter: VL): ms. Barb.gr.196, fols 34^r–57^r.

Livius,¹⁷² die wel 800 jaar heeft. Dogh deezen auteur is ook te groot om voor mij te collationeeren, waarom ik van voorneemen ben om de Sallustius, zoo ik een oud Mss: kan hebben te collationeeren, Pastatio een oudt man en zeer ervaren in de orientale taalen, en wonderlijk geverseert in de Mss: maakte een notitie van de contenta¹⁷³ van de Mss:, welke nooit op de Catalogus gebracht waaren, ik gingh naa huijs met de Heer Pastatio¹⁷⁴ en Goetz zeer voldaan van het onthaal, dat ik van de Bibliothecarii genooten had, en ben van voorneemen niet tegenstaande mijn logement een klijn half uur gaans van het Vaticaan is, mij van deeze gelegentheid te bedienen.

[Saturday, 26 December 1698]

Huijde ochtent ontfontgh ik een brief van mijn Vader, in de welke een andere van de Professor van de [fol. 743^r] Pol¹⁷⁵ ingeslooten was, uijt geen van bijde verstond ik veel nieuws, alleen was mij aangenaam te verstaan, dat alle de vrienden nogh wel waaren, nogh ontfontgh ik een brief van Sig^f Magliabechi, die mij beloofde te zullen toezenden de Mss: die ik erlange.¹⁷⁶

[...]

[Tuesday, 29 December 1698; fol. 745^r]

Deeze morgen zeer vroegh gingh ik met de Heer Goetz¹⁷⁷ naa de Bibliotheca Vaticana, om de wegh eenigsints te verko[r]ten, wilden wij den [fol. 746^r] Tiber passeeren, Dogh deeze rivier was door de groote reege zoo gewassen, dat men die niet passeeren konde, waarom wij de wegh over de Pons Aeluis¹⁷⁸ naamen, op de Bibliotheca gekoomen zijnde gaf Sig^f Zaccigna mij ses goede Mss: van de Salustius,¹⁷⁹ welkers N^o deeze zijn in folio Magno 3328.¹⁸⁰

een in folio minori 3325¹⁸¹

een in folio oblongo 3326¹⁸²

een in folio oblongo 3327¹⁸³

¹⁷² Multiple manuscripts of Livius' *Ab Urbe Condita* (ca. 27–9 B.C.) are kept in the Vatican Library, yet none were 800 years old in 1698, as Kool claimed. Kool was probably referring to books I–X from the twelfth or thirteenth century: VL, Vat.lat.1844 and Vat.lat.1840, respectively.

¹⁷³ 'contenta': inhoud (content).

¹⁷⁴ Giovanni Pastrizio (1636–1708) was 'scriptor hebraicus' in the Vatican Library.

¹⁷⁵ Lucas van de Poll (1630–1713) was a professor of law at Utrecht University from 1670 until his death, as well as rector magnificus in 1681–1682, 1696–1697, 1705–1706.

¹⁷⁶ 'erlange': verlangde (desired).

¹⁷⁷ Unknown person.

¹⁷⁸ 'Pons Aeluis': Pons Aelius is a bridge in Rome, now referred to as the Ponte Sant'Angelo.

¹⁷⁹ Sallustius was a fourth-century writer and neoplatonic philosopher.

¹⁸⁰ VL, Vat.lat.3328.

¹⁸¹ VL, Vat.lat.3325.

¹⁸² VL, Vat.lat.3326.

¹⁸³ VL, Vat.lat.3327.

een in *quarto* . . . 1834¹⁸⁴
 een in *quarto* . . 1833¹⁸⁵

Het eene Mss. was veel beter als het andere, dogh het eerste naamentlijk N^o 3328 houde ik voor het beste. De Heer Rostgard quam ook voor de eerste maal op de Bibliotheeq, was van verschijde aan Zaciagna gerecommandeert, zoo dat aanstonts voor hem alles oopen stond, Zaciagna toonde hem aanstonts ses exemplaren van *Libanii Epistolae*,¹⁸⁶ welke de Heer Rostgard apart leijde¹⁸⁷ om zigh [fol. 747^r] daarvan te bedienen, onder deeze was der een, daar de meeste Epistolae in waaren, welke zijn Ed^e tot nogh toe gezien had.

Woensdagh den 30/10 Dec: den 229^e Dagh.

Ik heb mij huijde wederom op de Bibliotheeq Vaticana beezigh gehouden met de Salustius te confereren en de gansche naade middagh most ik om de continuele¹⁸⁸ reege in mijn quartier¹⁸⁹ blijven. Tegens den avond quam de Heer Clerk mij bezoeken, en nam van mij afschijt zullende morgen naa Florence; en van daar door Vrankrijk en misschijn door Holland naa Engeland verrijzen, zijn Ed^e beloofde mij te zullen vereeren een groot boek vol schoone bassen¹⁹⁰ en tabetuur¹⁹¹ van Bernardo Pasquini¹⁹² en Carolo Draghi de discipel van Pasquini:¹⁹³ zijn Ed^e volbracht zijne belooften, mij nogh deezen avond het voornoemde boek zendende, welk praesent om die incomparabile zaaken, die daarin [fol. 748^r] zijn ik hoogh estimeer, en daarvoor aan zijn Ed^e zeer geobligeert¹⁹⁴ ben.

Koen Scholten
 University of Utrecht
 k.scholten@uu.nl

Asker Pelgrom
 Royal Netherlands Institute in Rome
 askerpelgrom@knir.it

¹⁸⁴ VL, Vat.lat.1834.

¹⁸⁵ VL, Vat.lat.1833.

¹⁸⁶ Epistles of Libanius; Libanius was a fourth-century sophist teacher. The most extensive letter collection of Libanius is VL, Barb.gr.239.

¹⁸⁷ ‘leijde’: legde (laid down).

¹⁸⁸ ‘continuele’: voortdurend, ononderbroken (continuous or uninterrupted).

¹⁸⁹ ‘quartier’: kwartier, verblijf (quarters).

¹⁹⁰ ‘bassen’: probably referring to an accompanying musical part, also called a *basso continuo* in baroque music.

¹⁹¹ ‘tabetuur’: could be interpreted as ‘tablatuur’; a form of musical notation based on fingering rather than notes.

¹⁹² Bernardo Pasquini (1637–1710) was an Italian composer.

¹⁹³ Most likely Carolo Virginio Draghi (1638–1694), who was an Italian architect, painter and scenographer.

¹⁹⁴ ‘zeer geobligeert ben’: zeer verplicht ben (to be much obliged).