



Exploratory Workshop Scheme

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ESF Exploratory Workshop on  
**KNOWING ABOUT MEDIATION:  
UNDERSTANDING COMMUNICATION IN  
ENLIGHTENMENT EUROPE**

Cambridge (UK), 15-18 September 2013

Convened by:  
**Professor James Raven**

***POSITION PAPERS  
and  
ABSTRACTS***

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Cambridge Project for the Book Trust, Magdalene College, University of Cambridge  
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**KNOWING ABOUT MEDIATION: UNDERSTANDING  
COMMUNICATION IN ENLIGHTENMENT EUROPE c.1650-1800  
ESF Workshop 15-17 September 2013  
Magdalene College, Cambridge and Cambridge Project for the  
Book Trust**

**POSITION PAPERS**

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**The Transnational Circulation of Books in Enlightenment Europe**

Digitization projects recently completed or in progress have the potential to alter our understanding of communication in Enlightenment Europe. The accumulation of data, however, has to be accompanied by a corresponding effort at conceptualization—especially as regards transnational communication, a dimension to which traditional histories of the book have paid scant attention.

In what follows, I offer some thoughts on the methodology of transnational book history. I will not concern myself here with media of communication other than books. At the workshop, however, I hope to say a few words about the distinction, somewhat murkier in my view than is usually allowed for, between books and other print media.

**I. The Unequal Distribution of Cultural Power**

It has become fashionable to call for transnational approaches to the study of literature, in part because such approaches seem more inclusive and less chauvinistic than national ones. It's worth noting, therefore, that the transnational circulation of books in Enlightenment Europe may have done as much to reinforce as to challenge the prevailing cultural hierarchies. Most books that circulated across national borders did so in the form of translations; and the overwhelming majority of translations were either into or out of French—a stark imbalance that reflected the enormous prestige of French culture in the age of "L'Europe française" (Casanova; Oz-Salzberger). Gateways to a wider market, French translations circulated all across the Continent, they often provided the texts for translations into third languages, and, perhaps most important, they conferred authority, imparting to works of other national literatures the prestige of French literature. The multiple French editions of Goethe's *Werther*, fifteen in all in the period from 1776 to 1797, allowed Goethe's novel to become an international best-seller, a work of World Literature *avant la lettre* (Bachleitner).

**II. European Literature/National Literature/Regional Literature**

Goethe's novel notwithstanding, relatively few works written in German were able to break into the sphere of European literature in the late eighteenth century—relative, that is, to works written in English, which inundated European markets in the form of French translations. Even as we adopt a transnational approach to the circulation of texts, therefore, we should not lose sight of the fact that most works published in the eighteenth century did *not* in fact circulate across national borders. In the German case, one can detect at least three categories of works: the tiny number (probably not more than ten per year in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century) that were translated into French and circulated across national borders; the thousands of new publications announced annually in the Leipzig book fair catalogues, traded at the fairs and sold by booksellers throughout German-speaking Europe; and, finally, a hard-to-quantify

assortment of mainly Catholic works that were not traded at Leipzig and that circulated in such sub-national markets as Bavaria. Admittedly, the confessional division of the German lands makes the German case somewhat unusual. But it's an instructive case nonetheless because it underscores the coexistence of European, national and regional markets.

### III. Blockage, Refraction, Distortion

Because only a fraction of works published in the eighteenth century circulated outside their country of origin, it is important to give some consideration to what I will call blockages and mechanisms of exclusion, to all the many factors, in other words, that *impeded* the transnational circulation of books—from state censorship to the economic calculations of publishers. It is also important to give consideration to how the meaning of texts shifted when they migrated across national borders, a subject that lies at the intersection between the history of the book and the history of cultural transfer (Espagne/Werner).

Such shifts were sometimes the result of the translation itself, as happened with the German translations of Adam Ferguson's political writings (Oz-Salzberger). But they could also be the result of changes in the paratext—a phenomenon that I analyze in my recently published study of the Société Typographique de Neuchâtel (STN). The STN published seven French translations of German works, including a translation of Friedrich Nicolai's best-selling novel *Das Leben und die Meinungen des Herrn Magister Sebaldus Nothanker* (1773-75), which it marketed under two completely different titles: first as *Vie et opinions de maître Sebaltus Nothanker*, a word-for-word translation of the original German, and then as *L'Intolérance ecclésiastique ou les malheurs d'un hétérodoxe*, a title that called to mind a *roman philosophique* from the pen of Voltaire. Such title changes remind us of the need to consider not only which books circulated across national borders but also how publishers packaged them for foreign markets.

### IV. Digitization, Diffusion Studies, and the Mutability of Books

One of the most exciting digitization initiatives in the field of eighteenth-century studies is the University of Leeds STN database (*The French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe*). A remarkably versatile tool, the Leeds database makes it possible to reconstruct the sales of every book that passed through the STN's storerooms from 1769 to 1794—which books it sold, in what quantities, when, where and to whom. One could, for example, use the database to produce a map of the diffusion of the STN's French edition of *Sebaldus Nothanker*. Such a map, however, would not capture the mutability of the book's form and the multiplicity of its meanings—a shortcoming whose implications are worth pondering as we think about how to interpret the many quantitative studies digitization projects will make possible. In general, such studies take for granted that the things being quantified are stable entities. Books, however, are protean, and should be studied accordingly. Even as we accumulate vast new stores of data on eighteenth-century book production, we will still need to examine the actual material forms in which books presented themselves to readers.

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Current study of the Enlightenment in Europe needs to break free from two major historiographical constraints:

(1) The Enlightenment in 'national context'. Developed around 1980 as a useful corrective to the then predominant assumptions about the 'unity' of Enlightenment thinking, this model is now at times used as an excuse (especially amongst non-specialists) for imposing national research agendas on something that never fitted neatly within either modern theories of 'national' identity OR early-modern constraints of language and regional culture.

(2) The Enlightenment seen as distinct groups of campaigners with clear outcomes in mind. This is a problem with some post-modernist interpretations, although that challenge has now largely been averted. Coming from a very different angle, Jonathan Israel's much-repeated overall thesis of a binary Enlightenment (firmly divided between radicals and moderates) is equally misleading. Needless to say, most of Israel's 'radicals' were also French, so his binary approach to the Enlightenment is in danger of reviving the old national framework, albeit in a different guise. Worse, it is methodologically untenable, and risks taking readers down a blind alley.

Proper historical awareness of the process of mediation, transmission, translation, selective adaptation, and collective reception - not to mention piracy, manipulation, deliberate misrepresentation, censorship or self-censorship - is essential to a full understanding of the Enlightenment. Instead of assuming, for example, that the Scottish Enlightenment was distinctive and different - which implies it had some sort of notional coherence and identity within itself - we might get further by recognising not only the extent to which Hume, Smith and other intellectuals were active participants in transnational networks, but also the extent to which a wider reading public in Scotland gained access to, understood or misunderstood, and were influenced by mediation-processes similar to those working for readers and correspondents in Germany, France and elsewhere. Likewise, instead of pigeon-holing particular intellectuals as "radical" or not - as notional "Spinozists" (whatever that meant in the later 18th century) or temporising moderates - we might get further by recognising that what mattered most in the 18th century world of academies, reading societies, coffee-shops, street theatres, salons and bookshops was not a fixed 'programme' of specific ideas, and not even always the pinnacles of Enlightenment originality. Rather, what mattered is HOW you responded to intellectual challenges,

WHAT assumptions you made, WHO you looked to for answers, and WHETHER you were seeking consensus or rational challenge in one of the many multi-directional debates.

To map out this more complex kind of Enlightenment, both collaboration and digitisation will make a big difference - in terms of access to a wider range of printed and written material, and in terms of what we do with that material, developing new methodological approaches that can sustain the kind of history of ideas which goes beyond looking for elusive direct one-to-one influences between specific writers, and instead recognises the far more complex, non-linear and serendipitous processes of Enlightenment sociability, mediation, transmission and re-discovery. The essential tools are (almost) there, but for the sake of systematic discussion it may be worth noting key features.

## **DEVELOPING DIGITAL RESOURCES**

### **(1) Systematic development of compatible short-title catalogues**

These do not all need to be the same format (let alone need to be combined as a union-catalogue), but more co-ordination/compatibility between current 'national' STC programmes could be beneficial. Anyone who uses a number of different national bibliographies at the moment will immediately be struck by how patchy some of them are.

The ESTC is clearly well ahead of any other compilations, both in its coverage and in the amount of specific information that is included (pagination, approximate format, title-page and imprint information, plus listing of the location of existing copies to help scholars locate and compare variants). Additional information noting misprints, distinctive features of the typeface and other identifying characteristics of specific editions is of course extremely helpful. Also useful (especially in the present context), when cataloguing reprints and translations, is any information regarding the source-text (including which original edition a translation was based on). All this information is of course dependent on a vast amount of time and effort by bibliographers at a large number of collaborating libraries.

Comparison of existing national bibliographies readily remind us of some current shortcomings:

(a) incomplete coverage: national bibliographies can of course never include all printed material (estimates of how much has been lost from before 1800, especially from what used to be called 'ephemera', vary greatly), but should aim to include everything that survives.

The BNF catalogue possibly covers substantially less than half the total number of French-language items that survive (depending which estimate you accept). At the same time, it offers a sometimes bewildering array of duplicate entries for items that are not readily distinguished on the basis of the incomplete bibliographical information provided in the catalogue alone. This makes any attempt at quantifying new editions and reprints problematic.

There is of course as yet no union bibliography for the German-speaking Enlightenment, although major steps are being taken to implement the earlier 16th- and 17th-century sections, and more is on the way.

The recent availability of a Dutch STC is welcome, but quantitative searches are difficult, and for some purposes we have to rely on composite search-techniques across several individual library catalogues (such as the Amsterdam University library).

The Danish Royal Library union catalogue is incomplete on ephemera, and the on-line version does not include details of the full print-run for periodicals. Asking for a manual search by library staff is the only answer, and assumes that you already know what you are looking for.

By comparison with the Danish catalogue, the Swedish national library has made better progress, with consolidated and more reliably updated on-line bibliographies, notably the one covering the period 1700-1829. For example, it seems strong enough at present to sustain quantitative searches on editions and reprints. However, Swedish print-history remains relatively underdeveloped, and once more periodicals and ephemera are poorly covered.

(b) minimum bibliographical data: how much should be included? This is a problem in nearly all systems, because cataloguing used to be much more rudimentary, and older systems can rarely support the needs of modern print-history researchers.

For example, the Danish Royal Library on-line union catalogue is essentially based on the information in a 19th-century printed bibliography (*Bibliotheca Danica*), which at best gives the title, author, place and date of publication, but at times also includes highly unreliable indications of format, and never proper pagination or other details. Funds for updating are scarce: most of the resources seem currently to be applied to the (now very good) on-line user-interface of the Catalogue, rather than its actual information content.

The Swedish equivalent has more updated bibliographical information, though not as detailed as the ESTC. It also has reasonably reliable search-tools, including reasonably reliable ways of selecting the actual language of the publication - a crucial filter, of course, when it comes to analysing mediation and transnational transmission.

The BNF catalogue has some useful search tools (search by 'index'), but the actual bibliographical information, like that in the Danish catalogue, is inadequate. For French material, there is no easy way of overcoming the notorious uncertainty of the real place of publication, and it is difficult to see how this could be remedied except by gradual accretion of new information.

Such comparison between different STCs will readily reveal other variations, but it is already clear that more co-ordination is required between national bibliographical teams to help cope with the very different assumptions of language, reprinting/piracy and political geography of pre-1800 Europe.

## **(2) Prioritising texts for digitisation**

Digitisation programmes are progressing fast, in many European libraries, creating the beginnings of a remotely-accessible digital library. But the optimism

attached to such undertakings is probably a bit premature: coverage is still very patchy, and the quality of some industrial-scale digitisation programmes is uneven.

Some peripheral details might be considered in passing: practicalities (always including a centimetre ruler adjacent to the first full page of print, to give sometimes crucial dimensions) as well as software issues (are PDFs the most efficient in terms of detail v. upload-speed?).

More significantly for historians of print, the way texts are selected for digitisation may deserve more careful co-ordination. As long as comprehensive coverage is still a long way off, selecting texts purely on the basis of perceived demand makes sense in terms of preserving old material in Special Collections, but is not necessarily the most useful systematic approach for research. For the historian, a more helpful prioritisation might be to aim for complete inclusion of all material dating from selected years (eg. one year from each decade up to 1800), or some other method to ensure that all surviving print is included. This might be combined with the "most in demand" policy, or thematic selection.

Creating larger databases from clusters of searchable texts is now quite reliable, even for 18th-century typefaces, and obviously hugely beneficial. More problematic, at the moment, is electronic comparison of two variant digitised texts (without converting them into modern text-files) - an approach which is inescapable once you need to examine reprints and possible variant editions in order to identify more-or-less distinct printings. For example, no systematic attempt has so far been made to establish precisely how the many editions of David Hume's political essays were modified during the author's lifetime, and how many of these are genuinely distinct reprints (legal or pirated) in Britain and/or elsewhere. Questions of that kind also makes it more difficult to map translations and foreign reprints: apart from Hume's famous history-writing, therefore, we are still surprisingly ill-informed about the precise diffusion of his major work.

### **(3) Digitising a broader range of material**

The value of fully digitised and searchable journals, periodicals, newspapers and flysheets is gradually becoming acknowledged. English and German periodicals are relatively well served (British periodicals on-line; Bielefeld database of *Zeitschriften der Aufklärung*): for most other language-communities this is a seriously neglected area.

Many literary review journals that were once critically acclaimed vehicles for debate - vital mediators in their own right - have not been digitised and are themselves rare. Examples include the Danish *Kjöbenhavnke Lærde Efterretninger* (1720-1810), and the underground French *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (1728-1803). Each of these lasted for such a long time-span that they are capable within themselves of demonstrating changing patterns of mediation, as well as the evolution of syntax and vocabulary over time. Such journals may also represent one of our best sources for the analysis of contemporary reception: most literary reviews relied on a large network of volunteer reviewers, who, like the editors would be very conscious of the assumed interests of the intended readership. Journals may be distorting mirrors, as far as

mediation is concerned, but they are an indispensable and (in some national collections) still under-rated resource

The Danish KLE, for example, is the largest coherent body of text printed in Danish in the 18th century. It is a rich mine for information on a wide range of subjects and public debate on then current themes. There are only two complete sets in existence, and neither has so far been digitised. Being a rare book, it is subject to the normal restrictions of Special Collections.

## **TRANSNATIONAL MEDIATION**

Historians are still some way from understanding how oral and written communication worked across language-barriers, at any social level. Multi-lingual dictionaries, let alone phrase-books, developed relatively late, and slowly. Latin, and later French, might have served the educated elite adequately, but presumably would not have got you very far as a merchant in the Baltic ports or the eastern Mediterranean, let alone as a missionary or diplomat further afield.

As far as print is concerned, we face some further interesting puzzles. Mediation was obviously vitally important for a text to gain recognition outside its originating language. Where are the translations of the highly innovative and dynamic pamphlets published in Sweden in the 1750s and 60s by Nordencrantz and Chydenius?; why did Vico not get a wider readership during his lifetime?; why was Herder not widely read outside Germany? We might also ask why so many of the key texts of the Scottish Enlightenment at first had to go through French before anyone else in Europe would consider translating them into a third language. Were most publicists and intellectuals in Europe (who did not write in French) more dependent on their translator in order to make an impact (or fail to do so), rather than the quality of their original text? Could foreign reviewers and critics exert a major influence as mediators, and is that why so many literary reviews flourished all over Europe during the 18th century? What can we learn about the whole process of transnational mediation itself, if we compare the increasingly detailed discussion of good practice by the mediators themselves? - or the 18th-century discussion, analysis and research not just into the origins of language, but also into the appropriate role of the translator as a facilitator for other readers? All of these questions are tackled extensively and systematically by later Enlightenment writers, in effect laying the foundation for modern translation studies. Equally, all of these questions need to be documented by historians trying to understand Enlightenment networks, transmission and mediation, to allow us to move outside the boundaries of traditional Enlightenment studies and a traditional history of ideas.

For now, one specific example will suffice, to illustrate the importance of expanding the social history of knowledge, recognising the need to understand mediation through print and manuscript: the career of Thomas Paine. At a conference in London in 2009, Paine's role in the emergence of American colonial resistance was examined, and a first attempt made to understand more fully why Paine encountered such difficulties in the second Revolution in which he was an active participant, the French Revolution

[volume forthcoming from University of Virginia Press, ed. Onuf & Newman]. It is worth repeating, in the present context, that Paine's manifest skills at judging his audience seem to have failed him, disastrously, when he was trying to influence French public opinion - no doubt because he lacked an adequate grasp of the French language itself. The record of the debates in the French National Convention, of which Paine was an elected member, give clear clues: when one of Paine's speeches was read out, in French translation, by Bancal des Issart (secretary to the Convention) standing next to Paine on the tribune, ominously none other than Marat questioned the reliability of the translation, forcing another deputy to declare that he had read Paine's original text in English, and did not think the translation was inaccurate. Embarrassingly, Paine himself appears not to have followed the debate sufficiently well to have been able to intervene and explain. As we know, mediation, in his case, soon became a matter of life and death, as indeed it did for a number of native Frenchmen during this period.

We can pursue this example a little further. As we all know, Paine's most notorious book, *The Age of Reason* (1793-94) was meant as a contribution to the internal French revolutionary battle between de-christianisers and those (including both Danton and Robespierre) who wanted to compromise over questions of religion in order not to split the Revolution further. Unlike his *Rights of Man*, however, this book appears not to have much of a following in its French version [although its publication history is difficult to follow in the chaotic context of the Terror], and appears not even to have earned much public rebuttal. Unfortunately for Paine, however, the English versions of *The Age of Reason* became hugely controversial, and in effect not only ruined Paine's hopes of returning to a position of some influence in the US, but also went too far for non-conformist English readers. Significantly for us, the Dutch translation of this book appears to have destroyed Paine's reputation in the hitherto quite liberal intellectual atmosphere of the Netherlands, whilst the German translation was greeted by reviewers as a dangerous and infectious book which did not deserve to be printed and which decidedly should not be read.

Until a few months ago, I assumed that most of Paine's ideas were simply not available to those readers in Scandinavia who could not read (or could not get hold of) either the German or the French translation. *Rights of Man*, part 1, had been translated into Swedish in 1792, but the timing was very bad, and part 2 never made it. There appeared to be no sign of a Danish edition, and neither Danish nor Swedish readers seemed to have access to the *Age of Reason* or his *Agrarian Justice*, even though such texts would have been highly relevant in both states. However, given that the Danish press remained in principle free of censorship longer than any other European press, right until 1799, and Danish public debate accordingly quite dynamic right through the 1790s, the lack of Danish impact was particularly interesting. An initial trawl through the most influential review journals, including the *Kjöbenhavnsske Lærde Efterretninger* (KLE) noted above, produced references merely to the German translation of *Rights of Man*, and an extremely dismissive rebuttal of its arguments by a noble-born writer, Munthe af Morgenstjerne, published in Copenhagen in both French and Danish.

It took a full-scale manual trawl through the rich array of periodicals in Danish from the 1790s to set the record straight, and not surprisingly, it turned out that mediation was absolutely decisive. Morgenstjerne was indeed attempting to warn elite readers in Copenhagen against Paine's work, but at least one journal reviewer in the KLE immediately recognised how counterproductive such an attempt could be. His review started by making the obvious point (in Danish, of course) that "Had it been [Morgenstjerne's] intention to stop the spread of Payne's [sic] writings, then we believe he should have gone about doing so by quite different means." By writing (even in French) Morgenstjerne was merely attracting attention to it; and in rejecting Paine's arguments he was of course also giving an impression of what those arguments actually were. The KLE reviewer continued by saying "We have yet to read anyone who has seriously undermined the core of Payne's arguments", so it would have been much safer to let the 'heretic' pass in silence, and avoid the risk of 'contagion'. Interestingly, the reviewer added that that was what had happened to Bayle, Lessing and others. To take cover from the government, he noted that "in a well-administered state no Paine [sic] can do much harm". We should note that this is from one of the leading establishment journals in Copenhagen, with a 75-year old track record, publishing in the middle of what was already a fairly difficult debate about free speech and censorship. Nowhere in all this was a precise translation of Paine's work actually provided - let alone his original English. But Morgenstjerne then committed the fatal tactical error of publishing another pamphlet, in response to the criticisms he had received of his first one, and in response to the review in KLE itself.

This kind of debate clearly defeated the very purpose of Morgenstjerne - and may in fact have been exactly what the KLE wanted. What is clear is that public perception relied *entirely* on third- or even fourth-hand discussion of the writings of an author who had clearly already become the victim of mediation that neither he nor the ultimate readers could either fathom or easily remedy. The problem was taken in hand by another journal, the newly launched and more daring (but still quite intellectual) *Politisk og Physisk Magazin*. In the spring of 1795, with no editorial comment, tucked away in serialised form spread over at least six issues, this journal proceeded to publish what was in fact a Danish translation of large sections of *The Age of Reason*. Paine had reached Copenhagen, somewhat belatedly and furtively, but nonetheless in recognisable form.

For those with a good understanding of the processes of bluff, adaptation, subterfuge and selectiveness commonly deployed in the print industry across all of early modern Europe (including Britain), this case study probably holds few surprises. But it illustrates how much work still needs to be done before we fully understand how ideas, knowledge and texts moved across cultural and social divides, and what happened to them in the process. I have chosen Paine because my own research at the moment focuses on political debate in print. But no doubt similar stories could be told in respect of the sciences, law, historical writing, Biblical studies, not to mention philosophy and

religion as such - or the popularisation of all of these. The social history of knowledge (scientific, social, economic, etc) and of the rational processes of discovery and analysis which underpinned their growth during the period 1650-1800 still has a very long way to go. Some further points regarding the development of digitised resources might therefore be in order:

**(4) systematic and comprehensive digitisation of periodicals** is a higher priority than most historians have so far recognised. Without them, we cannot map Enlightenment debate effectively, nor can we fully understand the processes of mediation, through a large number of otherwise relatively undistinguished (and often anonymous) reviewers, to the equally important but proverbial "informed reading public". It goes without saying that we need as good keyword search facilities as possible for all this periodicals, to be able to locate and understand the style and vocabulary used to shape the message. That applies at least as much to translations as to the original - for translations, like adaptations or even bowdlerisations, are as historically important as the original.

**(5) theories of translation, as well as translation practices**, as they developed during this period, need more systematic study than has been undertaken to date. Such study requires not only thorough comparison of actual translations, but also a number of associated tools:

(a) digitisation of as many pre-1800 single-language dictionaries, encyclopedias and other reference works as possible. Different routes have been taken with French and English material, but a great deal of comparable material for other European languages remains rare and relatively inaccessible.

(b) collaborative digitisation and exploitation of multi-language dictionaries. Examples might include the richly informative *Dictionarium suethico-anglo-latinum* compiled by Jacob Serenius in 1741 (a new version was published in 1757, with an English title, *An English and Swedish Dictionary*, but still using Latin as the mediating language), or the *Compleat Vocabulary: English and Danish* published in Copenhagen in 1784 but actually based on an *Englisches Wörter-Buch* published in Leipzig in 1736. There are many such dictionaries, and of course they do not offer consistent results (especially for more problematic words or terms not in common use in the host language), so:

(c) the creation and enhancement of cumulative historical thesaurus-type databases exploiting these original dictionaries across at least the major European languages. Needless to say, this can only be done by an international collaborative team.

**(6) full-scale mapping of translations across all European languages with significant print cultures before 1800**, ideally to include incomplete translations (even unfinished, unpublished, etc). This in turn raises the urgent need for more

comprehensive digitisation of manuscript texts throughout this period, especially for smaller language-clusters where commercial printing was less viable. There is an Icelandic project aiming at this, which could serve as a model for a wider collaborative research-proposal across clusters of European languages.

2/viii/2013

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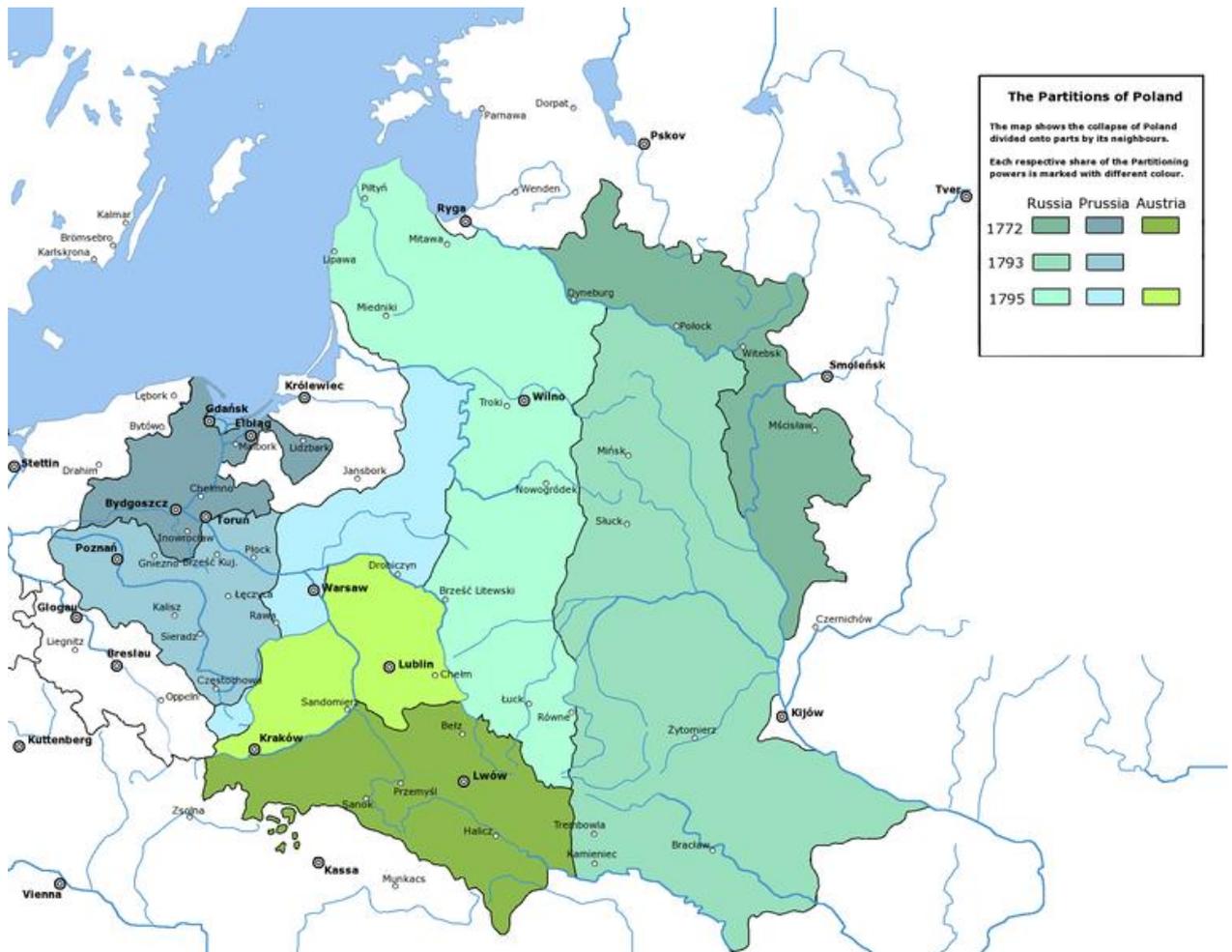
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### **Uncovering the basics: Eighteenth-century book collections in Wielkopolska libraries – contexts and sources**

#### 1. History, politics and book collections in partitioned Poland

##### 1.1. A general socio-historical background

The history of communication, knowledge and culture in Enlightenment Poland is determined by the country's historical and political situation. The most significant historical events were three partitions (1772, 1793, 1795) of the country, as a result of which Russia, Prussia and Austria annexed Polish territories. The last partition put an end to the independent state of Poland (see Map 1). Norman Davies observes that the annexations “furnish the finest examples which European history can boast of peaceful aggression” (Davies 2004: 661) and drew attention to the fact that the violence was as much symbolic as it was military. “The assault on the Polish state was accompanied by much enlightened rhetoric; and the consequent ‘rationalisation of the map of Europe was widely excused’” (Davies 2004: 664). Books and libraries became a significant medium in the political and cultural struggle for Polish autonomy and identity. It was believed that they were the medium to form an enlightened society which could construct a modern state immune to foreign aggression. Before the loss of sovereignty, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century, there had been a number of cultural initiatives to spread Enlightenment ideas in Polish society and lay foundations for the construction of a modern state. Jean Jacques Rousseau was consulted about the nature of the reforms necessary to achieve the aim. In a treatise *Considerations on the Government of Poland and on its Proposed Reformation* (1772) he advised Poles to “establish the Republic so firmly in the hearts of Poles that she will remain her existence there in spite of all the efforts of her oppressors (...) You may not prevent them from swallowing you up; see to it at least that they will not be able to digest you”. In keeping with Rousseau's advice, in 1773 the same Parliament which ratified the first partition of Poland constituted the Commission of National Education (Komisja Edukacji Narodowej, KEN), which was in effect the earliest ministry of state education in Europe. The creation of KEN coincided with the dissolution of the Jesuit order, which had organised the Polish school system. The new commission took over the estates and other possessions of the order (including schools and book collections) and used them to modernise the Polish school system. Jesuit schooling was conservative, placed emphasis on theology and used Latin as the language of instruction. KEN introduced natural sciences and modern languages into the curriculum and instituted Polish as the language of education. It commissioned writing textbooks for the study of the Polish language and literature. These educational reforms were accompanied with political ones, but the strenuous reforms to modernise Poland failed to prevent its political demise. The cultural revival, however, safeguarded its identity.



Map 1. The partitions of Poland.

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A very important medium of that cultural warfare were books and book collections, whose history is closely intertwined with the political developments in Poland. In the eighteenth century there were three large libraries: the Royal Library of Stanisław August Poniatowski, the last king of Poland, the Załuski Library, the first Polish public library, and the Radziwiłł Library in Nieśwież (Niasvizh in today's Belarus), one of the largest private libraries in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. All the collections were confiscated by the Russian authorities in 1834, 1794 and 1772 respectively. The study of the history of the libraries, the process of the accumulation of their collections and their fate after confiscation gives an insight into the mutual influence of history and culture. The libraries, particularly the Royal Library and the Załuski Library, were founded with a view to spread Enlightenment ideas and thus to pave way for the modernization of the state. To a certain extent, they fulfilled their aim. The collections provided important resources for educational and political reforms which were conducted before the third partition. The reforms, wide-ranging and ambitious as they were, came around too late. Poland was deprived of independence and its most significant book collections were confiscated and transferred to Russia. The collections of Załuski and Radziwiłł libraries were dispersed while the Royal collection survived in Kiev. The fate of the three eighteenth-century libraries is a good illustration of the short-lived nature of Polish book collections which due to the political turmoil could not last. Nevertheless, the atmosphere and the effects of the cultural revival which they fomented survived and bore fruits.

The libraries created in the nineteenth century, of which those of Wielkopolska analysed in more detail below are good examples, became a significant medium in the struggle to preserve Polish cultural identity. Both Edward Raczyński, the founder of the

Raczyński Library (see section 2.1.), and Tytus Działyński, the creator of the Kórnik Library (see section 2.2.), declared that they compiled their collections for the benefit of the Polish nation. The most valuable parts of their library stock are manuscripts and prints related to Poland, which are referred to as *polonica*. Seventeenth and eighteenth-century manuscripts and prints held in the libraries came both from the family collections of their owners and through purchases of individual books or entire book collections. The study of the range of books, their provenance and themes, gives an insight into the process of creation of local libraries by noblemen who employed their bibliophile passion in the service of Poland. Eighteenth-century collections can also be found in a library founded by Polish scholars determined to protect *unguibus et rostro* the Polish culture in the Prussian partition, where there was no possibility to found a Polish school of higher education (see section 2.3.). Finally, manuscripts and prints from the eighteenth-century can also be found in the University Library in Poznań (see section 2.4.).

## 1.2. Eighteenth-century libraries in Poland

The histories of the libraries founded in the eighteenth century are a perfect illustration of the power of books to influence history. Both Poles and its enemies saw an important source of power in the struggle for Poland. The enlightened Poles employed books as a medium of reforms and the construction of a modern state. Libraries were a means to pave way for the modernisation of the country by popularising Enlightenment ideas. This belief persisted even after the first partition in 1772. The Royal Library of Stanisław August Poniatowski, intended as an important node of a cultural and political network, the Załuski library, the first Polish public library and the Radziwiłł library in Nieśwież, bear evidence to the cultural and political life of the eighteenth century. The libraries were seized and transferred to Russia: the Radziwiłł library after the first partition in 1772 and the Załuski Library in 1794. Their collections were either dispersed (Załuski library, Radziwiłł Library) or find themselves outside Poland (the Royal Library). Although it is impossible to reassemble them in the material form, new technologies open possibilities to do it in the digital form. The three libraries are given more space below, as snippets of their holdings would later emerge in Wielkopolska collections.

**The Royal Library** (King Stanisław August Poniatowski's private library) – the largest Polish eighteenth-century book collection preserved almost in its entirety, built up by the king in the times of his reign 1764-1795. The library grew out of a private family collection and it was gradually enlarged to meet the needs of its users. It was never made public although the king was considering the idea. However, it was not merely a private book collection for the sole use of the monarch. It was universal in the range of books it contained, and it was designed to support the work of courtiers, scholars and artists. A surviving register of books on loan is an invaluable resource for the study of the use of the library as a centre of scholarly and political endeavours. In 1783 the growing library was moved to a dedicated building (see Fig.1).

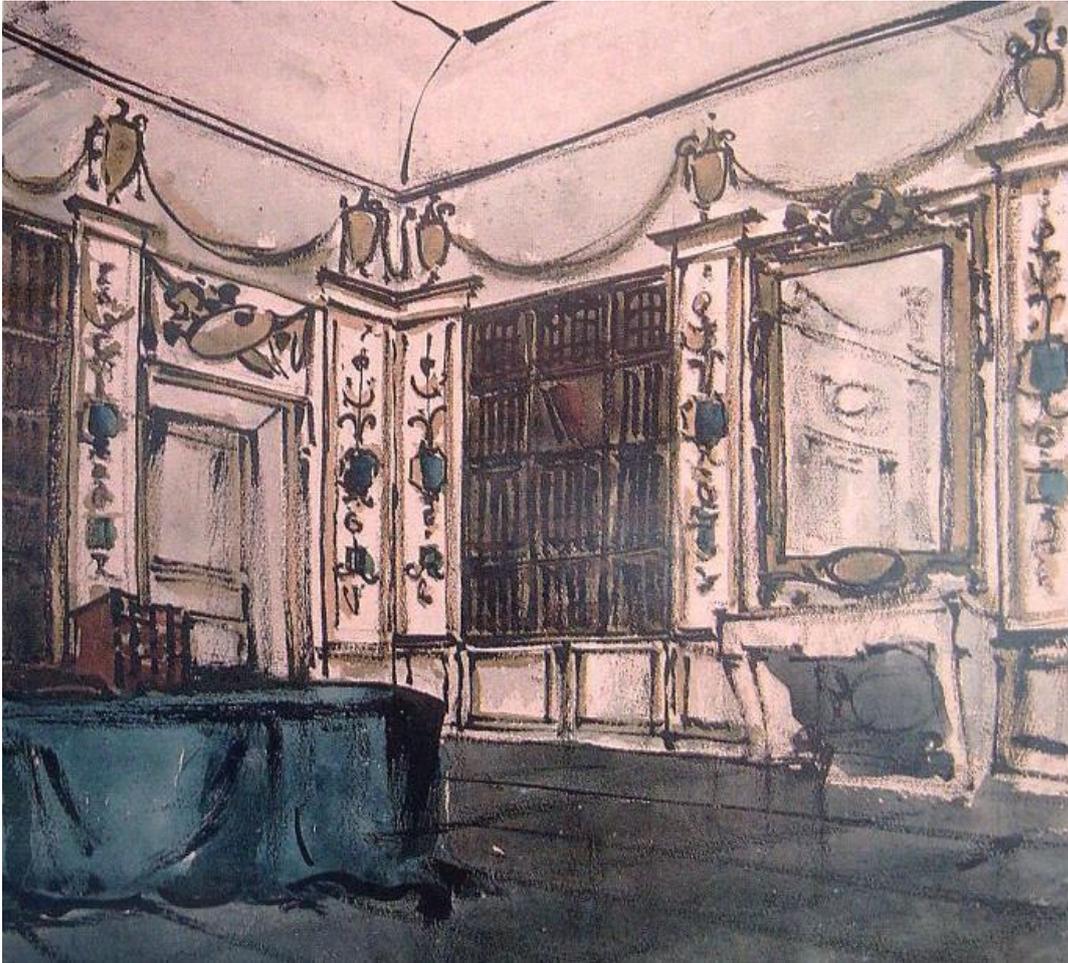


Fig. 1. A drawing of the interior of the library of Stanislaw August Poniatowski (Łojek 1998).

A few extant catalogues compiled in the eighteenth century give an insight into the process of enlarging the library. The most valuable was the one compiled by John Baptist Albertrandi, in the years 1793-1796, in ten volumes, each volume devoted to one branch of knowledge. The catalogues include the librarian's and the king's handwritten comments on the way the collection should be classified and enlarged, revealing the king's involvement in the construction of the library. The process of the collection's growth can be also traced thanks to the marks of provenance in the books. After the king's death the collection included ca. 20 000 volumes. The king's heir, Józef Poniatowski, sold it to Tadeusz Czacki, who intended to donate it to a college in Krzemieniec. In 1805 the books were transferred there but in 1834 the Russian authorities decided to create a university in Kiev and use the Polish royal collection as a foundation of its library. At present the collection is stored in the National Library in Kiev. In 1992 Polish scholars from the National Library were invited by the head of the Ukrainian National Library to take its inventory. Two catalogues unknown to Polish scholars, dating back to 1769 and 1777, were found in Kiev. There are plans to publish Albertrandi's catalogue in a printed and electronic version (Hofman-Wiśniewska 2004). What is worth noting, Albertrandi's private papers and parts of the catalogue made their way to the Działyński collection in Kórnik, one of the aristocratic libraries in Wielkopolska.

**The Załuski Library** – the first Polish public library and the first national library, one of the largest libraries in Enlightenment Europe. It was founded in 1747 by two bishops, Józef Andrzej (1702-1774) and Andrzej Stanisław Załuski (1695-1758), and intended to be one of the most significant centres of *republica litteraria*. In the opening year the collections included 18,000 volumes. In 1794, after the Kosciuszko Insurrection, by the

order of Catherine II the books were confiscated and sent to St Petersburg to enrich the private collections of the empress. At this moment, the Załuski library contained 400,000 volumes but only 263,000 reached St Petersburg. Between 1922-1935, on the power of the Treaty of Riga, a part of the collections was returned to Poland but in 1944 most of the regained books were burnt by the Nazis. At present, fragments of the collections are scattered among the libraries of Poland. Kozłowski (1986) argues that the Załuski Library had long been considered as unsuccessful since it failed to attract high numbers of readers but this judgement overlooks the primary role which Załuski Library served. It was designed to be, and successfully became, a dynamic centre of Polish and European scholarly life. The analysis of Załuskis' letters conducted by Jan Kozłowski in his *Outline History of Załuski Library* in 1986 sheds light on this function of the library. A more recent publication on the library is entitled *Załuski Brothers - their era and work (Bracia Załuscy - ich epoka i dzieło: zbiór studiów)* edited by Dorota Dukwicz (2011).

### **The Nieśwież (Niasvizh) Library Collection**

The library was founded in the 16th century by Mikołaj Radziwiłł, a member of one of the most powerful aristocratic families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and in 1773 transferred to St Petersburg as a war booty. The eighteenth century was the period when it developed most rapidly. At the beginning the collections contained 1440 volumes, and shortly before their confiscation – 15,000 volumes. The library was enlarged by the transference of the collections of various members of the Radziwiłł family to Nieśwież (Niasvizh). In 1745 Anna Katarzyna Sanguszko Radziwiłł transferred 2356 titles to Nieśwież from Biała, and before 1750 the remaining parts of the Biała collection were transferred there as well. In 1745 her daughter bequeathed to the library the collection of her first husband Jakub Henryk Fleming (3000 titles); in 1757 Konstancja Franciszka Sapieha, another daughter, added at least 650 volumes; in 1760, after the death of Anna Katarzyna's son, Hieronim, also his books were incorporated into the Nieśwież collection. The book collection included publications both from western Europe and from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, testifying to the wide-ranged reading tastes of the family. Many books carry traces left by their owners and readers, the study of which can contribute to the history of reading and circulation of books.

The collections are now scattered among various institutions in Belarus, Russia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Finland and Poland. The Library, though dispersed, thanks to the joint efforts of all the institutions, was included in the register of the UNESCO Memory of the World in 2009. There is an electronic catalogue which tries to track down books from the collection albeit they do not include records from all the institutions holding its fragments.

[\(http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/bazy\\_bibliograficzne/index.php/75/\)](http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/bazy_bibliograficzne/index.php/75/)

The National Library of Poland has gathered other early collections of books. These include over 160,000 old prints from private libraries of aristocratic families as well as church collections from eastern and southern Poland (for a detailed overview in Polish, see <http://www.bn.org.pl/zbiory/stare-druki>). Since this inventory is geographically based on the Russian partition (as well as libraries in the so-called 'Recovered Territories' after the Second World War), Wielkopolska libraries are not represented because they were located in the Prussian partition. In spite of that geographical and political detachment, the circulation of book collections across the borders can be traced on the basis of the histories of individual libraries in Wielkopolska as well as their respective catalogues.

## **2. Wielkopolska and its libraries: A detailed source overview for the study of the long eighteenth century (1650-1800)**

The largest eighteenth-century book collections in Wielkopolska are held in four libraries: the Raczyński Library (discussed in detail in section 2.1.), the Kórnik Library (see section 2.2.), the library of the Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences (PTPN, see section 2.3.) and the University Library (see section 2.4.). The first two libraries grew out of private collections of noble families and were founded with a view to uphold the Polish identity and to facilitate the general education of Poles by providing access to cultural and scientific sources. Both were to be open to general public although Kórnik Library, for fear of interference from Prussian authorities, legally remained private. Their holdings include diverse prints and manuscripts: fragments of eighteenth-century book collections, catalogues of libraries, letters, and broadly understood literature, giving an insight into the intellectual and social life of the eighteenth century and bearing testimony to the circulation of books in the (pre-)partitioned Poland. The PTPN Library collected prints and manuscripts of scholarly interest. Their holdings give evidence of intellectual life in Wielkopolska in the eighteenth century. The University Library has a similarly diverse collection of eighteenth century books. It is divided into two parts. One contains miscellaneous works and the other forms a masonic collection. The masonic collection came into the library's possession after the Second World War and includes prints and manuscripts from German lodges.

The origins and subsequent fate of the collections reveal the influence of historical events on the circulation of books. Raczyński's library was enriched by the book collections of dissolved monasteries. The collection of the University Library was built upon the books of the German libraries whose possessions it took over after Poland had regained independence. In the aftermath of the partitions in the late eighteenth century and World Wars I and II in the twentieth, shifting political borders meant that some Polish libraries would find themselves outside Poland, while other book collections would suddenly emerge in the new Polish territories, e.g. the masonic collection of the University Library in Poznań.

In the remainder of this paper, we focus on histories and holdings of Wielkopolska libraries, which were set up in the first half of the nineteenth century (local, national and church archives provide another gateway to the historical materials in the region). Here we find fragments of earlier eighteenth-century libraries, handed down through generations of aristocratic families, painstakingly traced through personal contacts and auctions, and purchased from various sources (booksellers, monasteries). The outcome of the collectors' efforts is a miscellaneous assemblage. The overview below has been prepared on the basis of printed library catalogues and histories of specific collections, online resources and field work. We then move on to the ways of accessing the materials for the study of the long eighteenth century (see section 3.), with Wielkopolska libraries in focus and with an overview of modern search tools and digitization projects in the background.

### **2.1. The Raczyński Library (Biblioteka Raczyńskich)**

The Raczyński Library was founded in 1829 by Count Edward Raczyński (1786-1845), an aristocrat of immense energy, engaging in numerous projects. Using his private book and manuscript collection as the cornerstone, he created the library and donated it to the city of Poznań, which at that time had 20,000 inhabitants of three nationalities and denominations (Catholic, Evangelical, Jewish). The original number of volumes in the collection was 13,000. Raczyński's aim was to make the collections available to anyone, without any discrimination. The library was to enlarge its holdings by buying books of interest to the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Poznań: moral, historical, technical, philological publications were to be preferred to ephemeral and entertaining writings.

Today the library hosts around 18,000 volumes from before 1800, stemming from Edward Raczyński's private collection, which he had inherited from his ancestors

(Gołębiowska 1998: 7). The holdings also contain donations from other aristocratic families, including those from eastern parts of Poland (e.g. the Krasinów library of the Sapiehas). One of the best catalogued parts is the *polonica* collection, including c.140 texts from the 17th century and around 300 texts from the 18th century on historical, political, religious and scientific topics (Domańska 1995). There is a rich collection of historical maps and atlases in Latin, German, French, Dutch, Italian, Polish and English, and a collection of publications on military matters, bought in Dresden from a general of the Saxon army.

#### **2.1.1. Manuscripts from the 17th-18th centuries (Kamolowa (ed.) 1988)**

1. from the private collection of Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, a writer and politician: some parts of the Radziwiłł library in Nieśwież, correspondence of Polish kings with Polish magnates (the Radziwiłłs, Łaski, Potocki, Wiśniowiecki, Zborowski, etc.) and correspondence of German Kaisers and Brandenburg electors;
2. from the private collection of the Sapiehas from Krasinów in Wołyń, including a French manuscript on masonry (18th c.), donated by Teresa z Okęckich Czarnecka in the 1930s
3. correspondence collection (private, from Stanisław Latanowicz, an office clerk and book collector): some 700 letters from 16th-18th centuries: Polish kings and courtiers, scholars, poets and artists; in his collection also municipal and land records; other family archives, correspondence, legal and financial records of landed families (Czachórski, Czapski, Jelec, Leszczyński, Łubieński, Mielżyński, Mniszech, Mycielski, Ogiński, Opaliński, Potocki, Ostroróg, Raczyński, Radziwiłł, Rembowski, Sapieha, Skórzewski, Tyszkiewicz, etc.)
4. handwritten periodicals from the 18th century
5. diplomas of Polish kings and dignitaries
6. scholarly texts and notes by Joachim Lelewel, literary texts by J.U. Niemcewicz and Józef Wybicki;

#### **2.1.2. Old prints at the Raczyński library**

1. the 17th-century part includes c.3300 vols from Polish and European printing houses: mostly on history, religion, philosophy, literature, law, political theory, medicine, natural sciences, philology and classics (in German, Polish, Latin, French, and English)
2. the 18th-century part includes c.13,000 vols from Polish and European printing houses (e.g. Robert and Andrew Foulis from London): themes continue from the previous century, with additional publications on geography, art and pedagogy and well as literary periodicals;
3. chronicles, parliamentary speeches, legal acts
4. an interesting collection of 18th c. grammars of Germanic and Romance languages, as well as oriental languages
5. literary classics in the original, also English; contemporary novelists, e.g. Aphra Behn

## 2.2. The Kórnik Library (Biblioteka Kórnicka)

The year of the foundation of the Kórnik Library is difficult to establish since it grew out of a private collection and remained in private hands of the Działyński family until it was donated by Władysław Zamoyski to the Polish nation in 1924. The informal creation of the library is believed to have taken place in 1826 when Tytus Działyński (1796-1861) was legally recognised as the owner of the Kórnik castle and estate. The aim of Działyński was to collect the most valuable Polish publications for the benefit of the Polish nation rather than his own, but since Poland was not a sovereign state at that time he believed that retaining the collection in private hands protected it from the interference of Prussian authorities. He generously shared his collection with scholars, e.g. Joachim Lelewel and Józef Muczkowski.

Tytus Działyński did not have to build his library from scratch. In 1826, the year considered as the beginning of the library, Działyński had three collections at his disposal: fractions of two family collections (that of his grandfather, Augustyn Działyński (1715-1759) and that of his father, Ksawery Działyński (1756-1819)) and his the collection he had built up himself. From his grandfather's collection he could have inherited more than a hundred works in around 300 volumes (ca 250 old prints, 50 manuscripts). These were legal books and Polish, Latin and French literature. After Augustyn Działyński's death his collection was in the hands of his wife but at the moment of her death it was already in the possession of her son, Ksawery (d. 1812). In 1826 Tytus took it to Kórnik. Tytus Działyński did not have a reverential attitude to his grandfather's collection. He sold duplicates of old prints, replaced damaged prints with new ones, sold some prints at auctions in Berlin. He retained only 50% of prints and 80% of manuscripts from the original collection. The other part of the family collection inherited by Tytus Działyński had belonged to his father. It was largely composed of scientific literature and French *belles lettres*. It included 621 items in 1600 volumes. Tytus was entitled approximately to a sixth his father's collection, which amounted to 100 works in 250 volumes. The mother took all the English books. Altogether Tytus Działyński inherited from his grandfather and father ca 200 works in 550 volumes as well as ca 80 library manuscripts from the 17th and 18th centuries (Marciniak 1976).

The third collection of books which laid foundations for the Kórnik Library was the one he accumulated himself. In the period 1817-1819 he searched monastic and church libraries and brought numerous books from his travels. From Paris, for instance, he brought Napoleon's autographs, e.g. a fragment of Napoleon's 1795 novel *Clisson and Eugenie*, which has been recently pieced together and published. He was trying to purchase August Renouard's collection, who had saved numerous aristocratic and church book collections during the French Revolution, but he did not succeed. In 1821 Działyński bought one hundred manuscripts from the Nieśwież (Niasvizh) Library from Kajetan Kwiatkowski, a Polish historian and the librarian of the Radziwiłłs. Thus, before moving to Kórnik he had already amassed a considerable collection of books (Marciniak 1976).

The Kórnik Library holds nine seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century catalogues, of which that of the grandfather, Augustyn Działyński, is most interesting. It was compiled in 1759. In mid-eighteenth century books were growing in significance and catalogues are the evidence of this phenomenon. Augustyn Działyński's catalogue reflects interests of a politically active aristocrat of the late Saxon times in Poland but it also gives an insight into the process of accumulation of the book collection of the Działyński family over a few generations. Augustyn's books have notes about the provenance which makes it possible to trace the process of the growth of the collection. It is possible to ascertain that the majority of the collection are books inherited from relatives. The inventory was compiled by Augustyn Działyński's widow right directly upon his death. It is very inaccurate: the place and year of publication as well as the name of the author are regularly omitted. The descriptions of books usually include merely an expression copied from the title page. Latin and French words are regularly distorted. The descriptions of manuscripts are even more inaccurate as they include little more than some information about the format and the type of binding. The

catalogue includes 254 items (185 titles in 335 volumes) but only 48 manuscripts which are now in possession of the library can be traced back to it. Augustyn Działyński's collection included books in Latin (82), Polish (76), French, Italian and German. The majority of the books dated back to the 18th century (120), there were 47 seventeenth-century books, 16 sixteenth-century books, and one incunabulum (Cassiodorus M. A. *Expositio en Psalteram. Basel. 1491*). (Marciniak 1976)

Apart from Augustyn Działyński's catalogue, the library possesses other library stocks from 17th and 18th centuries (Bolewska-Marciniak 1987).

a) Seventeenth-century catalogue of book collection from Jesuit college (1609-1655).

The library of the college was founded in 1752 and soon became one of the largest in Poland. The catalogue was divided into three branches: books authored by non-Jesuits, books written by Jesuit authors and prohibited books (this part is missing). The library in mid-17th century held 7865 works. In the aftermath of the Deluge, the Swedish wars in Poland, the book collection was sent to Sweden in 1655 and its largest part is held today at the university library in Uppsala. The catalogue was compiled by Zofia Skorupska from the originals in 1948.

b) the catalogue of Aleksander Ludwik Radziwiłł's book collection held in the library of Nieśwież (Niasvizh) (1651), considered as the earliest catalogue of the collection.

The catalogue found its way to Kórnik in 1873 together with other manuscripts of Mikołaj Malinowski, who took part in the commission resolving the problems of inheritance after the death of Dominik Radziwiłł (Aleksander Ludwik's son), the last male heir of the Radziwiłł family. The catalogue is incomplete. It includes 745 works but the number could have been larger.

c) the inventory of Andrzej Leszczyński's book collection, Canon Regular of Lateran, the abbot of Czerwińsk (1681)

It found its way to Kórnik through Ignacy Działyński, who in the 18th century brought it from Babice (near Warsaw) to Konarzewo, Działyński's estate, together with other Leszczyński's papers. In 1826 Tytus Działyński brought the inventory to Kórnik. The books from the catalogue have not been traced. The inventory includes 235 books from the 16th and 17th century, which are divided into ten categories.

d) the library stock of Józef Jankowski, vicar in Kuźnica, bequeathed to him by Jan Łabanowski, a priest; it includes 18 works, mostly authored by Jesuits. Apparently, the beneficiary paid for dozens of votive masses for the soul of his benefactor with of books and the collection was dispersed.

e) the library stock of Jan Kazimierz Grabski, minor gentry, from Żurawia near Kcynia, 1691; includes 147 titles (including 107 *polonica*)

f) the library stock of Łukasz Dajewski, the Provost of the Mary Magdalene Church in Poznań, 1741; the stock includes 110 books donated to the Mary Magdalene Church;

g) the library stock of Paweł Kurdwanowski, minor gentry, from Osmolin, 1741; it was bought in 1869 by Jan Działyński, together with the archives of the Zaremba family;

h) the library stock of Leon Morawski, a canon from Gniezno, 1760; it is not known how it found its way to Kórnik; it includes 843 works in 958 volumes; the collection was dispersed;

### **2.2.1. Manuscripts from the 17th-18th centuries (Kamolowa (ed.) 1988)**

The library's patron, Tytus Działyński purchased manuscripts and old printed books, mostly *polonica*, from antiquarians during his travels around Europe in the early 19th century. The collection was added to previously amassed holdings and further efforts were taken to expand it by means of purchase, donation or even appropriation.

1. individual private collections:
  - a) through the librarian of the Radziwiłłs, Kajetan Kwiatkowski, historical materials collected by that powerful aristocratic family from eastern Poland: parliamentary records, treatises and manifestos, speeches, *silva rerum* (a typically Polish genre, similar to commonplace books), travelogues and Baroque poetry;
  - b) from Tadeusz Czacki (historian, started a library in Warsaw in 1780) - entered Kórnik through various donors and purchases (also through appropriation from the Czartoryski family who sent their library to Kórnik for preservation in the 2nd half of 19th c.): historical originals and copies, parliamentary records, speeches, treatises, poetry;
  - c) from Teofil Żebrawski (engineer and mathematician) treatises on arithmetics and mathematics;
  - d) from Konstanty Podwysocki (writer, collector) 18th c. documents and mss, political texts and correspondence (e.g. Polish-Turkish relations), travelogues, family records of the Potockis, Małachowskis, Świejkowskis and Poniatowskis;
  - e) from Mikołaj Malinowski (historian, publisher) notes and copies from the Załuski library materials stored in St Petersburg, *silva rerum*, a catalogue of the Nieśwież library (1651);
2. landed family archives from Wielkopolska but also Małopolska, Wołyń and Ruś (legal, financial, administrative matters, correspondence): Broniszowy, Czartoryski, Dąbrowski, Działyński, Dzieduszycki, Garczyński, etc.
3. correspondence: royal correspondence from mid-17th century, mostly concerning the Turkish wars; archive materials from Frombork, mostly bishops' correspondence (from Ignacy Krasicki, poet and archbishop)
4. legal and administrative archives of various institutions and private persons: religious associations, trade and manufacturing guilds, monasteries, churches, municipal records from all over Poland (e.g. Lwów, Toruń, etc.), burgh court records; cistercian statutes: from Wacław Maciejowski (literary and legal historian)
5. Old Polish literary and historical texts: from Józef Maczkowski (librarian and publisher)
6. fragments of the Stanisław August Poniatowski library catalogue (from the royal librarian's collection, J. B. Albetrandy)

## 2.2.2. Old prints from the 17th-18th centuries in the Kórnik Library

1. two catalogues of the Załuski Library (in Latin)
2. historical materials for the study of the Polish Parliament (Sejm), political speeches and manifestos (esp. in view of the partitions and the political decline of Poland in the 18th c.)
3. religious and philosophical texts documenting protestant movements (e.g. the unitarians), antisemitism, various editions of the Bible, devotional literature,

- sermons (c. 500 from the 17th century and over 800 from the 18th century, also multiple editions, mostly in Polish but also German)
4. historical documents of Polish kings and aristocrats (letters, administrative documents)
  5. treatises on anatomy and dentistry (in French and Polish) and other medical texts and advertising leaflets
  6. legal treatises (in Latin, German and Polish), acts and administrative texts
  7. essays and treatises on military matters, e.g. fortifications (mostly in German)
  8. works of literature from Poland, France, Germany, Italy and England, also in translation (e.g. a publication by Chesterfield (1769) under the Polish title "Filozof indyjski albo sposób uszczęśliwienia życia ludzkiego w społeczności..." [The Indian Philosopher, or the way to provide happiness for human life in society...]); 18th c. editions of classical as well as contemporary theatre plays (esp. in French)
  9. travelogues and diaries (also James Cook's *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1785))
  10. books on household matters and agriculture as well as early industry and manufacturing

### **2.3. The Poznań Society of Friends of Sciences (Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk - PTPN)**

Established in 1857 as a scholarly and scientific library, among whose statutory aims was to collect manuscript material and old books, the PTPN library was devised to support research and learning in Poznań and Wielkopolska during the period when the region was denied access to Polish-language higher education. The first collections were donated to the library by institutions and private owners, including the Poznań booksellers Józef Żupański and Napoleon Kamieński (Marciniak ed. 2008: 9). Among the largest acquisitions was the 5,000-volume collection of the Mielżyńskis, an aristocratic family from eastern Wielkopolska, as well as 15th-to-19th-century literary and scientific works in about 12,000 volumes from Jan Koźmian, a Catholic priest who assembled his collection in the mid-19th century. Medical books, also pre-19th century, as well as periodicals, were donated by prominent doctors and their families. With over 100,000 volumes, the PTPN library was the largest Polish library in the Prussian partition and served as a research resource when Polish scholarship relied only on private and communal initiative. A substantial part of the holdings was destroyed during WWII, also in local papermills (Marciniak ed. 2008: 11), but around 75% of the pre-war collection was recovered after the war. The holdings contain about 15,000 old prints, purchased by local collectors and readers and institutions between the 16th and the 18th centuries, including c. 1700 volumes of *polonica* and 1350 foreign works from the 17th century, and c. 7250 volumes of *polonica* and c. 2900 foreign works from the 18th century.

#### **2.3.1. Manuscripts from the 17th-18th centuries (Kamolowa (ed.) 1988; Marciniak (ed.) 2008)**

1. family correspondence (c. 2500 letters) and private documents, financial and administrative documents from manors in Wielkopolska (e.g. the Sułkowski family)
2. some literary works from the 18th c. in manuscript (Ignacy Tański)
3. school handbooks from the 16th-to-18th centuries

### **2.3.2. Old prints from the PTPN library**

1. 17th c. herbals and household management guides in the rich collection of *polonica*
2. Jan Jonston's publications (a medical scholar and biologist of Scottish descent, active in Wielkopolska, 1603-1675), with famous lithographies of flora and fauna, published in Amsterdam and Frankfurt;
3. the works of Johannes Hevelius with lithographies of telescopes
4. geographical and historical overviews of European countries
5. a 10-volume edition of Erasmus, published in Lyon (1703-1706), deemed the "most beautiful and complete edition" by Jacob Charles Brunet, a French bibliographer (Marciniak (ed.) 2008: 16)

### **2.4. The University Library of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (BUAM)**

The University Library was established in 1919 on the basis of the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Bibliothek and earlier German-language libraries in Poznań. It started collecting manuscripts by way of donations and purchases, especially from private donors, school and monastic libraries as well as private libraries of aristocratic families.

The most interesting part of the eighteenth-century collection are masonic texts, acquired by the library in 1945. The Nazis, who had confiscated masonic collections from German lodges and incorporated them into the Professional Library of the Reichsfuehrer of the SS in Berlin, transferred eighty thousand volumes during the bombardments of Berlin by the Allied Air Forces to Sława Śląska (known in German as Schlawa or Schlesiersee), a small town close to the pre-war frontier with Poland. Polish librarians found a part of this collection in 1945. The books found in Sława Śląska were mostly from lodge libraries from Silesia and Pomerania, which may suggest that during the evacuation the masonic collections had been divided in accordance with some plan and transferred to various places. In 1958 the head of the University Library, Stanisław Kubiak, made a decision to leave masonic books as a separate collection with its own catalogue. In 1981 an Independent Division of the Masonic Collection was created within the Library, and it works exclusively on the masonic books. The first head of the division, who organised its work, was Andrzej Karpowicz, who authors numerous publications devoted to the collection. The collection is regularly enriched with old prints and contemporary publications on the subject of freemasonry. Since 2002 works on creating an electronic catalogue have been going on.

The masonic collection consists of fragments of libraries of various lodges. Unfortunately, not a single complete book collection of a lodge has been preserved. There are, however, numerous popular masonic publications, in some cases even a dozen copies of the same title. The oldest part of the collection are seventeenth-century Rosicrucian and esoteric prints. There are three thousand volumes of eighteenth-century old prints, which include four thousand titles. A detailed thematic

description of the old prints follows in the section below. Still, the largest part of the collection includes prints which come from the 19th and early 20th century.

Seventy five percent of the collection are German language prints; there are also English and French language publications as well as occasional prints in other languages. At the time when the collection came into possession of the University Library it did not include Polish language publications. Nowadays, thanks to later purchases, it hosts most of Polish literature on freemasonry from the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century. There are very few Polish language prints from the period 1780-1822.

#### **2.4.1. The Masonic collection**

##### 1) periodicals, mostly in German and French:

periodic publications constitute 70% of the entire masonic collection; they include almanacs and calendars, e.g. *Free Mason's Calendar (1777)*; however, most were published after 1800, the number of periodicals from the eighteenth century is low;

##### 2) member lists of particular lodges (those from the 18th century are incomplete)

##### 3) speeches and collections of speeches:

a particularly large collection of speeches which reflects the interests of freemasons, testify to the education conducted in lodges; panegyric and funerary speeches provide biographical information about the outstanding and unknown figures of the masonic world; the speeches provide an excellent resource for research on social aspects of freemasonry;

##### 4) masonic philosophy and ethics, social treatises:

the philosophy of freemasonry and its views on other philosophies, Christianity, polemics with Catholicism and comments on the possibilities of cooperation; treatises on masonic virtues; texts on freemason's approach to social issues, including antisemitism, freemasonry of women, charity, etc.; some texts also published in London;

##### 5) literature and art:

this part of the collection includes theory and criticism, masonic songs, multiple-genre anthologies (about 60 publications, also published in Britain), drama (e.g. *Ernst und Falk* from 1778, a presentation of G.E. Lessing's views on freemasonry in the form of a dialogue, P. Clement *Les fri-macons: Hyperdrame* - a typical 18th c masonic play), and over 240 poetic works, mostly in German; some prose philosophical tales and novels (e.g. Ramsay's *Les Voyages de Cyrus* 1727 - no French original in the collections but there is a German edition in French, a German and Polish translations);

##### 6) history of freemasonry:

mostly in German but also in English and French; also descriptions, essays and treatises on other orders considered as antecedent to freemasonry, e.g. the templars, secret societies - mostly in German but also in translation into French or English; the history of freemasonry in specific countries, e.g. Austria, Germany, Portugal, Italy (French books published in London) and cities (mostly German); histories of particular lodges;

#### 7) constitutions and statutes of masonic lodges:

mostly in German but several in English, including three lists of lodges from the 1760s-1770s published in London; frequent reprints and multiple editions; masonic constitutions, including Lawrence Demott's *Ahiman Rezon, or a help to a brother* in a London and a Baltimore editions from the late 18th c.; the most valuable print in this category, the pride of the collection, is the first edition of Anderson's *Constitution* published in 1723, described by August Wolfstieg in 1911 as an extremely rare print; the full title: *The Constitutions of the freemasons: Containing history, charges, regulations & of that most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity: for the Use of the Lodges* - London: Printed by W. Hunter for John Senex & John Hooke, in the Year of Masonry 5723; Anno Domini 1723; the constitution had five editions in the 18th century, all are included in the Poznań masonic collection; in the library there are also its later adaptations and reprints;

#### 8) politics, social issues and charity: publications mostly in German

#### 9) works on rituals, symbolism and masonic hierarchies:

over 120 volumes, mostly German, some French; London (and Philadelphia) as a place of publication; the rites originating in Britain (e.g. the Scottish Rite) described in German and French;

#### 10) paramasonic associations and related organisations:

over 400 volumes of treatises, speeches, warnings and descriptions. The most valuable prints of this part of collection are those of rosicrucians (75 titles 1614-1628, all the basic works of the order) and of eighteenth century Illuminati, mostly in German but also Latin and French; published in all major European cities, including London; translations from French to English, e.g. Montfaucon de Villars. 1714. *The count de Gabalis: being a diverting history of the Rosicrucian doctrine...*;

#### 11) antimasonic treatises:

published throughout Germany as well as Amsterdam and London, English authors in original and translation, e.g. Samuel Prichard's *Masonry dissected being a universal and genuine description of all its branches, from the orig. to this present time* (7th edition, 1737); these are the first publications including descriptions of Masonic rituals;

### 2.4.2. Other old prints and manuscripts

The earliest part of the special collections, i.e. incunabula and 16th c. prints, has been catalogued with more attention to detail than subsequent publications. Similarly, *polonica*, or texts bearing some relation to Poland and Polish affairs, have been treated with more care than other types of prints. The late 17th-18th c. part of the collection has not been catalogued thematically so it is difficult to provide specific information on the topics and genres. When it comes to provenance, the books were once housed in private collections of such prominent people as Szymon Szymonowic (a Renaissance courtly poet), Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (politician, playwright, novelist and poet), Stanisław August Poniatowski (the last Polish king) and Maria Leszczyńska (the wife of Louis XV), as well as in manorial libraries throughout Wielkopolska. The whole old print collection includes c. 80,000 volumes (one of the largest old print collections in Poland) with the following major categories pertaining to the 17th and 18th centuries:

1. duplicates and further editions of works stored in German libraries, e.g. the Royal Library in Berlin and university libraries across Germany (Wrocław, Leipzig, Strasbourg, etc.)
2. 17th and 18th century *polonica* from local grammar school libraries
3. 17th-century histories and illustrated descriptions of European countries, especially France and Italy
4. literary texts: 17th-century editions of Old Polish literature, e.g. Jan Kochanowski; 18th-century compilations of French plays and novels; literary manuscripts: from a private collection of dr Franciszek Krcek, slavacist, philologist and ethnographer from Lwów;
5. philosophical and theological treatises: from the Skórzewski landed family (18th c.); from Rev. Kubicki's collection (17th c. - some from a monastic library in Mstów); from numerous monastic collections: Bydgoszcz dominicans, Częstochowa paulinians, Kalisz jesuits, Konin franciscans (etc.)
6. religious writings: prayer books from the Mielżyński landed family (18th c.) and Poznań jesuits; collections of sermons: from Jan Pawlicki (18th c. Catholic priest), Bydgoszcz dominicans, Konin reformers, Sieradz dominicans; meditations: Kraków bernardines; antiphonaries: Obra cistercians;
7. handbooks: of rhetoric from rev. Jan Pawlicki (18th c.) and Łowicz missionaries'; of poetics from rev. Jan Pawlicki (18th c.) and Podoliniec piarists; of philosophy from monastic libraries, e.g. Koło bernardines; of elocution: from Miejska Górka reformers;
8. various administrative documents: accounts, inventories, privileges: some monasteries and churches, e.g. Jędrzejów cistercians, various landed families (Domeyko, Mielżyński, Witanowski – from Wołyń in today's Ukraine); court sentences from the Skórzewski collection (17th c.);
9. correspondence: of Claude Antoine Pochard (1792-1796, also memoirs) from the Skórzewski collection; family letters of landed and aristocratic families (the Czartoryskis); Christian von Brandt; rev. Leon Morawski, Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (memoirs);

### 3. Accessing the eighteenth-century sources

It is assumed that the scholar who wants to study mediation and communication in the long 18th century will not be in possession of an exhaustive list of primary sources. On the contrary, the scholar would want to search libraries and repositories by key words and subject indexes to establish if any relevant and valuable materials are stored in a given library. There are two ways in which such research for primary materials concerning the 18th century can be conducted in Wielkopolska: by means of traditional tools such as card catalogues in specific libraries, and by means of digital tools (to be used both off-site and on-site). All libraries offer some way of searching their catalogues online, using relatively streamlined database systems (according to international mark-up standards), but the efficiency and quality of these search engines vary.

### 3.1. Traditional tools

Across the Wielkopolska libraries consulted for this survey, access to necessary bibliographic information still very much relies on traditional tools, the card catalogues. Some of the original 19th-century catalogues have been discussed in printed monographs, which are often the source of our knowledge about the collections from before the WWII (e.g. Feldmanowski 1869, Sosnowski and Kurtzmann 1885, Wojtkowski 1932). Bibliographic and cataloguing publications concentrate on either the earliest and most valuable parts of the collections (up to the 16th c., e.g. Kawecka 1960) or on works relating to Poland, the *polonica* (e.g. Cubertowicz and Kowalewicz 1963, Stelmaszczyk 1991). A substantial part of old printed books has only been catalogued alphabetically or chronologically.

Alphabetical card catalogues are available in all discussed libraries for research into old prints and manuscripts. In some libraries, the card catalogues are also arranged by centuries (e.g. in BUAM). Sometimes the *polonica* and other old prints are arranged in separate catalogues chronologically (e.g. PTPN). In addition, provenance card catalogues (at PTPN and the Raczyński Library) can be used in research concentrating on particular locations, be it in terms of printing houses, places of publication, or the previous location of a given book, for instance in a monastery or a local manor. The PTPN library also hosts a separate catalogue of printers (by place-name and printing house). Only a few libraries provide the researcher with thematic card catalogues. The masonic collection at BUAM is divided into thematic sections, searchable in the card catalogue also in German and French, but still one should exercise caution while working with preconceived external categories. Individual cards from the masonic catalogue have recently been scanned and uploaded to the internet, so with some patience one may also get the required search results online.

### 3.2. Digital tools

#### 3.2.1. Wielkopolska library holdings in general search engines

The central database of Polish research and academic libraries, NUKAT (<http://goo.gl/0a8Yix>), may help to find sources for the study of the long 18th century in Poland. Mieczkowska (2009: 218) admits that libraries cooperating with NUKAT did not follow any specific guidelines as to the order in which their holdings should enter the database. Thus, the Jagiellonian University Library chose 17th-century prints, while the University Library in Poznań submitted the masonic collection. It might need more work to establish what type of resources the catalogue actually gathers. Several online catalogues cooperate with Wielkopolska libraries on a national scale. The so-called "Distributed Catalogue of Polish Libraries" (KaRo, <http://karo.umk.pl/Karo/karo.php?al=&lang=en>) is a multi-catalogue aggregating search results from multiple university, scholarly and public libraries. POLANKA (<http://www.bibang.uw.edu.pl/>) provides a joint catalogue for several libraries of English departments at Polish universities, where materials for the study of the long 18th century can potentially be found. The FIDES catalogues (The Federation of the Polish Church Libraries, <http://digital.fides.org.pl/dlibra>) may be of interest, too. The digital holdings of FIDES are also available through the Europeana project (<http://www.europeana.eu/portal/>). Another option is to try the Digital Libraries Federation (FBC; <http://fbc.pionier.net.pl/owoc?action=ChangeLanguageAction&language=en>). Some parts of the collections have been scanned and can be read in facsimiles online at Polska Biblioteka Internetowa (The Polish Internet Library, <http://www.pbi.edu.pl/>, no English version of the website available) but the bulk of the materials is to be accessed through the Digital Library of Wielkopolska.

### 3.2.2. The Digital Library of Wielkopolska (Wielkopolska Biblioteka Cyfrowa, WBC)

Established in 2002, the Digital Library of Wielkopolska (<http://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra>) was a pioneer in digitizing historical materials from Polish libraries and archives. As the authors concede (personal communication), these efforts had a bottom-to-top nature and lacked coordination or a long-term plan how the accumulated resources would support research. The technologies chosen several years ago (Internet Explorer, the Polish dLibra platform, DjVu for viewing the scans) are not ideal and require updates and revisions, preferably after consultations with end-users. Still, the WBC is very often the only digital platform where scans of historical Wielkopolska documents (books, periodicals, leaflets, correspondence) may now be found.

The website has an English-language version, with most of the individual collections listed in English in the margin, e.g. "Journals and newspapers". It is also possible to perform searches from the main page, where the search menu is also in English. When it comes to the materials for the study of the long 18th century, the WBC offers a possibility of looking for texts by language and date (and other criteria), also in combination (see Fig.2.).

The screenshot displays the 'Advanced collection search' interface. On the left, there is a sidebar with two main sections: 'Collection' and 'Library'. The 'Collection' section includes links for 'Collection description', 'Publications list', and 'Planned publications'. The 'Library' section is expanded to show 'Digital Library of Wielkopolska' with sub-categories like 'Educational materials', 'Regional materials', 'Cultural heritage', and 'Music notes'. Below these are 'Kolekcje wydzielone' (Selected collections) including 'Albums', 'The Unity of the Brethren Archive', 'Archiwalia miast wielkopolskich', 'Journals and newspapers', 'Bibliografie online', 'Jordaniana (Henryk Jordan's heritage)', 'Directory', 'Rozprawy doktorskie i habilitacyjne', 'Polish Army', and 'Powstanie styczniowe w zbiorach Wielkopolskiej Biblioteki Cyfrowej'. The main search area is titled 'Advanced collection search' and features a 'Build query:' section. It starts with a text input field for 'Publication text' containing '[any]'. Below this is an 'AND' operator dropdown. The 'Publication description:' section follows, with several criteria: 1. 'Language' dropdown set to '"eng"' with a 'Browse values' link. 2. 'Date' dropdown set to '165\*' with a 'Browse values' link. 3. An 'OR' operator dropdown with a 'Remove query element' link. 4. 'Publication description' dropdown set to '166\*' with a 'Browse values' link. 5. An 'OR' operator dropdown with a 'Remove query element' link. 6. 'Date' dropdown set to '167\*' with a 'Browse values' link. 7. An 'OR' operator dropdown with a 'Remove query element' link. 8. 'Date' dropdown set to '168\*' with a 'Browse values' link. 9. An 'OR' operator dropdown with a 'Remove query element' link. 10. 'Date' dropdown set to '169\*' with a 'Browse values' link. At the bottom of the search area is an 'Add next query element' button.

Fig.2. Advanced search options in the WBC for 17th-century texts in English

The results, however, contain some unexpected hits so the retrieval method still requires some fine-tuning. A useful query is to specify resource type as "starodruk" (but not "old print") and then search by dates (see Fig.3.; this query renders almost 3000 records).

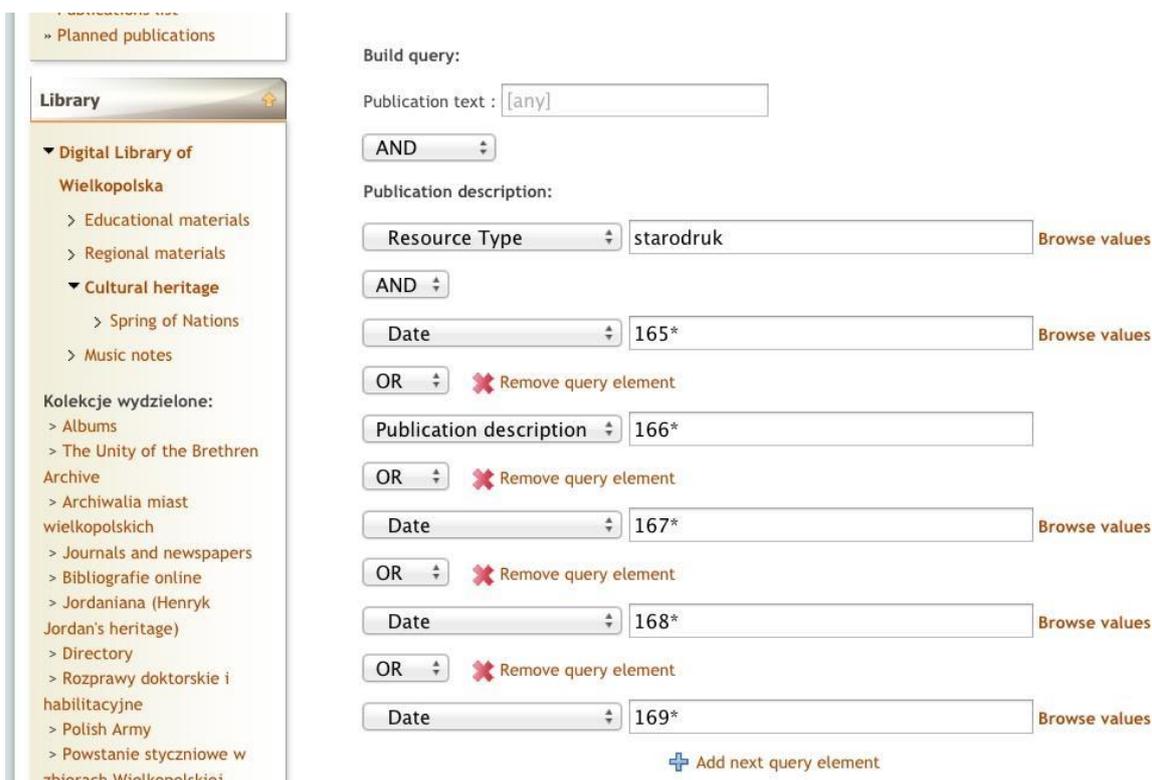


Fig. 3. Advanced search options in the WBC for 17th-century prints.

In general, even though the interface of the search engine is in English, the queries are best made in Polish.

### 3.2.3. Customized search engines at individual institutions

The University Library (website in English: <http://lib.amu.edu.pl/index.php?lang=en>) gives an opportunity to limit the query to the 17th or 18th-century materials in the newest search tool – “Multiwyszukiwarka SUMMON” (<http://amu.summon.serialssolutions.com/>), which searches both the library holdings and any other repositories with direct access from BUAM. The English language version of the engine will be a useful feature for scholars from abroad. The traditional card catalogue has also been scanned and can be browsed alphabetically (<http://buuam.digital-center.pl/#>). The manuscript, old prints and masonica catalogues and other items from Special Collections may be browsed there, too. The interface is only in Polish but it is quite intuitive to navigate.

For researchers from outside Adam Mickiewicz University, the University Library offers online services where scholars can post queries also in English (“Bibliographic, subject, factographic searching based on e-resources and the University Library catalogue”) and the library staff would assist them in finding resources of interest ([http://lib.amu.edu.pl/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=680&Itemid=114](http://lib.amu.edu.pl/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=680&Itemid=114)).

A more user-friendly option than scanned catalogue cards is offered by the Kórnik Library. The list of online catalogues in the main page (<http://www.bkpan.poznan.pl/katalogi/index.html>) includes old prints (*stare druki*), manuscripts (*rękopisy*), periodicals till 1800 (*czasopisma do 1800c*), manuscript periodicals (*gazetki rękopiśmienne*), diplomas (*dyplomy*) and other categories. After choosing a specific database, one gets access to the most sophisticated search engine of all Wielkopolska libraries, but unfortunately it is only in Polish. With some skills and Google Translate at hand one can actually make use of this resource. For instance, one can search old prints stored in Kórnik by the following categories: bindings, graphic elements, authors, titles, place of printing, date, publisher, people, incipits, language,

provenance, country, dedications, institutions, events, genres, etc., and also combine categories (see Fig.4.).

Baza: Stare\_druki

zmień bazę

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## SZUKANIE, SPOSÓB 1

Wybierz indeks, który chcesz obejrzeć

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## SZUKANIE, SPOSÓB 2

Szukanie wg wielu indeksów

**wpisz całe szukane hasło (dokładnie w takiej postaci, w jakiej występuje w indeksie)**  
naciśnięcie klawisza "?" rozwija wskazany indeks, potem kliknięcie na wybranej wartości automatycznie ją przenosi

Oprawy	<input type="text"/>	?
Grafika	<input type="text"/>	?
Autor i hasł	<input type="text"/>	?
Tytuł	<input type="text"/>	?
Mscedruku	<input type="text"/>	?

podane teksty są połączone spójnikiem:  i  lub

Fig. 4. Search options in the old print database of the Kórnik Library: (1) a single thematic category and (2) a combination of categories.

#### 4. Conclusions: Mediation and communication through book collections

There are two typical perspectives in the study of mediation and communication networks: the local and the global. The review of local libraries and their holdings presented in this paper, and the socio-political and cultural events which had led to their establishment, show the third path, the one that connects the local and the global angles. It is important to first assess the character and availability of materials, as well as access opportunities, before one formulates specific research questions on the basis of these findings. This concluding section is meant to provide an inventory of research opportunities and resources as well as bring forward the emerging histories and stories of book collecting in the local and more global, national contexts.

The local perspective seems to attract more scholarly attention in the form of significant and interesting case studies carried out by Polish historians, philologists and library specialists, e.g. Jakubowski's (2010) analysis of physical features of an 18th-century scientific book or Matwijów's (2011) study of handwritten books concerning public life in the 17th-18th century Poland. Wielkopolska libraries host unique genres, for instance the *silva rerum*, typical for Polish landed gentry, similar to commonplace books, but more diversified in content. Clearly, there are further exciting projects to be carried out. Suffice it to say that the first PhD dissertation looking at the biography of Tytus Działyński was completed only two years ago (Bałkiewicz 2011).

The analysis of the origin of Polish libraries in Wielkopolska gives an insight into the nature of private book collections – the methods of building the libraries and

adjusting their book stock to the political and scientific needs of the proprietor. What can be observed is the same need to share books with the general public that can be seen in the eighteenth century. Edward Raczyński writes it clearly in the statutes that the books are to be made available to anyone. Tytus Działyński does not open his library to the general public but makes it clear that he accumulates books for the Polish nation and he allows scholars to use the library. Both libraries focussed on collecting books related to Poland, which shows a clearly patriotic motivation for their foundation. Their function to cultivate the Polish identity under partitions was strongly emphasised. This, however, does not mean that foreign publications were not included in their collections. The strong urge to uphold Polish history and culture is accompanied by an interest in the world thought. The key to the survival and rebirth of the Polish state was education about Poland and keeping up-to-date with the scholarly and cultural developments in the wider world. The makeup of book collections reflected the twofold purpose which they were to serve: to form patriotic and enlightened Poles. The employment of books as an instrument of cultural struggle reveals interesting tensions in the way the libraries functioned: between national and supranational scholarly and cultural perspectives and between the private and public status of the libraries.

In terms of more global networks, the holdings of Wielkopolska libraries may serve as a departure point to study communication networks reaching beyond geographical and political boundaries. The masonic collection gives an opportunity to study text circulation within a well-defined pan-European community of the long 18th century. One can trace the same books published across Europe in different languages, or study translations, versions, adaptations and reactions to various texts. Like Umberto Eco's protagonist from his latest novel *The Prague Cemetery*, a scholar working on the masonic collection will encounter complicated textual threads, e.g. an abridged version of Prichard published in German in Prague in 1784, or other books published in German in London. Spread out over the centuries, the holdings testify to the state of existing knowledge about freemasonry at a given point in time. Simultaneously, they show the freemason's culture and worldview in a historical perspective. The study of the origins of the libraries shows in turn contacts between Polish elites and western book trade.

Finally, acting as a bridge between the local and the global, between the internal and the external, various correspondence networks can be researched on the basis of the collections reviewed here. A good example could be Jan Johnston (1603-1675), a pioneering naturalist and physician of Scottish descent, settled in Wielkopolska but keeping a wide network of contacts in Europe, both professional and private. He was a friend of Comenius, whose correspondence network is currently being reconstructed by the Cultures of Knowledge project, led by the University of Oxford in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. Also communicative networks of Polish kings and aristocrats may be researched on the basis of surviving letter collections to explore diplomatic relations and gain insight into the politics of the day.

Relations between the donors, patrons, original sources of the collections and their subsequent guardians and hoarders in specific libraries in Wielkopolska provide another interesting angle. Libraries, both in the eighteenth and in the nineteenth century, are generally believed to be a fruit of a bibliophile passion. Stanisław August Poniatowski is frequently described as an avid reader, with books always in his hands, and as a guardian of the integrity of his collection. He forbade the use of the library to the readers who failed to return the books, making a note of their names in his register of loans (Dzięcioł 2006: 113, 114). To illustrate the intensity of the passion for books historians frequently mention that neither Załuski nor Działyński stopped short of stealing books which they desired while guarding their own collections against a similar fate. Załuski, in the rules for the use of the library, spelt out that book theft would be considered as tantamount to sacrilege. Działyński was granted access to monastic libraries but his reverence for books resulted in picking out the more attractive booty for his own collection.

The library collections presented here are always in the making and unmaking. They are not stable but volatile. This is not only because of the constant accumulation of books, both planned and fortuitous, but most of all because of the political changes which Poland was undergoing at the end of the eighteenth century. As a result of historical turmoils, the collections were moved, appropriated, split, dispersed and lost. Shifting political borders meant that hundreds of books found themselves outside the Polish state after the independence was regained at the beginning of the 20th century. Some other hundreds were included in the holdings of local aristocrats, such as Raczyński or Działyński, who made a point of accumulating the shreds of national heritage. The accumulation and dispersion of books is best visible now in the surviving eighteenth-century library catalogues. It should be noted that during that time, the boundary between the private and public libraries was blurred. It becomes clear that community and solidarity were perceived as an asset, not a threat. Aristocrats shared books and knowledge with fellow Poles, regardless of status, thus helping to sustain their cultural identity. Culture was seen not as a property but shared goods.

The preoccupation with Polish identity is reflected in the approach towards the library holdings by present-day historians, too. In all the libraries surveyed, the category of *polonica* has been given prominence and priority over other publications and manuscripts. Still, the category remains vague and opens interesting research possibilities. The *polonica* are “books written in Polish or in Poland or relating to Poland” (the BUAM website) so it remains to be assessed in what proportion each of these subcategories is present in specific periods in a given library, and how these rates reflect the interests of the original owners and subsequent curators of the collections. The publications and papers relating to Poland link back to the global perspective and contribute to the discourse on Europe and its cultural and political shape in the long eighteenth century, and earlier.

## **5. Mediation between then and now: Work in progress**

The survey so far has explored communication and mediation through 18th-century book and manuscript collections and their subsequent fate in Wielkopolska libraries. The requirements of modern scholarship highlight another aspect of mediation: mediation between those distant times under study and now – in terms of data access, retrieval opportunities and digital reconstruction. The investigation into the pre-1795 period of Polish cultural history has in recent years become more dynamic thanks to the cooperation between Poland and the countries where (parts of) important 18th-century libraries are held. Polish scholars have been invited to Kiev to explore the Royal Library while the countries where fragments of the Radziwiłł book collection are stored have united in an effort to place the books in the UNESCO Memory of the World register. New technological opportunities as well as agreements between countries holding larger fragments of the collections can make it possible to recreate the dispersed collections in virtual space. The first steps have been already taken by the Estreicher Research Centre of the Polish Bibliography, which has been compiling a catalogue of Polish old prints from Nieśwież (Niasvizh) stored in the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg, the M.N. Łomonosow State University in Moscow, the National Library of Finland in Helsinki and Warsaw University (Walecki and Siess-Krzyszczkowski (eds.) 2013).

In April and May 2013 there was an exhibition of 90 rare editions of books from the Radziwiłł collections in the castle of Niasvizh in today's Belarus, which are now held in the Belarussian National Library, the Central Science Library of the National Academy of Sciences of Belarus and the Presidential Library of the Republic of Belarus. For a short period, the books returned to their original space. In view of the dispersed nature of the collections, virtual reconstructions remain the only possibility to gather the books permanently, at least in cyberspace.

Coming back to Wielkopolska, more efforts are needed when it comes to the facilitation of access, traditional but especially virtual, to 17th-18th-century collections stored in the libraries. New technologies could help to achieve a wider perspective and make it easier to bring together eighteenth-century collections and collate sources. The improvement of digital tools could also facilitate research into foreign contacts in partitioned Poland. Since the holdings are multilingual, it would be ideal if scholars from various linguistic backgrounds could explore the online catalogues and digital images. Unfortunately, search engines are rarely equipped with a fully functional English interface and they render untrustworthy results when English key words are used. Digitization efforts, for instance at the WBC, are in progress but they are slow and lack coordination, especially from a national perspective. More often than not, specific parts of various collections become digitized because they are “needed” at a given point in time. Such decisions lead to producing incoherent repositories, where solutions are chosen *ad hoc*. There should be more cooperation with the end users in terms of search and display facilities and with other libraries in terms of coherence. Similarly, bibliologists and bibliographers seem to work in isolation while interdisciplinary cooperation with historians could be beneficial to achieve a wider perspective on cultural trends and developments.

Despite the teething problems of the implementation of digital tools in libraries, this is still an exciting moment for the scholars of the eighteenth-century in Poland. The new technology promises to overcome the problems of the dispersion of eighteenth-century sources. Until recently, the study of eighteenth-century communication has had to be either narrow in its subject or it has required a painstaking labour of tracing and collating fragments of larger collections of eighteenth century work. Digital catalogues and electronic bases will dispense with the down-to-earth problems of accessing the sources and the cooperation with foreign institutions holding parts of Polish eighteenth-century collections will make it possible to trace the history of communication in eighteenth-century Poland in a much broader and more comprehensive perspective.

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## **Goran PROOT,**

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## **The Importance of Early Modern Book Design**

### **Status quaestionis**

Books form one of the main sources for study, and that is certainly true for the Early Modern Period. Different from later periods, hand-press books still had to be laid out by *typographi* or master printers. Any printed text can exist without its physical appearance, and that form inevitably impacts upon the content. Over the last few decades, scholars have repeatedly emphasized the importance of layout, but the fairly restricted number of surveys dealing with the subject have not always been successful in generating far-reaching results. Sometimes the approaches are rather crude, sometimes the number of objects studied are too limited, and sometimes the conclusions are rather impressionistic. After all, one might get the impression that layout may be not that important. Because most book design in this period is rather a craft than an art, its evolution is consistent with that of other arts. Changes are minute and incremental. It is often stated that the evolution of the book form came to a standstill around the middle of the sixteenth century. This statement conflicts with the fact that anyone can at first glance tell a sixteenth century book from a seventeenth century edition and that everyone sees the difference between an eighteenth century publication and one produced a hundred years earlier or later. Sometimes the output of the eighteenth century has been denoted as

“typographie pure”, but it remains unclear how many books from that time bear those characteristics –and what exactly is meant by it.

The majority of publishers is more concerned about the sales of their products than about innovating book design. Ideally the latter should remain “invisible” and serve reading and, more importantly, forward the consumption of printed commodities. But as any crafted object its form will change over long periods of time, and so do hand-press books. Recent research confined to Flemish book production between c. 1473 and 1800 has shown that the design of books continuously changes at a very slow but appreciable pace; that changes are incremental and progressive; that the design of books depends on language (Latin versus vernacular), text genre, region and time. Furthermore this research has thus far indicated four important forces of change: technical and mechanical innovations, culture and fashion, the importance of text genres and, last but not least, economics. From that research emerge new questions which need to be addressed on a larger, European (or even global) scale. It is clear, for instance, that there were in Flanders in the 1540s two different layout paradigms: a paradigm for Latin books and one for vernacular editions. Both paradigms underwent transformations over time, but the vernacular design would also slowly adopt the features of the Latin design, so that by the 1660s both coincide. If we accept the hypothesis that different layouts reach out to different readerships, what then has happened between those years? At this point, it is not clear what happened after that period: did new paradigms emerge in the eighteenth century? And also: what happened in the neighboring countries, such as France, Germany and the Netherlands? What is the role of Italian book design? How (different) is an insular design, which forces are at work in the English practice? Does the layout of books become more global over time? And what may that indicate about the dissemination of text, knowledge and ideas?

### **Goal**

The main goal of this research is twofold: the establishment of an early modern typographical atlas for Europe, that can serve as a general framework for analyses of types of books that are distinct in place, time and genre. More importantly, this project will explain the physical book culture and help us to understand its ulterior motives.

### **Methodology**

In order to answer these questions one can exploit existing sources. In addition, new datasets for further study should be developed. What needs to be carried out is:

- Bibliographic analysis of existing (electronic), pan-European bibliographies;
  - Image analysis of readily available digital surrogates of hand-press books.
- The former requires deeper and smarter analyses and the use of statistics to identify significant trends. The latter implies the development of a new, specific tool, which makes use of technology used by, for instance, medical applications. From the outset, the scope should be European and span the entire early modern period.

### **Outcomes**

This research will shed light on the long term evolution of the physical appearance of books. It will help professionals (librarians, curators,

bibliographers) and scholars (historians, literary historians, art historians) and the general public better to understand specific layouts of specific books, produced in different regions, and in different times. A general, European framework of early modern book design will be helpful to date and/or locate books without a clear place and/or date of publication. Understanding design paradigms, which are typical of specific languages (Latin versus vernacular), of specific text genres, of specific regions, of specific times, will help to discover forgeries, piracies, publishing strategies and (changing) needs of readerships. This research will make it possible to identify leading book cultures, which may be shifting with time from one region to another (e.g. from Italy to France), how for instance an insular book culture differs from a continental culture, and, more importantly, why. It will also help us better to understand the impact of design on the dissemination of knowledge and ideas, and how book design has been instrumental in the creation of successive periods of transition.

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### **National bibliography and collective catalogues of printing material produced in the first centuries of print in Poland**

I would like to propose a short presentation on the current state of bibliographical research in Poland concerning books printed in the territory of the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania between the invention of printing and the end of the eighteenth century. This overview suggests research opportunities concerning early printed Polish books as well as printed material in Polish library collections for those broadly interested in the history of European communications.

Most general histories of Europe, including histories of book, print, and media, can be read without being strongly aware that Central and Eastern lands of the continent were fully a part of its economic and cultural system in the early modern era. Poland is no exception here. While many factors contributed to this distorted perception, two important ones are the linguistic barriers and the inheritance of World War II followed by half a century of communist rule, when cultural relations with the West were almost completely suspended. Whereas the majority of research material for the communication and cultural history in Poland was produced in Polish and in Latin, it is time to consider the study of the country's book production, and its library collections as integral to the history of European book.

### **Polish collections of early printed books. What is there to look for?**

Naturally the collections of early printed books in Poland consist mainly of imprints produced in Poland-Lithuania. Because past centuries fostered a lively cross-cultural and cross-border movement and exchange of books, imprints produced outside of Poland can also be found in the libraries and museums in Poland.

Polish materials are interesting, it seems, not only for scholars concentrating specifically on the cultural history of the region, but to those studying the dense system of both trade routes and intellectual connections that linked European lands. Poland was very much part of that system, especially up to the 1650's and later, in the Enlightenment, albeit at that time on a smaller and rather more elite scale. Printing was introduced to Poland as early as 1473 and the presses continued to flourish both in Krakow (the capital of the

multinational state) and in other locations from that point forward<sup>1</sup>. The Polish book industry was less developed compared to the print culture of Italy, the Netherlands or France. Nevertheless, it played a vital role in the economy of print in Central and Eastern Europe.

Being a production centre, Poland also constituted an important market for books. Attesting to this are e.g. booksellers' inventories that reflect the quantities of books the merchants were dealing with<sup>2</sup>. Since the Polish demand for books was far greater than the local production, the booksellers imported and distributed books that were produced in Europe's leading printing domains. Some of these imprints weathered the buffeting of Polish history to reach the comparative safety of modern libraries in the country, where the researchers can find rare and even unique items, some of them unknown to the compilers of the major national bibliographies (as those tend to be based on the largest catalogued collections in countries in question).

### **Bibliographical tools**

Of the many bibliographies and catalogues dealing with early Polish printed material and the books preserved in modern libraries in Poland two deserve special mention as good starting points: *Bibliografia polska* by Karol Estreicher and the union catalogue of early printed books in the National Library in Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie).

#### Karol Estreicher, *Bibliografia polska XV-XVIII stulecia* (1872–)

*Bibliografia polska* by Karol Estreicher is a 60-volume bibliographical repertoire, a revered and well-known work found in many university and research libraries worldwide. Volumes 12-34 (the so called "bibliografia staropolska") are devoted to polonica produced from the advent of printing to the end of the XVIII century<sup>3</sup>. Volume 12, the first of the series, was published in 1891 with others following in subsequent years. "Bibliografia staropolska" orders editions alphabetically, offering excellent, detailed descriptions of books Estreicher and his heirs inspected personally in various institutional and private libraries, while their efforts were less thorough for those imprints whose copies the bibliographers did not have a chance to see.

A digital facsimile of "bibliografia staropolska" has been available on line for a few years at [http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/baza\\_estreichera/skany.php](http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/baza_estreichera/skany.php)

The facsimile may be used with the help of an on-line index:

<http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/indeks.html>

Having typed in the search phrase, users are directed to what they are looking for, and can also see the relevant scanned pages.

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<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century some 7000 editions were printed at the territory occupied by the realms of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, *Miejsce książki w kulturze polskiej XVI wieku*, in: *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia*, ed. Andrzej Wyczański, Warszawa 1986, p. 425; *Drukarze dawnej Polski*, vol. 1: *Małopolska: Od XV do XVI wieku*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Wrocław 1983.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. the inventory of Jan Thenaud written in 1582 mentions 2,262 titles in 6,552 copies, and the one of Zacheusz Kessner, dated at 1602, informs about 15,500 copies of 5,300 titles. Both examples from Krakow. Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 200, p. 77–133, 819–821; Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, *Advocatalia Cracoviensia*, 226, p. 1631–796; Monika Jaglarz, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w XVI wieku*, Kraków 2004, p. 65–75.

<sup>3</sup> According to Polish bibliographical tradition *polonicum* is an imprint a) produced at the territory of the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania, or b) in Polish but published elsewhere, or c) by a Polish author, or d) in the broadest sense: about Poland, dedicated to Polish kings, nobles etc. Such a broad content of the term used was first proposed by Karol Estreicher, then supported by later bibliographers and books historians, such as Kazimierz Piekarski and Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa.

The team now working to digitalise Estreicher's bibliography has also started using its content to create a searchable database<sup>4</sup>. The database is growing continuously, and so far it encompasses the data from 11 volumes of *Bibliografia polska XV-XVIII stulecia*: <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/staropolska/baza.html>

When completed, the database will certainly facilitate retrieval of information stored in the 22 volume bibliography of polonica covering 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries. It must be noted here though, that the aim of the project is only to digitalise the content of Estreicher's work, that is, it is an uncritical acceptance of the data in existing volumes. Estreicher's *Bibliografia polska*, as a whole, and "bibliografia staropolska", in particular, is of course an impressive enterprise, especially given the fact that the work started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the greatest part of it was created by a single man<sup>5</sup>. *Bibliografia polska* is a comprehensive listing of publications, since Estreicher cast its net as wide as he could. But the repertoire of information in it, particularly in the earliest volumes, is based on research conducted under very difficult historical circumstances, and inevitably missed dispersed items, especially books located in libraries abroad. Many items listed no longer exist and many of those that have survived are kept now in libraries other than those mentioned by Estreicher. These differences are owing to the dispersal or destruction of major Polish collections of printed books in the 20<sup>th</sup> century wars. That no attempt is made to correct the bibliography's entries (or mark them as dated) means that the content of the on-line database being created right now does not incorporate the fruit of much specialised bibliographical work accomplished in the intervening 130 years.

*Bibliografia polska* is an indispensable research tool for anyone studying the history and culture of Eastern and Central Europe. It is easy to browse through its many volumes, in particular now, that the index is available on line. But for all research using Polish early printed materials (as well as early printed books now in Polish collections) the union catalogue of early printed books in the National Library in Warsaw is essential.

#### Catalogue of early printed books in the National Library (Biblioteka Narodowa) in Warsaw

In the early 1930's an attempt was made in the National Library to address Estreicher's bibliography's deficiencies with the union catalogue of polonica printed before 1801. In 1939 this catalogue registered more than 80,000 copies of books. This valuable research tool was destroyed entirely when the Nazi German army nearly obliterated Warsaw in 1944. In the 1950's the work started again. The research team first concentrated on incunabula, while a global survey of prints produced in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (as well as prints in Polish or by Polish authors published abroad) has also been conducted. The attempt has also been made to register all foreign early prints kept in the libraries in present day Poland, so that the union catalogue informs us as well about books printed outside Poland-Lithuania that are now in the Polish collections – even if this data should be regarded as provisional. The union catalogue project based its content on Estreicher's bibliography, published catalogues of the most important early book collections in Poland, and the data from card catalogues shared with the union catalogue team by a number libraries and

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<sup>4</sup> Centrum Badawcze Bibliografii Polskiej Estreicherów hosted by Uniwersytet Jagielloński in Krakow. <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/>

<sup>5</sup> Karol Estreicher was virtually working on his own later followed by his son and grandson. After the WWII the centre to complete *Bibliografia polska* was created in the Jagiellonian University, but it has never worked as efficiently as the Estreichers themselves – volume covering the letter Z of "bibliografia staropolska", almost ready in 1939, has not been completed until today.

museums. Together it incorporates the data from 110 collections in Poland, and about 50 collections abroad<sup>6</sup>.

The catalogue lists both editions with extant copies, as well as (for Polish imprints) a number of titles and editions of books that were known to have once existed, have since perished, and leave no trace in contemporary collections. The descriptions of particular editions vary, some are detailed and reliable, some very basic and fragmented. The catalogue has been amended over the years (even if this has not been done on a regular basis), and it contains the vast amount of data. Of course, there are still editions and books to be discovered, especially in the monastic collections in Eastern and Central Europe.

Today the union catalogue in the Biblioteka Narodowa (the National Library of Poland) consists of about 900,000 cards, but many of those fiches contain information about numerous copies of the same title (sometimes even 10 or more). Therefore the librarians who work in the rare book collections in the National Library admit they are unable to say how many editions and copies are registered in the catalogue. In general terms the union catalogue is thought to be a nearly complete register of early printed Polish books produced in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century. It is less complete with regards to 18<sup>th</sup>-century Polish imprints and foreign early printed material now in the Polish collections.

Incunabula were carefully inventoried.

Printing materials registered in the union catalogue come in seven groups, separately ordered alphabetically:

- 1) Incunabula in present day Poland<sup>7</sup>
- 2) Polonica printed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>
- 3) Polonica printed in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries
- 4) Foreign prints in present day Poland (16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century)
- 5) Newspapers and journals
- 6) Calendars (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century)
- 7) Cyrilic imprints (15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century)

A rich repository of bibliographical material the union catalogue has its drawbacks: it can be called only partly complete, and over last 15–20 years its content has not been updated on a regular basis. But even for its richest and most complete parts (Polish prints produced between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries), it is the catalogue's form that poses a most serious obstacle to its systematic study. It is, of course, available to researchers on a generous basis, but to retrieve information from it one must either travel to Warsaw, or request help from the librarians there. Bibliographical surveys in the catalogue on behalf of readers are being performed by the special collection librarians of the National Library. In order to ask for their help with the union catalogue, one is supposed to write: [stardruk.ck@bn.org.pl](mailto:stardruk.ck@bn.org.pl)

Consulting the union catalogue with the help of librarians at the National Library works well for single queries, but of course one cannot think of more systematic bibliographical research being conducted in that old-fashioned way in the time of on-line resources (including library catalogues and databases).

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<sup>6</sup> Maria Zychowiczowa, *Centralny katalog starych druków w Bibliotece Narodowej w Warszawie*, Warszawa 1995.

<sup>7</sup> Almost 6,000 editions in more than 21,000 copies plus 2349 editions in 4610 copies that were lost during the WW II. The incunabula catalogue has been published: *Incunabula quae in bibliothecis Poloniae asservantur*, ed. Alodia Kawecka-Gryczowa, Maria Bohonos, Eliza Szandorowska, Wrocław 1970-1994.

<sup>8</sup> About 12,000 editions (including more than 2,000 for which no copy exists today) in about 44,000 copies.

## Conclusions

For Poland the march of technology in recent years has produced a number of library catalogues, and a selection of early printed text available on-line in digital facsimile.

There remains a lot to be done. For example, scholars need:

- a truly comprehensive listing of early prints published in Poland from the invention of printing to the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.
- a catalogue of early modern books produced elsewhere, but kept today in libraries in Poland.
- most critical for scholarship is a short title catalogue of books published in Poland between the 15<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (including printed material in Polish produced abroad, and, if the Polish bibliographical traditions were to be followed, books of Polish authors published abroad, regardless of the language of edition).
- the publication of a short title catalogue should result in the creation of a searchable database, that gathers information about editions and variants, and also copy specific information (e.g. provenances, bindings)<sup>9</sup>.

Given the existence of the union catalogue in the National Library in Warsaw, such a project should harmonise bibliographical material accumulated by this resource to date and integrate it with recent developments in bibliography, book history, and digital humanities. A provision of such an on-line resource would make possible a new generation of analytical studies devoted to different aspects of communication history in Central and Eastern Europe, as in that case digitalisation would certainly be enrichment. It would also encourage a more complete understanding of the world of the European early printed book, exchange of ideas, and history of cultural transfer.

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## Statistical and Case-based Enlightenment: Let's Have It All

Mark Curran's article "Beyond the Forbidden Best-sellers of Pre-revolutionary France" (*The Historical Journal* 56.1 [March 2013]: 89-112) makes the most significant intervention to date in the so-called "Darnton Debate" (see, e.g., the book of that title) by presenting empirical data that renders untenable Darnton's Grub-street hypothesis concerning the origins of revolutionary fervor. A similar moment had occurred three years earlier when Allison Muri presented her Grub Street Project (<http://grubstreetproject.net/>) at Jerome McGann's Mellon-funded conference "Online Humanities Scholarship: The Shape of Things to Come" (<http://shapeofthings.org/index.html>). Robert Darnton was her respondent, and his most anti-digital question was, why build a dynamic map to track the movements of printers in eighteenth-century London when Pat Rogers has already published *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* in 1972? Her answer was, basically, that the published book was wrong, making some claims about the basic movement of print-shops during the course of the eighteenth-century from one part of London to another. Rogers's argument didn't hold up when these movements were mapped extensively and virtually.

Will digital resources, maps and databases, the datamining that one will be able to do in 45 millions pages of texts published between 1473 and 1800 once the eMOP

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<sup>9</sup> As far as I know, no such an undertaking seems to be planned at the National Library in Warsaw itself. I have started to gather information on 16<sup>th</sup>-century Polish books production, using the union catalogue in Warsaw, the existing catalogues of research libraries, and a number of printer orientated bibliographies as my starting point.

project is complete – will they discredit scholarly arguments by presenting huge quantities of empirical data? Will statistics trump interpretation?

It is worth here quoting philosopher of new media Aden Evens who calls bit-data “exact” but not “precise”: computational exactitude, he argues, is never more than “calculably imprecise.” Databases such as Dr. Curran’s own French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe and data-mining such as can be made possible via eMOP—either through Gale-Cengage Learning’s Anvil interface or via Humanities Computing Research centers that have access to eMOP data—these databases and data-mining routines will give us a wealth of calculably imprecise data. Books that compose case-based arguments give us, I would argue, precision—all the precision that derives from the argumentative and syntactic structures used to compose them.

Let me illustrate how a book can be precise but calculably wrong. When I was digitally transcribing tables of contents of poetry collections, I discovered that women poets of the Romantic Era were being systematically erased from the canon. In response to this argument comprising a chapter of my book *Misogynous Economies*, Peter Stallybrass commented that Stuart Curran had found a huge number of women poets published in late eighteenth-, early nineteenth-century poetry collections. Indeed, many many women were published in collections of poetry: the devil, as Mark Curran insists, is in the details. The *types* of collection that contained women writers were not disciplinary anthologies but literary annuals, miscellanies, and collections of historical curiosities, as well as collections devoted exclusively to women. These many women writers were being systematically set-up as *not* part of the canon of British history. I remember when I was typing those tables of contents, first recording a collection’s metadata, typing its preface or introduction—logging its aspirations—and then the lists of authors’ names as they were arranged by the table of contents. Suddenly, after months of this work, something came into sharp focus that is not discernible by sheer name counting: the collections that aspired to give us the most important works of British literary history left women out, while women poets appeared plentifully in popular miscellanies, annuals, and histories. I remember vividly when the picture I wrote about in my book snapped into view. It’s as if my mind, the mind of any researcher writing a monograph, were a filter, or even a database—I was in essence filtering out the collections for popular consumption and focusing on those produced to perpetuate a literary elite. Numbers alone would never indicate the separation between those kinds of collections—qualitative judgments must be made. But on the other hand the insight was generated from compiling a database, my own Poetess Archive (<http://www.poetessarchive.org>).

I would like to suggest that we need more databases, more data-mining of carefully crafted data, AND a new kind of monograph, one that allows importing the database live into its arguments. We need digital monographs, available online, with windows containing database returns that support a writer’s argument. And then, readers need to be able to add their objections: wait, if you look at which orders for books were actually shipped, if you look at who edited and published anthologies containing only men versus collections containing women—then you will filter out of this mass of data a different argument, a different story. And each of the scholars could wrap their calculably imprecise statistical returns in very precise arguments and sentences, giving us the best data structures from both worlds, the quantitative and the qualitative, the statistically significant and the anomalous case that proves a new rule.

The Voyant window provides a perfect example of how to incorporate live databases into articles. Readers can manipulate search constraints as they read (see for example <http://hermeneuti.ca/rhetoric/now-analyze-that>) and come up with counter-examples and counter-arguments. Ideally, they could also write about *their* ways of filtering the data, adding precision to calculation and giving us all.

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### **The Constitution of bibliographical Tools (ornaments, watermarks and printers' biographical databases).**

I have been working on Lyons eighteenth century printers-cum-booksellers (Gens du livre – Bookfolk) for more than twenty years. In a first period, my research was almost only biographical. My purpose was to gather, through archival material, the maximum of information on the life and activities of people printing, selling, binding... books in the second French printing place officially.. or not. This work was part of a program launched by the Institut d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (IHMC – CNRS) under the direction of Frédéric Barbier. One of the main characteristics of Lyons (and of Rouen, third French printing place) in that period is that almost every printer or bookseller published, apart from his official and authorised production under his name, counterfeits, piracies, and prohibited books under false foreign imprints. A certain number of cases, documented by judicial records, led me to a second stage: the identification of this secret printed production through the methods of anglo-saxon physical bibliography, I am one of the very few French scholars able to practise.

While Frédéric Barbier published on paper the results of his own biographical enquiries on Paris (in progress) and Northern France, I have decided to publish my own Lyons biographical notices on line, on the enssib website. This work is currently in progress. By choosing this kind of publication, my purpose is, on one hand, to be able to correct and enrich my biographical notices, and on the other one to offer links towards different additional information or documents : half a dozen of portraits, ornamental material, electronic publications (articles, student dissertations, monographs...).

In my opinion, the development of computer tools and of digitization techniques offers to the scholars new opportunities our elders did not have, and will enable to establish a parallel between several copies of a same book scattered through the world, and to "see" particularities which until nowadays escaped investigation.

The development of huge bibliographical databases and OPACs, including the conversion of printed library catalogues from the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, now allows to locate much more copies of a title, in order to examine them, than printed tools such as short title catalogues or Pierre Marie Conlon's bibliographies could do.

Digitization of library collections, or even Google Books, can now allow a first examination from the scholar's study, before deciding to travel and ---. It also can allow the discovery of unknown material linked to the one the scholar is investigating. Even books digitized by Google books can be found on library websites as it is now the case for Lyons city library collection with Numelyo, which opened at the end of 2012 :

<http://numelyo.bm-lyon.fr/>

But digitization of whole books is not the only tool available. For a certain number of years appeared thematic databases. If they are not yet numerous, their number should rapidly increase. Such is the case for typographical ornaments (headpieces, tailpieces...) like Fleuron and passe-Partout in Lausanne, Maguelone in Montpellier, Môtiane in Liège ; printers devices (Florida, Spain, Roma, Tours...) ; watermarks in different places in the USA and Europe. More recently appeared databases of bindings, and of typographical types.

In the next years, such databases would offer a very large scope of information, which for most of them, could be linked to the printers-cum-booksellers biographical databases (like the one I am trying to build), allowing the scholar to know who used such kind of paper, types, ornaments... and to allow him to unveil false imprints, and reconstruct one printer real production.

The combination of digitized books, digitized bibliographical elements (ornaments, types, watermarks...) and of biographical elements concerning printers and booksellers

will allow new discoveries. It will enable the scholar to SEE physical evidences he could not before.

In my opinion, the gathering of biographical information dedicated to those who printed and sold books will not only be useful for traditional book history (economical, social... history as developed by the *Annales* School), but used in combination with physical bibliography will open new research fields and allow new important discoveries. Such is one of the aims of my current work.

Gens du livre à Lyon : <http://dominique-varry.enssib.fr/node/48>

BARBIER (Frédéric), JURATIC (Sabine) collab., VANGHELUWE (Michel) collab., *Lumières du Nord. Imprimeurs, libraires et "gens du livre" dans le Nord au XVIIIe siècle (1701-1789)*. *Dictionnaire prosopographique*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 2002, 528 p.

BARBIER (Frédéric), JURATIC (Sabine), MELLERIO (Annick), *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et gens du livre à Paris 1701-1789 : A-C*, Genève, Droz, 2007, 688 p.

VARRY (Dominique), "Lyons' printers and booksellers from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century", *Printed Matters. Printing, Publishing and Urban Culture in Europe in the Modern Period*, Edited by Malcolm GEE and Tim KIRK, Aldershot, Burlington USA, Singapore, Sydney, Ashgate, 2001, p. 30-47, (Historical Urban Studies).

VARRY (Dominique), "Gens du livre à Lyon au XVIIIe siècle : quelques résultats d'une enquête prosopographique en cours", *The Enlightenment in Europe - Les Lumières en Europe - Aufklärung in Europa : Unity and Diversity - Unité et Diversité - Einheit und Vielfalt*, edited by - édité par herausgegeben von Werner SCHNEIDERS, Berlin, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003, p. 287-309.

VARRY (Dominique), "Les Imprimeurs-libraires lyonnais et Montesquieu", *Le Temps de Montesquieu, actes du colloque international de Genève (28-31 octobre 1998)*, publiés par Michel PORRET et Catherine VOLPILHAC-AUGER, Genève, Droz, 2002, p. 43-63.

VARRY (Dominique), "L'édition encadrée des Œuvres de Voltaire (1775) : une collaboration entre imprimeurs-libraires genevois et lyonnais ? ", *Voltaire et le livre. Textes réunis par François BESSIRE et Françoise TILKIN*, Ferney-Voltaire, Centre international d'étude du 18<sup>ème</sup> siècle, 2009, p. 107-116.

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One of the aims of the Burrows and Curran *French Book Trade in Enlightenment Europe* (FBTEE) database – which I intend to demonstrate just briefly at the workshop – was to see how technology might help us to extend the possibilities of historical bibliometric research. Detailing the movements of over 400,000 copies of more than 4,000 STN-traded books across Europe between 1769 and 1794, it provides a large, coherent and richly detailed dataset and associated tools suited to probing questions relating to the dissemination of French books throughout late eighteenth-century Europe. It describes more-or-less every shipment made and received by the Neuchâtelois before events and debts caught up with them on the eve of the French Revolution. I hope that my recent *Historical Journal* article, 'Beyond the Forbidden Best-Seller of pre-Revolutionary France' (March 2013), shows the extent to which this

new digitally reconstructed archival view significantly modifies even the most brilliantly realised previous work. Robert Darnton's famous 1995 *Forbidden Best-Sellers of pre-Revolutionary France* was built, I suggest there, on the shaky premise that because booksellers from Amsterdam to Geneva swapped large quantity of books (they didn't), they all ended up with roughly similar stocks (they didn't) and hence a surviving archive as rich as that found in little Neuchâtel might be considered representative (it isn't, at least not in ways claimed). By enabling such work, the FBTEE database fits into an established digital tradition of academic disruption that is now widely evidenced. Amongst many other things, it forces us to abandon reveries of single-archive representativeness and makes our future bibliometric *travaux* necessarily more complex, exciting and collaborative.

The most electrifying thing about this new, complicated bibliometric future is that its surrounds are entirely familiar. The reception studies sub-field of historical bibliometrics has been deeply engrained in book history since the onset – certainly since the great studies of eighteenth-century book production of the *Annales* school to which we all owe so much. Through many subsequent case-studies (big and small) and national histories the bibliometric data has accumulated, although it has become more-and-more scattered and much less easily summarised and understood. As the trees have become ever more documented, the wood has somewhat slipped from view. For those working on the second-half of the eighteenth century, at least, perhaps the largest advantage of the new Neuchâtel dataset is that it allows us to revisit, collect and extend all that detailed work in the light of a new and substantial 'spine' of bibliometric data. Jeffrey Freedman's excellent new work on cultural transmission that draws heavily on orders of STN works from German booksellers, to give just one example, is clearly enriched by the ability to instantaneously set the German 'case' in the context of the society's overall business. In turn, Freedman's richness in interpretive detail re-enforces, nuances, explains and humanises aspects the FBTEE data set. Somewhere between big data and its painstaking scholarly interpretation, I would suggest, long held narratives of uncomplicated cosmopolitanism of republic of letters can be shaken further, and the full complexities of all our work can be brought closer together. An example for my own efforts – none of the Swiss bookseller of this period seem to have traded in any significant way with the Dutch republic, in stark contrast to, say, their Parisian rivals. Books, I argue in the FBTEE project's forthcoming lead monograph *Selling Enlightenment* didn't flow evenly round Europe – they ground their ways down highways and drifted along waterways haemorrhaging profitability and approaching fierce competition by the kilometre.

If the FBTEE database represents a first step towards a modified historical bibliometric future that takes us beyond single archive 'representativeness', it can hardly be seen as an end point. For sure, we might hope and expect that other surviving archives – those of the *Veuve Desaint* of Paris and the *Luchtman*s of Leiden are obvious candidates – will be treated in a similar way. But surviving account books are relatively few and their treatment, whilst most welcome, will prove no panacea. No, a better approach might be to harness to collective past and future bibliometric work of the scholarly community in a way that is more connected and mutually beneficial. Remember, the topic in hand here is not a source type (book sellers account books or sale catalogues) but rather a type of data that abounds: quantifiable book dissemination and reception events pinpointed in time and space. So, there is no shortage of information sources that yield bibliometrics: confiscations or customs records, booksellers and libraries catalogues, recorded instances of reading, and so forth. This sort of information is widespread in the scholarly community, in archives and throughout many of our books, articles and datasets. Better organised, it would easily suffice to re-orient our understanding of many aspects of the early modern book trade and, in the process, re-invigorate reception studies.

The problems of course are multiple, but the theoretical research I conducted as Munby Fellow at Cambridge University Library last year suggests they are far from insurmountable. At the workshop I will outline one possible method for a bibliometric metadata layer and visualisation technology that can be embedded within, or juxtaposed against, digital bibliographic content providers which has been designed to satisfy the following principals: 1) that all contextual data surrounding our bibliometrics *must* be fully recoverable, 2) that the layer must be built-up first where bibliographical and actor information is most solid, 3) that the project must be collaborative and open, in order that it might yield results sufficiently worthwhile, 4) that participation requires that data entry be almost effortless and that rewards are numerous, obvious and appropriately distributed, 5) and that seeded growth focused narrowly will yield best results. By following these principals, I will suggest, we might once more push eighteenth century bibliometrics just a little bit further.

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### ***Tracing textual transfers in eighteenth century Denmark–Norway: translation, digitisation and bibliography***

#### **Love and unfaithfulness – the case of Claus Fasting**

In one of the first numbers of the Norwegian periodical, *Provinzialblade* (or *Journal of the province*, printed in Bergen), we find an introductory footnote to a story called “Love and Unfaithfulness (An Indian tale)”<sup>10</sup>:

This story does not belong to me. It does not, in all parts, belong to its author either. [...] *I sometimes cross* (Cicero says) *into a foreign camp, not as a deserter, but as a scout*. I have borrowed this piece from I don't know which French journal. I have added, omitted, changed – and thus totally corrupted it, one would say, because it is against all human expectation that a Norwegian could write like a Parisian. So be it.

The footnote is written by the poet, critic and playwright Claus Fasting, in 1778. He describes what is to become his method as an editor: to collect texts from other (foreign) sources, translate and edit them as he sees fit, in a process of love and unfaithfulness. His motivation is – as a scout – to convey to the local audience and the rest of Denmark–Norway what goes on in the world. He prints texts from major French, German and English periodicals and books. As he suggests here, the texts have often travelled through several countries, media and periodicals before they reach his weekly journal in Bergen.

The motivations and methods of editors at the time differed with regard to import of texts. In an absolute monarchy, censorship was always lurking in the back of editors' minds. Why print your own thoughts and opinions, when you can translate the thoughts of others? This may be part of his motivation as well.

So what does he collect and rewrite? He is for example the first to translate Thomas Paine in Denmark–Norway, and he does so in one of the first issues.<sup>11</sup> It is a translation of an extract from *Common sense* (1776), which Fasting introduces in an apologetic manner. But he prints it, stating the importance of the events in America, assuring his readers of self-censorship. Voltaire is a favourite that he continues to quote and praise, even at the expense of losing subscribers. Rousseau, Bacon and Adam Smith are equally praised and translated. The controversial Montesquieu is repeatedly defended, and Sterne, Ossian and Wieland are other favourites of his.

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<sup>10</sup> “La Caraïbe” was first printed in *Mercur de France* eight years earlier to attract subscribers to a book of philosophical tales, written by the journalist, lawyer and playwright Jean Louis Araison.

<sup>11</sup> *Provinzialblade* 1778, nr. 6.

Fasting may be a scout, but he is also a creative writer. He edits the text, adding new introductions or conclusions, rewrites sentences and omits boring or controversial paragraphs. He says he needs to add style, complaining that Hamburg is less famous for eloquence than for smoked meet, and that Americans fight better than they write.<sup>12</sup> His alterations can certainly be due to stylistic considerations, but more often than not, they also make the texts less controversial to his readers and the authorities. Either way, it is a process of transfer and transformation.

**In the map (below) some of the main transfer lines of texts found in Fasting's periodical are outlined. They should at this stage be taken with a large pinch of salt. As indicated with the broader arrows, the main providers of texts are Germany (particularly by way of Hamburg, the main postal gateway to Denmark and a major German centre for periodicals), France (that is Paris, to some extent via Hamburg) and Britain (some via Hamburg, and in one case, Paris). Interestingly, the two Swedish texts probably came by way of Paris. The texts do not necessarily follow direct routes. Texts also came from further afield, like America or Asia.<sup>13</sup> Generally it is difficult to establish where the texts were printed and reprinted, and secondly, which source Fasting uses. From Bergen, the texts reached the major towns of Southern Norway and Copenhagen.**

This map is of course just a map of how one man – who was described by his friends as French to the core<sup>14</sup> – picked texts for one periodical, at a specific time. But it does reflect the impression of enlightenment and entertainment in Norway as being mediated by Germany, but also imported more directly from France and Britain. Still, the texts he chose from these text cultures and sources equally reflects the combination of his personal taste, the legal limitations at the time and the requests and wishes of his audience, that often ran counter to his own beliefs and taste.

Furthermore, as Greenblatt points out in his manifesto on cultural mobility (2010), a map drawn by tracing the mobility of texts and ideas needs to be supplemented with the physical aspects of those transfers.<sup>15</sup> What texts were actually physically available? Routes and manners of transportation, agency and local distribution are crucial. Did periodicals move faster than books, due to the weekly mail? Where there any economical or political restrictions on the import of the text, and if so, did individual agency open for new ways of transfer, openly or covertly? Even if there has been done quite a lot of work on history of the book in Denmark and Norway, little has been done on how books crossed borders, and even less on periodicals crossing borders.

Periodicals and their texts were distributed relatively fast. They were often more widely read than the imported books simply because they translated the texts long before translations were available on the book market. In the newspapers, the translations from books and magazines often were advertisements for the same publications, sold or rented from the print shop. The translations in the Norwegian newspapers (mid-18<sup>th</sup> century) follow the pattern of import seen in the Fasting case. Export from Scandinavia in the period is less common, but there are of course examples. I have for instance traced a fable attributed to Carl von Linné, starting as a latin fable in a dissertation, finding its way across Europe and North America in periodicals of different languages in the 1750s and 1760s, only to return to Scandinavian periodicals in a much more satirical form. The famous name certainly spurred the diffusion.

#### **Transforming the view on textual transfer**

This seemingly endless circulation of texts – and of redressing them – in magazines, newspapers and books was a significant trade mark of the eighteenth century media landscape. In Fasting's case, the pattern of diffusion seem to overlap to a large extent

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<sup>12</sup> *Provinzialblade* 1778, nr. 6 and 52.

<sup>13</sup> I have not been able to establish how they reached Fasting.

<sup>14</sup> According to Johan Herman Wessel (A.H. Winsnes, *Det norske selskab 1772–1812* (Oslo, Aschehoug, 1924), p. 124).

<sup>15</sup> Stephen Greenblatt (ed.), *Cultural Mobility. A Manifesto*, Cambridge 2010, pp. 250–252.

with the map drawn up by Franco Moretti for the spread of the European novel.<sup>16</sup> That is: New texts, genres and ideas move, with few (but interesting) exceptions, from the three core European countries (Britain, Germany and France) to the periphery. (This as opposed to Casanova, who sees Paris/France as the centre alone.) Movements between the semi-periphery, like Italy and Spain, to the periphery, are mediated by the core. Interestingly, for the novels Moretti traces, the translations show up very delayed in the periphery. There is a lack of contemporaneity in the diffusion of new genres and works. That is not necessarily so with periodicals. The transfers can happen within weeks and months or a few years, but very rarely decades. The periodicity and the possibility for translating and publishing extracts of books gave the periodicals great advantages over books with regard to speedy transfer.

This adds nuances to Moretti's and also William St Clair's conclusions that new ideas and texts reached the periphery and less affluent readers very late. In his voluminous study of reading in the Romantic period, St Clair limits his scope to the book media. That leads him to conclude that it took a long time for new ideas to trickle down to the segment of readers that only could afford cheap editions.<sup>17</sup> When discussing the dissemination of new texts and ideas, omitting periodicals thus becomes a methodological tumble block, in my opinion. In a Norwegian context, omitting periodicals would mean placing the reception of Thomas Paine or Lessing several decades later than it should be, and in many cases, not be able to account for the reception of an author at all. It could also alter the perception of the audience for a text substantially.

Even so, transfer of texts and ideas are of course more complex processes than that of translations, as Fasting notes too. He is not a deserter, but a scout. He does what both core and periphery do: translate and transform the texts to a local version, with local relevance and sometimes local subtext. Translation is about cultural transfer, but also about cultural adaptation. And in doing so, he is making his contribution to the diversification and diffusion of "the Enlightenment", by way of a periodical.

#### **Tracing textual transfers – research, digitisation and bibliography**

Tracing how and when texts and ideas moved across borders and media boundaries would be an almost impossible task without the help of digitisation, article indexing and bibliography on an international scale. I've had to look at French, British, German, Danish, Norwegian and more digital projects and publications, be it digitised books and periodicals (searchable and non-searchable), online article indexes as well as "old school technologies", such as the microfilm and paper periodicals and books (now termed p-books (!), I'm told).<sup>18</sup>

Today, I am part of an interdisciplinary project, *Diversifying Publics and Opinions*, on Dano-Norwegian journals in the eighteenth century. Censorship in the absolute monarchy and the periodicals' role in debating, challenging and shaping the restricted public sphere are the main subjects for the project, which is headed by the historian Mona R. Ringvej. An important aspect is placing this development in a broader

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<sup>16</sup> Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (London, Verso, 1998), pp. 171–174).

<sup>17</sup> William St Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), chapter 11. St Clair does mention anthologies, readers and school books as books that widened access to new texts (pp. 135–137). A study like Robert D. Mayo's on *The English novel in the magazines 1740–1815* (Evanston/London, 1962), which lists 1375 pieces of long prose fiction, indicates the huge scale of literary texts printed in a non-book form.

<sup>18</sup> My dissertation (2007) on literature published in the first Norwegian newspapers (of the 1760s) presented a broad range of texts published in these papers, originating from Persia to America. They included everything from classical to contemporary poems, or fables by Lessing to parts of novels by Voltaire. In my current project on eighteenth-century journals in Denmark–Norway, a main issue is the importance of the journal as a medium for the dissemination and circulation of literary texts and Enlightenment ideas. It was an important supplement and to some extent efficient competitor to the book. Both studies stress the close relationship between book and periodical, in terms of texts, personnel, economy and technology, concluding that particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these media cannot be studied separately.

European history of media and ideas, as the periodicals were instrumental in the speedy transfer of texts and knowledge across borders. The project works with the National Library to index articles and digitise the Norwegian periodicals printed before 1820.

In June we hosted an international and interdisciplinary seminar called *Periodical transfers*, where European and American scholars were invited to present and discuss how eighteenth century periodicals were agents of change and exchange of texts, ideas, genres and politics. In conclusion, new projects for digitisation and indexing of the periods periodicals were presented, including the Norwegian and Danish projects listed below, as well as one on early modern German learned periodicals (Göttingen/Leipzig: <http://gelehrte-journale.adw-goe.de/>). (The proceedings are to be published by Brill in 2014.)

Among other recent publications are Gina Dahl's *Books in Early Modern Norway* (Brill, 2011).<sup>19</sup> Dahl traces the dissemination of books in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mainly by analysing book inventories and catalogues of private collections. It produces a surprising image of Norwegian readers as fully integrated in the European book market of the time, including most learned professions, as well as readers of popular literature. Book historian Lis Byberg, on the other hand, studied book auctions in Norway in late eighteenth century, and her conclusions are much the same.<sup>20</sup>

Reading and book ownership was widespread in the population, and the book lists show large quantities of imported books (and to some extent periodicals).

In Norway today, there seems to be a tendency to move away from the study of reading or books/media from a national perspective only, to placing texts, authorships, technology, regulations or practices within an international or transnational context, be it Scandinavian, European or even larger. Still, the material studied tends to be national and local in origin. This is true for studies in most other countries as well, as much research in book and media history starts with local book collections and archives. However, both book and media histories only begin to make sense when we embrace the international characteristics of the early modern European print culture. Like Fasting, we need to do more scouting outside our own national and disciplinary boundaries.

### **To sum up**

#### *Methodological challenges:*

- As the book market and periodicals were so closely integrated, and journalist and reviewers were core mediators of new texts and ideas across borders, mediation and international transfers of texts and ideas should be studied together to avoid major "blind spots".<sup>21</sup> But: The scale of texts, people and publications is daunting.
- How to trace, and account for, not just transfer of texts (translation, import/export) but cultural transformations, reception and adaptations? (Quantitative – qualitative approaches.)

#### *Challenges in research infrastructure:*

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<sup>19</sup> G. Dahl, *Books in Early Modern Norway*. Leiden/Boston 2011. Dahl wrote her dissertation in history of religion on learned book collections in Norway in the seventeenth century: *Questioning religious influence. Private libraries of clerics and physicians in Norway 1650–1750*. Bergen 2007. She has also published *Book collections of clerics in Norway, 1650–1750*. Leiden/Boston 2010.

<sup>20</sup> Lis Byberg, *Brukke bøker til bymann og bonde. Bokauksjonen i den norske litterære offentlighet 1750–1815*. Oslo 2007. Recent studies of literacy rates in Scandinavia in the 18<sup>th</sup> century indicate very high levels of reading skills (up to 80–90%), while writing skills were considerably lower (20–30%).

<sup>21</sup> Cf Michael Harris, 2010 [1997]. «Locating the Serial: Some Ideas about the Position of the Serial in Relation to the Eighteenth-Century Print Culture» i Eleanor F. Shevlin (red.) *The History of the Book in the West: 1700–1800 Vol. III*. Farnham: Ashgate

- Bibliographies and databases are hard to integrate and align even on a national level. Is it realistic to achieve it on an international level? (For digitising newspapers, an attempt is made by the network Europeana Newspaper, involving 18 European National/University libraries, to make metadata compatible.) Start off by assembling a web portal for digital resources in this field? (cf [www.sharpweb.org](http://www.sharpweb.org))
- Could scholars work more closely with libraries to provide more (and better) metadata (establishing authors and translators of anonymous texts, original sources of texts, etc)?
- Bibliographies and databases are often national in scope and aim, leaving collections of imported books and periodicals (more) invisible. (Cf the Norwegian catalogue for foreign books printed before 1968 in the Univ. libr. of Oslo, – a well kept secret even among Norw. scholars, and still not integrated into the library database: <http://hki.uio.no/ipacoslo/catalog/main>)

### Further reference

*Ongoing research and digitisation projects, useful websites and works of reference:*

#### Norway

- [www.bokhylla.no](http://www.bokhylla.no) ('the bookshelf'): The National Library aims to digitise its entire holdings of books, manuscripts and periodicals – and film, radio, photography – over the next 20 years (started in 2006). (Includes a project where all printed texts from 1790, 1890 and 1990 is published online.) Free text search available, even for gothic script. Historical newspapers also to be found here: [www.nb.no/avis](http://www.nb.no/avis)

The bibliography of Norwegian print up to 1814 (*Bibliotheca Norvegica*) is scanned, but not systematically integrated into the online national bibliography as yet. There is also a printed bibliography of Norwegian periodicals before 1920 (H. Tveterås, 1984).

- Research project *Diversifying Publics and Opinions* ("Mangfoldige offentligheter Tidsskrifter, ytringsfrihet og produktiv sensur i Danmark–Norge 1720–1814", Univ. of Oslo, 2010–2013). Presentation in English: <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/english/research/projects/diversifying/index.html>

Includes a project to digitise and index Norwegian 18th century periodicals in collaboration with the National Library. Periodicals are accessible through [www.bokhylla.no](http://www.bokhylla.no). Article index (database, beta version): [www.nb.no/bibliografi/notids1700](http://www.nb.no/bibliografi/notids1700)

- Special collections, University Library, Bergen (digitised book collections, manuscripts and periodicals from the 18<sup>th</sup> century): <https://digitalt.uib.no>

#### Denmark

- Digitisation of all Danish newspapers from the 17<sup>th</sup> century through to today, to be concluded in 2017 (?) (Statsbiblioteket: <http://en.statsbiblioteket.dk/national-library-division/newspaper-digitisation/newspaper-digitization>; Statsbiblioteket's website also has a scanned edition of the Danish newspaper bibliography (Søllinge and Thomsen 1988), which includes some periodicals as well, and extensive bibliographical details.

- Digitisation of all Danish books pre 1600: (The Royal Library, Copenhagen; part of Early European Books, <http://eeb.chadwyck.co.uk>)
- Digitisation on demand of books from the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (NOT periodicals...; The Royal Library, Copenhagen). Books from 1600–1700 are digitised and published continuously (access by REX, the STC).
- Plans to establish a digitisation project for all Danish periodicals from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, combined with a new research centre (University of Copenhagen/ The Royal Library) – application for funding pending.

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*The texts in Fasting's Provinzialblade (1778–81) mainly came from Hamburg, Paris and London. Some of the texts from London and Paris came via Hamburg. (Dotted lines: distribution of Provinzialblade in Denmark–Norway; dashes: the specific routes of North American and Asian texts are so far unknown.)*

**DR MÓNICA BOLUFER, Universitat de València (Spain)**  
**Cultural mediation and circulation: translations and travel narratives**  
**(seen from eighteenth-century Spain)**

The issues I would like to raise for this workshop stem from my research on Spanish eighteenth-century cultural and intellectual history in its international context. For me, as for many of my colleagues, working within the framework of the Hispanic monarchy is an exercise on paradoxes: the owner of a world empire, yet considered by many eighteenth-century foreign intellectuals (including philosophes such as Montesquieu and Voltaire) to have contributed nothing to modern European culture, a rhetoric sometimes endorsed, sometimes fiercely contested, by Spaniards themselves in the period. In the twentieth century, Spanish historians (particularly, science historians) consciously adopted this interpretive framework when describing Spanish intellectual backwardness and its retarded, difficult and partial conversion to modern science from the early Enlightenment on; later generations have taken the dichotomies between “traditional”/“national” and “modern”/“foreign” as rhetorical constructions deployed for self-justification, and strongly argued for the relative “normality” of Hispanic (more appropriately than only Peninsular) science and intellectual life. In any case, historians of the period find ourselves, either by choice or by need, constantly reflecting about how to analyze specific (not only national) configurations of the Enlightenment and dialectics between representations of the other and self-representation within the framework of common values, moral and philosophical preoccupations, artistic and literary tastes widely shared in eighteenth-century Europe.

1) First of all, I would like to echo Jeffrey Freedman’s statement about the importance not only to accumulate data about the transnational flow of cultural circulation, but to make efforts at conceptualizing it. The dichotomy between **“centres” and “peripheries”** has been often used in recent times to refer to the cultural geography of Enlightenment (Butterwick, Davies and Sánchez Espinosa, among others). However, it is one charged with ideological connotations, which has been strongly contested: among others, by John Robertson (who demonstrated how Naples could hardly be considered intellectually peripheral in the eighteenth century), by historians of science in the colonial empires, who have shown how science produced in the metropolis strongly depended on local knowledge, objects, practices and agents (Cañizares-Esguerra, MacLeod, Lafuente, Pimentel, Knott), and who thus have replaced terms such as “peripheral” and “central” with “references to ‘spaces’, ‘localities’, ‘local frames of awareness’ and even ‘vectors of assemblage’” (Fiona Clark, in Butterwick, Davies and Sánchez Espinosa, p. 251). We might then agree with Vanda Anastácio that “there is not only one “centre” of irradiation of ideas, texts and commodities during this period; that particular places can be simultaneously perceived as peripheries and as centres; and that the roles of different centres and peripheries have changed over time”: more specifically, that the existence of strong transatlantic cultural networks opens the possibility of seeing scenes usually considered “peripheral” or “semiperipheral” (eg. colonial territories such as New Spain or Brazil, and their European metropolis) in a different dimension, when taking into account their cultural, not only strictly intellectual, connections and mediating roles (eg. New Spain as a crucial area of connections with Asia). These new and stimulating approaches should be taken also with some measure, in order to avoid substituting the classic, too narrow and one-sided model of influences irradiating only from a (French) centre, with a postmodern, benevolent idea of flowing, amorphous configurations.

2) In relation with this need to widen our perspectives on cultural circulation without obscuring the “unequal distribution of cultural power” (Freedman), I would suggest a classic source, eighteenth-century **travel narratives**, can still yield valuable results in order to understand the imaginary construction of European frontiers. If

analysis of “exotic” travels have fruitfully developed the suggestions of postcolonial approaches to the mechanisms of cultural hegemony and explored, in particular, the complexities of eighteenth-century “orientalisms”, only recently interest has been extended to travels around Europe in order to understand how stereotypes on “national characters” helped to reinforce the political, economic and symbolic inequalities between the various countries (particularly those located in the South, East and extreme North of Europe), and also, sometimes, to problematize them (Wolff, Dolan, Barton, Todorova, Moe, Schneider, Calaresu, Bolufer). The case of Spain is here particularly relevant, because of its geographic position in the extreme south-west of Europe and its past marked by ethnic and cultural diversity between Christians, Muslims and Jews. Although eighteenth-century foreign observers still took its membership of the European world for granted, by the end of the century it started to be perceived, more than other Southern territories, as a liminal area, a borderland between Europe, Africa and “the Orient”, thus initiating the later Romantic cliché of its exoticism.

In spite of the huge scholarship on travel writing, I think that studies of travel accounts in Europe are far from having systematically explored in a comparative perspective how these differences and hierarchies were built and reshaped. National perspectives are still prevailing, and postcolonial perspectives have been often too mechanically in order to affirm that such and such countries were “orientalised”, without further nuances. To overcome these limitations, comparative perspectives which extend beyond the limits of national approaches are needed: for instance, studies of the eighteenth-century constructions of the “South” in travel narratives of Italy (Moe, Schneider, Calaresu), Portugal and Spain (and perhaps, Southern France), or of differences and similarities in approaches to non-European and South-European territories (as I tried to do with Alexander Jardine’s description of Spain and “Barbary”). Also, a study of the perception (and self-perception) that men and women of that time had of the position different territories occupied in an imaginary map of Enlightenment should combine and compare the rhetoric and constraints of different genres. As an example, while a language of the unknown, romantic, and even primitive became usual when writing and marketing travel narratives about Spain for a wide public, as were complaints about the “barbarous” condition of its intellectual life in reforming projects, in their more private or semiprivate writings Spanish and foreign travelers alike showed themselves at ease with polite conventions all over Europe, and the former strongly objected to the dismissive observations of foreign intellectuals about their nation.

I would argue, then, that travel narratives would still much benefit from international collaboration which goes beyond specialization in a specific range of authors or of itineraries, and sets itself the task of exploring the complex drawing and redrawing of cultural boundaries and the dialectic relationship between travel writing and philosophical theories.

3) Another crucial eighteenth-century cultural activity which still awaits more intense attention from historians is **translation**, as other colleagues will argue in more detail. Although we know that the flux of translations in the eighteenth century was not only about the irradiation of French books and ideas, but also composed other, more complex constellations and incorporated different, sometimes overlapping, areas of circulation (Stockhorst), the map of translations, and in general, that of transnational circulation of books in Enlightenment Europe is still a heavily unbalanced one, reflecting the role of French as providing an interface for translations into third languages, and, as Jeffrey Freedman rightly points out, the fact that it “conferred authority” to works and authors originally published in other languages.

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However, apart from measuring the flow of translations between languages and countries, a wide landscape of possibilities is still open and more visible, precisely, when working from the perspective of countries which were mostly the recipients, rather than the providers of “original” texts (once, of course, we abandon classic and ultimately anachronistic notions of “originality” and of translations as being alien -even opposed- to “national” traditions). Studies on the multiple lives of certain works, which can comparatively trace the diverse and sometimes contradictory meanings with which they were charged in different political and cultural contexts and by different individuals can apply the model provided by Peter Burke in *The Fortunes of the Courtier. The European Reception of Castiglione’s “Il Cortegiano”* not only to a few Enlightenment canonical works, but also to others which were extremely influential and widespread in their own time and forgotten afterwards (I’m thinking, for instance, about Antoine-Léonard Thomas’s well known *Essai sur les mœurs, l’esprit et le caractère des femmes dans les différents siècles- 1772*, successful, yet polemical, in many European countries).

Also, I absolutely agree with Prof. Thomson that **translators** themselves, either famous (a few) or obscure (many), are little known. Translations can be framed in general contexts, but were the work of particular individuals, about whom more biographical and *microhistorical* research still has to be done. For instance, researching the translation(s) of a crucial work of the French Enlightenment, Françoise de Graffigny’s *Lettres d’une péruvienne* (1747), in the Hispanic world of the 1790s has allowed me to reconstruct the biographical profile of its translator, María Rosario Romero, and her political and intellectual context (including sociability and possibly patronage relations), thus contributing to a more complex analysis of the text itself and to the conditions of its production and circulation.

Here it should be noted that translation is **a gendered practice**, frequently performed, all over Europe, by women, who often used it to legitimize their access to the republic of letters, and thus benefited from (and also contributed to) the flexible distinctions between translation and creation which were usual in the period (Fidecaro, Partzch, Van Dijk, Cossy, 2009; Bolufer, 2011). This has been extensively acknowledged and analyzed by feminist literary criticism, particularly in regard to women’s translations of other women, but neither sufficiently integrated into more general views of eighteenth-century culture, nor always set in comparative perspective. More ambitious studies of how gender plays (or not) in translation as an intellectual, social and cultural activity are still needed, taking into account all possible variations of authors’ and translators’ gender and considering the interplay of gender with other differences (of status, education, religion, language, intellectual inclinations; of target audiences, book markets and political contexts... ).

5) Although my own work is usually case-based (while set always in general frameworks, and trying to ask questions which go beyond specific works and authors), responding to the demand made by the organizers of this workshop I’d like to point at some **electronic resources** –additional to those presented by other colleagues- which can be useful for some of the approaches I’ve been suggesting.

-COST Action ISO901 *Women Writers in History. Toward a New Understanding of Europe’s Literary Culture*. International reception and circulation of women’s writing before 1900: <http://www.womenwriters.nl>

Still under construction; presently a new virtual research environment is being designed, to improve interconnectivity with several other databases, including one particularly interesting for eighteenth-century scholars: *Donne in Arcadia (1690-1800)* (<http://www.rose.uzh.ch/crivelli/arcadia/>).

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-NICANTO: Ensemble of databases initiated in the 90s, the best known of them based on the classic bibliography by Francisco Aguilar Piñal *Biblioteca de autores españoles del siglo XVIII*, (1981-2001, 10vol), which lists all works (either published, in manuscript, or only known through their application for a publishing permit) written in Spanish by Peninsular authors of the eighteenth century, translations from other languages included (more than 30.000 registers)<sup>22</sup>. Run by the Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux III, it could be wished that they would be available online and interconnected with other databases. It should be complemented with online catalogs and digitized collections:

-Biblioteca Nacional (Spanish National Library –BNE): <http://www.bne.es/en/Catalogos/index.html> (online collections: Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, <http://www.bne.es/en/Catalogos/BibliotecaDigitalHispanica/Inicio/>)

-Catálogo Colectivo del Patrimonio Bibliográfico Español: <http://en.www.mcu.es/bibliotecas/MC/CCPB/index.html>

-Digital collections of other institutions (Universities, public libraries...): disperse.

-Digitized journals and periodicals (extremely disperse and patchy for eighteenth-century publications): Hemeroteca Digital (<http://www.bne.es/en/Catalogos/HemerotecaDigital/>); BOE (only for Gaceta de Madrid): <http://boe.es/buscar/gazeta.php?&lang=en>; see links to other digitized periodical collections in <http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/HemerotecaDigital/OtrasHemerotecas/>

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<sup>22</sup>The whole system, according to its description by Prof. Dedieu in the late 90s, includes five databases: 1. Aguilar Piñal’s bibliography, 2. Inventories of private libraries from probate records in central and regional archives, 3. Inventories of institutional libraries (starting with those of some Jesuit colleges), 4. Inquisitorial indexes of banned books, 5. Advertisements of printed books in the Madrid journal *Gaceta de Madrid* (1697-1807). See Dedieu, Jean-Pierre, “El sistema Nicanto”, *Bulletin Hispanique*, 99/1 (1997), pp. 325-336.

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## **THE CORRESPONDENCE IN EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPE: HENRY OLDENBURG AND CULTURES OF KNOWLEDGE**

As soon as the Royal Society of London was established in 1660, they started an ambitious programme of acquiring knowledge from all corners of the world. The idea was implemented almost single-handedly by their first secretary, Henry Oldenburg (c.1619-1677), who created an enormous correspondence network, both domestic and foreign, which made scientific information stream to and from London with intensity and volume never seen before. Thus Oldenburg became the dominant figure of scientific communication of his day, while nowadays his extant letters (numbering well above 3000) contain evidence for almost every facet of the emerging 'new philosophy' in that crucial period of the Scientific Revolution.

As far as the foreign part of the network is concerned, Oldenburg spread his web of contacts all over Europe and then beyond as far as New England, Batavia and Brazil, but, of course, not all parts of the network were created equal. The correspondence with, say, France and the Netherlands was prolific, relatively fast and profitable in all disciplines of knowledge, while exchanges with more distant correspondents overseas promised to yield unique knowledge, but were likely to be hard-to-establish, irregular, and slow. The correspondence with East and Central Europe was somewhere between these extremes: it involved variety of useful and able persons and registered successful knowledge-gathering episodes, but both of those were only few in number while the exchanges were often plagued by delays, losses, and dead-ends. In this way Oldenburg's correspondence with that part of Europe has it all, the good and the bad, and so presents an ample case to study how the early Society tried to establish their culture of knowledge there.

In his network-building Oldenburg relied on certain types of persons and texts. As to the former, he regularly tried to recruit as correspondents travelers from the region who came to visit England and did not neglect to stay in touch with 'East Europeans' who had left their homelands and were permanently based closer to London in Europe. Most of all, however, he strived to find out people in the region itself who worked on their own scientific agenda or were able and ready to work on agenda suggested by the Society. He had clear but limited success in that. On one hand, he could boast with as high-profile a correspondent as the astronomer Johannes Hevelius (1611-1687) in Danzig; the correspondence with him started in 1663 to continue unbroken until the end of Oldenburg's life in September 1677 and was full of all that was exciting in the intellectual life of the era, from news of fresh discoveries to bitter international controversies. On the other hand, Oldenburg's other contacts in the area, even the ones with Philipp Jacob Sachs (1627-1672) in Breslau, a founder of the *Academia Naturae Curiosorum* and Peter Lambeck (1628-1680), Imperial Librarian in Vienna, were quite irregular and ultimately not very profitable. That is why, next to Hevelius, Oldenburg's most useful correspondents in the area turned out to be a couple of Englishmen living in or passing through the region; these were Christopher Kirkby, a merchant based in Danzig since 1668 and, most spectacularly, Edward Browne (1644-1707), FRS, who traveled in the area in the years 1668-69.

As for the texts, Oldenburg sent out to the region letters which he called 'invitations to philosophical correspondence', which spelt out the programme of the Society and urged the recipients to join the enterprise, but he also used more specific epistles in order to cultivate already established connections and sort out particular tasks. His overall popularity as well as the fame of his journal, *Philosophical Transactions* (launched in March 1665), was strong enough to make some people from the region write to him on their own initiative. But the most successful engine of scientific communication in this case turned out to be the so-called 'queries for natural history'. Those were extensive questionnaires on various natural history topics prepared by the Fellows of the Society; they were meant to guide and shape the observation practices

of the potential observers, however far from London they would find themselves. They were an important instrument of the Society's Baconian scheme of gathering knowledge from all over the world and Oldenburg used them twice when communicating with East and Central Europe. First, he sent a long list of questions on cold, amber, salt mines in Poland, and much more to Hevelius in March 1666 asking him to copy and distribute it to his friends with thanks for their replies. The response came in waves of letters from people Oldenburg could not have located easily otherwise and furnished him with texts worth publishing in *Philosophical Transactions*. At least one of these correspondents volunteered to write on other subjects later on, and even Hevelius, usually fixed on astronomical matters, would return to the questionnaire's topics from time to time in the years to come. The second episode involving the queries happened in 1668-9 and was even more dramatic in terms of results. By November 1668 the already mentioned Edward Browne had based himself in Vienna and was posed to make a series of extravagant journeys to unfrequented places in Hungary, Thessaly, Styria and Carinthia. Ceasing the occasion, Oldenburg supplied him with detailed queries on mines and mineralogy which Browne used very diligently during his travels. His observations were sent back to London in several long letters (sometimes joined by boxes with specimens) and he kept sending more of the same material even when already back in Norwich. Most of the letters got printed in *Philosophical Transaction* and became a part of book published in 1672, and the overall result was that by this knowledge-gathering campaign the Society learnt far more about the natural history of the Central Europe and even something on the Balkans, than they were able to procure via other means in the period. There may be other lessons to be learned from the story of Oldenburg communicating with the region, but it seems to me that this prominence of the queries for natural history is highly significant. The point is that these questionnaires were both an attempt of observation controlled at a distance and a tool likely to incite various people to take part in the Society's communication game. In this way they were able to spread a specific research agenda and culture of knowledge, while achieving this in areas where the new natural philosophy was not yet practiced very intensively (if at all). Such texts had their forerunners in earlier ages (e.g., during the Spanish expansion and conquest) and, most certainly, other ones similar to them were employed in various 18<sup>th</sup>-century settings, but their success in the first formative years of the Royal Society should suggest to us that they should be studied more closely if we are to get better understanding how communication worked in that age.

Sofia, August 2013.

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### **Cultural mediation and circulation of popular printings**

During the Eighteenth century, popular printings were consumed by millions of readers across Europe. With their multiple national formats (chapbooks and broadside ballads in England, *canards* and *livrets bleues* in France, *stampe popolari* in Italy, *pliegos sueltos* in Spain), these printed papers constituted the Continent's most spread readings, thanks to their low prices and easy texts. They were, undoubtedly, an important way of communication of stories, news and ideas.

This popular literature has been studied for decades: works by authors like Robert Mandrou, Robert Muchembled, Geneviève Bollème, Victor Neuburg or Margaret Spufford are well known, and their analysis of this literary corpus are still valid references. However, in the last years, new approaches to this topic have insisted on the importance of taking into account not only the texts, but also other aspects, in order to

get a better understanding of these “mass media”: the production process of printings, their multiple ways of circulation and sale, and the different readings of their texts. Only by considering this global approach to popular literature we will be able to access the different meanings that readers gave to these texts. Roger Chartier, Robert Darnton, Jean-François Botrel or Laurence Fontaine, among other authors, have developed this kind of research.

In Spain, several works have adopted this perspective to renovate the studies about the *pliegos sueltos*, also denominated *cordel literature*. Authors as Pedro Cátedra, François Lopez or Botrel have focused on printers, peddlars and readers (understood as cultural mediators), deepening the knowledge about this literature’s production and circulation. Contributions by these and other works can offer some conclusions about *cordel literature* in Eighteenth century:

- Production: in this period there was a proliferation of small publishing houses devoted to this kind of printed papers. In fact, it was during the Eighteenth century when *cordel literature* spread across Spain at maximum levels. If we focus on the work of one of these humble printers we will appreciate better their importance as cultural mediators.

Agustín Laborda, from Valencia, was one of the most successful printers specialized in *cordel literature* in Eighteenth century. By reconstructing his gradual commitment to *cordel literature* between 1748 to 1763, we can learn about his vast publishing company, which absorbed successively all types of texts and illustrations that *cordel literature* involves (drama reports, collection of old ballads, stories, single comedies, accident and crime reports, ballads of blinds, illustrations, religious verses). The printer's ability to choose materials according to the changing circumstances highlights the dynamism of his publishing work, his awareness of the reading preferences, and, accordingly, his capacity to increase the audience for his printings, as well as to adapt himself (to a greater or lesser extent) to the changing legal requirements.

The result of his work was a continuous increase in his personal assets, which traced out an evolution from humble origins to the prosperity Agustín was enjoying at the end of his life, as the *post mortem* inventory of his goods shows. His relatively wealthy standard of living shows how profitable *cordel literature* could be for specialised workshops. At the same time, such profits show the volume of sales reached in Laborda's printing press. Only a massive printing of *pliegos sueltos* (not thousands, but millions) could make such an increase in his personal assets so extraordinary, as the thick reams of broadsheets collected in the mentioned inventory confirm. So, the analysis of Laborda's (and also other printers’) production is significant to understand the extent to which *cordel literature* was widely spread.

- Circulation: brotherhoods of blind people, located in several Spanish cities from medieval times, more and more played an important role as sellers of *pliegos sueltos* in Eighteenth-century Spain. Monarchy gave them the monopoly of this trade, thereby controlling the reading of *pliegos sueltos*. Since the early sixteenth century, civil authorities had not been able to effectively control the process of the printing of *cordel literature*. It was, however, by classifying sellers in clearly defined institutions such as the brotherhoods of the blind (ruled by regulations, with a registration of their members and a ruling class) that they could keep under strict surveillance the distribution of texts and also the centres of production. Particularly, brotherhoods from Madrid and Valencia enjoyed this monopoly for several decades, which brought the blind, the printers, the booksellers and other chapmen into conflict. These long proceedings, apart from providing some information about the relationships established between

chapbooks, authorities and public opinion, represent a privileged way to know how cordel literature was produced and distributed.

- Reading: who read these texts? How? And why? Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult to find answers to these questions because it is not easy to find sources dealing with the reading experience. If this problem is common to all literary genres, it becomes more arduous in the case of *cordel literature*. Due to the fact that the writings were ephemeral, common and vernacular (brief texts, rough layouts, rapidly read, badly considered by society), the meanings the readers gave the texts have hardly remained. For now, the limited number of known testimonies about the act of reading that refer to other types of texts—which have come out through diaries, post correspondence, autobiographies, critic reports, inquisitorial questioning—are virtually impossible to find in the case of broadsides.

Therefore, in view of this scarcity, it is necessary to resort to indirect resources from which some evidence, at least, about the reading process can be drawn. This indirect approach has proven so far fruitful. The wide range of materials that *cordel literature* covers as well as the high standard of production of *pliegos sueltos* and its diverse and dynamic ways to be spread might be indicative of two facts: the great expectations the broadsheets could arouse among the public and also the effective distribution among the various social groups, whose customs and reading styles were very different. This wide spreading system of cordel literature suggests, to speak with Roger Chartier, that the exclusive assignment of certain cultural goods to specific groups, by reason of their intended “cultured” or “popular” character, actually hides how diverse reading audiences could take the same text as theirs differently. Therefore, we would better consider the fluent circulation of those, as well as the different cultural practices applied to them by different social groups. This approach turns out to be even more significant if it is applied to the *cordel literature* of the 18th century, a period of time that has been commonly interpreted as that of the definitive break between 'little' and 'great tradition,' high and low culture, the masses and the minorities. Studying the distribution flow of *cordel literature* along the whole social scale and how the readers appropriated its texts helps us reach a more comprehensive view of the cultural scene of the so-called enlightened century.

Thus, we propose an approach to *cordel literature* that considers it as a cultural artefact, which is displayed in a series of practices involved in the creation, production, distribution and reading process. The analysis of the texts is fundamental to investigate the subject matter, the dating, the authorship or the purpose of the broadsides. However, in order to properly understand the whole phenomenon, not only the analysis of the text is required, but also a comprehensive view of the cultural practices that provide the above-mentioned texts with materiality and meaning. It is here—in the field of Cultural History—where lies the specific approach that historians can incorporate into a field of study, namely that of popular literature, traditionally associated (at least in Spain) to literary studies.

This view can be enriched very much with comparative studies of production and circulation of popular printings in other European countries. Although some works have been carried out (mainly from international colloquia on the subject) so far, there is yet a long way to go. This workshop, and similar events that (we hope) will follow it, are the kind of initiatives needed in order to improve our understanding on how this multiple printed papers circulated across Europe.

In this sense, digital tools can make a big difference from previous comparative studies. Data bases and digital libraries of popular printings can provide a direct knowledge of

the printed materials that circulated in each country. This knowledge, combined with the contribution of specialized works, can lead to a further development of comparative studies. We have several examples of this kind of tools in Spain, carried out both by single scholars (as Santiago Cortés “Literatura de cordel y teatro en España (1675-1825). Estudio, catálogo y biblioteca digital de pliegos sueltos derivados del teatro”, 2008, <http://www.pliegos.culturaspopulares.org> –not available at this moment-), by universities (as University of Sevilla “Relaciones de sucesos en la BUS”, <http://expobus.us.es/relaciones> ), or by associations (as SIERS “Catálogo y Biblioteca Digital de Relaciones de Sucesos”, <http://www.bidiso.es/RelacionesSucesosBusqueda> ). At a first stage, it could be really useful to know about similar initiatives developed in different European countries. The ideal goal would be to build a European data base and digital library of popular printings from the Eighteenth century. Although being aware of all the obstacles that such a project would face (financial, linguistic, technique, legal), I think it is worth exploring the possibility. Chapbooks, *canards*, *stampe popolari* or *pliegos sueltos* were one of the most spread ways of communication in eighteenth-century Europe. It is time to use digital tools to get a deeper comparative knowledge of it.

**Christina LUPTON**

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### *Literature, Mediation and the Division of Time*

My topic is “mediation” as a key term in recent studies of eighteenth century literature. The practical shift within the discipline, away from book history in its print contexts on the one hand, and textual scholarship on the other, raises the question of what literary critics now study. Are we scholars of networks? Systems? Inscription technologies? If our object of research is mediation, *how* is research to be conducted? While we always knew how to read texts, it is now unclear whether media are best approached through data modelling and mining or material scrutiny; as surfaces or from a distance.<sup>i</sup> Increasingly “mediation” is used to emphasize the idea that connection, networking and communication defined eighteenth-century print culture. In addition, Actor Network Theory, Thing Theory, and Object-Oriented Ontology have made it tenable to suggest that what we are really studying are the actions of objects and systems autonomous of human interests.<sup>ii</sup> But my own concern is that if we see mediation only in terms of the connections and forms of circulation that escalated with print, we forget the forms of compartmentalizing and sequestering enabled by materiality of the printed book.

One of the most powerful recent definitions of mediation appears in the introduction to Clifford Siskin and William Warner’s collection, “This is Enlightenment” (2010). Skirting the question of how to understand Enlightenment as an intellectual movement, Siskin and Warner announce that it can be definitively understood as “an event in the history of mediation.”<sup>iii</sup> By this they mean not only that literary historians should study empirical technological changes – in print, postal system, public address – but also that changes in ideas and genre might be understood as a result of these technological innovations. The story of the eighteenth century, writes John Guillory in his chapter of this collection, can be told in terms of conceptual shifts responsive to new ways of transferring information and productive of the concept of mediation:

1. A new conception of language use emerges that is oriented towards the goal of *communication* rather than *persuasion*.
2. The uses of *medium* converge with the concept of communication to yield the concept of a *medium of communication*.
3. The concept of medium is *pluralized* in the grammatical form of “media,” which are recognized as a dominant feature of modernity.

4. The concept of mediation...comes to be understood as a process arising from the proliferation of media.<sup>iv</sup>

In Guillory's argument, mediation brings various practices of communicating across a distance into view as constitutive of Enlightenment experience. For Siskin and Warner, this is also a way of understanding the digital turn. Once the mediation of eighteenth-century texts is seen as central to the idea Enlightenment, then their current digitalization, re-mediation, and handling as data becomes an ideological (and not just practical) extension of the Enlightenment project.

Literary critics of the eighteenth century are also being asked to consider the opening up of multiple channels of communication, connection, and influence as something for which texts in their materiality (or at their surface, rather than through their textual content) provide empirical evidence. Some of the most influential work in literary history illustrates this. In his very recent article, "Reading's Refrain: From Bibliography to Topology," Andrew Piper argues that, with help of data modelling and electronic databases, we should learn to study the way that literary texts relate to each other as distinct shapes and patterns.<sup>v</sup> In these terms, for instance, the shape of Goethe's career might be mapped by looking at the frequency with which he uses certain word combination, or a way of explaining something like the "novel of conversion" found by measuring how closely texts since Augustine adhere to a model of a narrative arc.

Another recent study, Leah Price's *How to Do Things With Books in Victorian Britain* (2012), considers books as objects of connection and interrelation in their unread state. Her study offers ways to think about the history of their physical circulation and connection as it was conceived at the surface of the page by readers who imagined libraries transmitting germs, or pressed religious narratives into circulation as texts able to convert readers by sheer virtue of their presence.<sup>vi</sup> Piper and Price are examples of influential critics drawing attention to books as objects that function as an interface between text and reader, or between text and text, at a level that bypasses intellection. I am enthusiastic about both of these projects, about the visions of textual mediation that they promote, particularly because they remain interpretive even as they move towards more surface-orientated and quantitative modes of analysis. Yet, in the spirit of the position paper, I'd like to flag one area of concern.

For the critics I've mentioned, becoming aware of the text as a medium, and of its role in networks of mediation, means emphasizing contact and contagion between texts, and across space and time. This puts our own work in recovering, uniting, and connecting eighteenth-century archives on a continuum with the work of the people who produced these texts in the first place. Yet as we move into what Derrida calls the "future anterior" of the page—the space where in which paper will become visible to us because it has ceased to be our primary surface of inscription—it seems to me that one of the things that will come into view is just how many forms of disconnection were mediated by the book and the page more generally.<sup>vii</sup> I am thinking here, not just of the obvious possibilities of retreating into a book, an activity about which we are already inclined to feel a little nostalgic, but also of ways of dividing up time and space reliant upon reading print. One example of this, which I will discuss more at our meeting, involves the way that Sunday was distinguished in the eighteenth century from other days of the week. This is the kind of division that can now be studied, I'd argue, less in terms of the prescriptions and debates around how to spend Sundays, but in terms of readers' (and non-readers') interactions with print at different times of the week. As a result of this kind of study, time itself might be understood as having been mediated by the book in ways that resulted in separation and distinction, and not just communication and connection.

The kinds of collaborative research that would support such a project would focus on forms of space and time being eclipsed by networked reading. "Reading in Time," the project I'm currently starting at Warwick, explores the interface between reading and the versions of temporality dominant in the eighteenth and nineteenth

centuries. Looking for evidence about when people read, how long it took, how often reading was repeated, and the patterns formed by reading (across a year, or a week, or a life) is central to this project. But so is learning to read temporality itself (for instance, an institution like Sunday) as evidence that print mediation took effect materially.

### **Anders TOFTGARD**

Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Nationalsamlingsafdelingen, København, Denmark

In my presentation I will be talking about my current research project bearing on the hitherto unknown collection of Mazarinades in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, and the idea of creating a new international on-line bibliography of Mazarinades as a replacement of Célestin Moreau's 19<sup>th</sup> c. bibliography. The extended title of my presentation reads:

*Mazarinades (French Political pamphlets during La Fronde 1648-1653): bringing 19th c. bibliography into the world of linked data.*

I would however like in advance to mention some other current projects. After an introduction on "ProQuest's Early European Books and national bibliography", a substantial part of the following is devoted to a project description concerning Danish 17th c. bibliography. The second part, "further perspectives", is based upon extracts from the conclusion of my recent article "Princely libraries, the readings of common man and the entry of the book cover into literary studies. Trends in book history research in Denmark", In: *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*. 20 (2013), pp. 159-181.

### **ProQuest's Early European Books and national bibliography**

What is really new in book history, it seems to me, is the research infra-structure resulting from digitisation. The Royal Library was the first library to enter into a partnership with ProQuest for the mass digitisation of early printed books in the Early European Books (EEB) database; 'Collection 1' in EEB consisted of pre-1601 Danish books from its collections. EEB issues annual collections of around 4000 books and will be publishing collections for many years to come. The Royal Library is currently contributing with Danica from the seventeenth century and in the coming years the entire collection of incunabula will be digitised. Recently, the books from Karen Brahe's Library were also made available in the database. One of the many advantages of EEB is that all the copies of an edition in the national library are scanned, which means that all eight copies of the 1514 Parisian edition of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* have now been digitised.

Books that used to be extremely difficult to access are now available for free from any Danish IP-address. This means that many more people have access to Danish rare books and that the individual researcher has rapid access to (reproductions) of a great number of books. Whereas a researcher interested in the bindings of the Danish sixteenth-century books could until recently order only a limited amount of books per day, he or she is now able to browse through 2600 copies and make a rapid selection of the interesting ones. Thus, EEB has revolutionised research for the relatively few scholars already working

The business model implies that the books from The Royal Library are accessible for free in Denmark and at a cost everywhere else in the world. ProQuest holds exclusive rights for ten years to Collection 1, which, in 2010 was criticized by the French national librarian, Bruno Racine, for being a 'clause d'exclusivité drastique'. Of course, those boo

we know once existed but which are no longer extant. Some of these books exist in manuscript copies. It is, therefore, still necessary to use Nielsen's printed bibliography.

Cooperation with ProQuest showed that mass-digitisation is also a question of providing and producing metadata. It has been a welcome occasion for The Royal Library to improve all catalogue records of Danish books from the seventeenth-century while preparing the books for scanning, and it will hopefully eventually lead to the creation of a modern replacement of *Bibliotheca Danica*.

I

### **Background information for the Project Scandinavian bibliography of books printed before 1700**

Thanks to Lauritz Nielsen (1881—1947) the national bibliography of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Danish books is well established.<sup>23</sup> For the following centuries, one has to rely upon the nineteenth-century Danish retrospective bibliography *Bibliotheca Danica*.<sup>24</sup>

In contrast to Lauritz Nielsen, *Bibliotheca Danica* builds solely upon the collections of the Royal Library, the University Library and Karen Brahes Library – and not on collections abroad. In her piece on Danish national bibliography Mona Madsen argued that these three collections cover the Danish literature in its entirety from 1482 to 1832.<sup>25</sup> But the publication of a bibliography of provincial prints added approx. 1200 entries to *Bibliotheca Danica*.<sup>26</sup> In his review of the bibliography of provincial prints, Harald Ilsøe pointed to other publications which supplement the information contained in *Bibliotheca Danica*.<sup>27</sup>

It was the intention in the 70's and 80's to produce a sequel to Lauritz Nielsen concerning the 17<sup>th</sup> century. A department of National Bibliography headed by Mogens Haugsted created a chronological card-index of Danish 17<sup>th</sup> century books on the basis of *Bibliotheca Danica* before the advent of on-line catalogues. The card-index has now been rendered obsolete by the refined cataloguing made for the digitization of Danish 17<sup>th</sup> century books.

The concept of Denmark inherent in *Bibliotheca Danica* is larger than the concept of Denmark in *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1600: Bibliotheca Danica* encompasses the entire

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<sup>23</sup> L. Nielsen, *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550 med særligt hensyn til dansk bogtrykkerkunsts historie*. København 1919; id., *Dansk Bibliografi 1551-1600 etc.*. København 1929-1931; id., *Registre til Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1550 & 1551-1600*. København 1935. A revised edition of *Dansk bibliografi 1482-1600* was published with a supplementary volume by E. Dal in 1996. Nielsen also published *Dansk typografisk Atlas 1482-1600*. København 1934.

<sup>24</sup> C.V. Bruun. [et al.], *Bibliotheca Danica. Systematisk fortegnelse over den danske litteratur fra 1482-1830*. København 1877-1902 (vol. 1-4) & 1914-31 (vol. 5). Revised edition 1961-63. H. Ehrencron-Müller, *Supplement 1831-1840 til Bibliotheca Danica samt Bibliotheca Slesvico-Holsatica til 1840*. København 1948.

<sup>25</sup> Mona Madsen: *Nationalbibliografi, formål og funktion : - med en oversigt over dansk nationalbibliografi*. Revised ed. Copenhagen, 2000, p. 17. Madsen subscribes to an idealistic vision of the effects of the law of legal deposit.

<sup>26</sup> *Danske Provinstryk 1482-1830. En bibliografi udarbejdet af Grethe Larsen under redaktion af Erik Dal*. I-VI Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab / Det Kongelige Bibliotek 1994-2001.

<sup>27</sup> Harald Ilsøe: " Danske Provinstryk 1482-1830" in *Fund og Forskning* 41, 2002, pp. 330-350 Pettersen, Hjalmar, *Bibliotheca Norvegica I-IV, 1899-1926*, Phot. reprint 1972-74. P.M. Mitchell: *The English imprints of Denmark through 1900*, 1960. (supplement in *Fund og Forskning* 10, 1963, s. 157-59). P.M. Mitchell: *A bibliography of 17th century German imprints in Denmark and the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein* 3 vols., 1969-76., V.E. Clausen: *Det folkelige danske træsnit i etbladstryk 1565-1884*. Jette D. Søllinge og Niels Thomsen: *De danske Aviser 1634-1989*, bd. I: 1634-1847, [1988].

United Monarchy and Lauritz Nielsen did not include books printed in Holsten and Northern Germany, dealing with Denmark.<sup>28</sup>

For this reason, more titles are included in *Bibliotheca Danica* from the period 1482-1600 than in *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1600*. This fact has led to the creation of the collection Lauritz Nielsen-bis, consisting of *Danica* (books published abroad with a connection to Denmark) from the period 1482-1600 in *Bibliotheca Danica* not included in *Dansk Bibliografi 1482-1600* – in all 625 editions. For example books authored by Heinrich Rantzau (1526-1598), the Danish viceroy in the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. The collection Lauritz Nielsen-bis has been digitized by ProQuest and made available in Early European Books.

Two of the most important recent contributions to Danish book history, the doctoral dissertations *Menigmands medie* (1999) by Henrik Horstbøll and *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark* (2001) by Charlotte Appel, both relied upon and discussed the limits of *Bibliotheca Danica*.

In *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*, Charlotte Appel investigates the history of the book in seventeenth-century Denmark (the Kingdom of Denmark, including the provinces that became Swedish in 1645/1648, but excluding Norway and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein).<sup>29</sup> Pointing to the many documented re-issues, Appel argues that even though *Bibliotheca Danica* only covers as little as 75% of the actual books printed, we probably know 90% of the book titles that ever existed. (pp. 573-4).

In *Menigmands medie* (1999), Henrik Horstbøll deals with popular print in a rather long period from the first book printed in Danish language (*Den danske Rimkrønike*, 1495) to the advent of industrialised printing around 1840.<sup>30</sup> Horstbøll argues that we know most of the titles but far from all of the single editions, probably only 50-70%.

The Royal Library's cooperation with ProQuest has been a welcome occasion for The Royal Library to improve all catalogue records of Danish books from the seventeenth-century while preparing the books for scanning, and it will hopefully eventually lead to the creation of a modern replacement of *Bibliotheca Danica*.

A recently published catalogue of Scandinavian books in the British Library has also shown the weaknesses of *Bibliotheca Danica*.<sup>31</sup> The catalogue only contains a minor part of the total number of records in the catalogues of the corresponding national bibliographies, but they are described in very great detail. The review of the catalogue by Karen Skovgaard-Petersen makes it clear that there are huge differences in the level of bibliographical description in the various national bibliographies.<sup>32</sup> Danish sixteenth-century books are well described, but for the later centuries, until 1830, the *Bibliotheca Danica* remains the fundamental work. Because of the detailed descriptions and the many indices and cross-references, Skovgaard-Petersen finds the catalogue a good starting point for any kind of research on Scandinavian literature, especially for the Danish material.

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<sup>28</sup> For the Nordic countries during the early modern period, cf Appel & Skovgaard-Petersen, "The History of the Book in the Nordic Countries" in M.F. Suarez, H.R. Woudhuysen (ed.), *The Oxford companion to the book*. Oxford 2010.

<sup>29</sup> C. Appel: *Læsning og bogmarked i 1600-tallets Danmark*. København 2001. Review by J. T. Lauridsen in: *Fund og Forskning* 41 (2002), 351-370.

<sup>30</sup> H. Horstbøll, *Menigmands medie, det folkelige bogtryk i Danmark 1500-1840. En kulturhistorisk undersøgelse*. København 1999. Review by Jürg Glauser in: *Fabula, Zeitschrift für Erzählforschung*, 45 (2004) 1/2, 140-143.

<sup>31</sup> British Library, *Catalogue of Scandinavian books in the British Library printed before 1801*. London 2007.

<sup>32</sup> K. Skovgaard-Petersen, review of *Catalogue of Scandinavian books in the British Library printed before 1801*, in: *Fund og forskning*, 49 (2010), 543-552.

The Universal Short Title Catalogue has created new bibliographies of Latin and vernacular books published in France, of books published in the Low Countries and of books published in the Iberian peninsula and is planning to collect and analyse information on books published in Eastern Europe and Scandinavia. This might be a way to proceed in order to create a Scandinavian bibliography.

In the Danish Collection of The Royal Library, there are approximately 17.000 editions from the period 1601 to 1700. There is no doubt that the Royal Library's records should be compared to and enhanced by the records of Danish books in other libraries, such as the British Library and other Scandinavian Libraries.

As stated above, in contrast to Lauritz Nielsen, *Bibliotheca Danica* builds solely upon the collections of the Royal Library, the University Library and Karen Brahes Library – and not on collections abroad. Out of the 1672 numbers in Nielsen's bibliography, 181 are not in the holdings of The Royal Library. Lauritz Nielsen also included editions which we know existed but are no longer extant. 27 of the first 298 numbers in Nielsen's bibliography refer to no longer extant editions.

### **Print or online?**

Dick Wursten concluded his review of *French Vernacular Books* in the following way: "Therefore, I call upon the project team of St Andrews, to shift focus and not to aim at the production of printed STC's, but on the development of a userfriendly interface of their digital databases, including feedback possibilities, accessible on-line. This would instantaneously transform FB in a priceless working tool (instead of a high-priced book), a gold mine for lovers of the sixteenth-century French Books."<sup>33</sup>

Likewise, Raphaële Mouren has argued that "Le temps de la notice abrégée semble donc passé pour les bibliographies comme pour les catalogues".<sup>34</sup>

On the one hand, one might thus argue that it no longer makes sense to print such short title catalogs instead of creating online databases, and on the other one might argue that the printed book would inevitably serve as a way to focus the work; it would serve as a point of departure for the online catalogue, which could then later be revised.

## **II**

### **Further perspectives**

Much work still remains to be done on provenance in Danish libraries. Walde's article (together with his personal archive in Uppsala) and Ilsøe's work remain important studies on which to build. Recent years have shown, what exciting stories can be told by tracing the history of a manuscript or of a specific copy of a printed book. If one considers the size of the collections of manuscripts and rare books, this approach opens up a myriad of possibilities.

Lauritz Nielsen started working on a history of Danish private libraries, but he only finished the first volume dealing with the seventeenth century. Since some of the great libraries are still virtually untouched, a continuation of this work would be very welcome. Indeed, one of the main sources for the treasures of The Royal Library is the incredibly rich library of Otto Thott (1703-1785). He left virtually no personal documents concerning his library, and other sources for its history are few in Denmark, but it might be worthwhile to look for them abroad; annotated auction catalogues would help as well.<sup>35</sup> I hope to be able to proceed in this direction. The

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<sup>33</sup> Dick Wursten: "Pettegree, Walsby, Wilkinson (ed.), *French Vernacular Books. Books published in the French Language before 1601*, 2 vols. Brill, Leiden/Boston 2007", review, *Church History and Religious Culture* CHRC 88.3 (2008) 445–461.

<sup>34</sup> Raphaële Mouren, "Réflexions autour du projet de bibliographie des éditions lyonnaises du seizième siècle (BEL16)", *Renaissance and Reformation*, vol 34, No 3 (2011).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. on Gram's library, K. Christensen, 'Universitetsbibliotekets inkunabler. Til en opløst samlings historie', in: *Bøger, biblioteker, mennesker. Et nordisk Festskrift tilegnet Torben Nielsen*. København 1988, 65.

University Library's copy of the 12 volume auction catalogue of Thott's library, in which the names of the persons and institutions that bought books at the auction are inscribed, is a tremendous and underexploited resource.<sup>36</sup>

Concerning book collections and the book trade, it would be interesting to shed light on the European connections in the book trade before 1800.<sup>37</sup> How did collectors in Denmark acquire foreign books?<sup>38</sup> By which agents in Europe? What letters from Danish collectors are preserved in foreign libraries?

Henrik Waldkirch (active 1598-1629) was the most important Danish printer of his time. Harald Ilsøe's portrait in his book on Danish printers might be used as a starting point for an inquiry into his connections at the Frankfurt fair and in Basle. Waldkirch is known to have been a mail carrier for Danish scholars,<sup>39</sup> and Dennis E. Rhodes has described how, on 14 March 1592, the Danish physician Gellius Sascerides wrote to the Italian mathematician and astronomer Giovanni Antonio Magini, that "if you want to send anything to Tycho Brahe, I think the best idea would be for you to give it to J.B. Ciotti the Venetian printer to take to Conrad Waldkirchius at Frankfurt."<sup>40</sup> The printer Conrad Waldkirch in Basle was Henrik Waldkirch's uncle and there were close ties between the two houses.

Much research has been done into the history of reading in Denmark, but instead of looking for evidence of literacy one might take the books (printed and handwritten) and their readers as a point of departure, in search of marginalia.<sup>41</sup> Louis Hjelmslev's copy of fellow linguist Viggo Brøndal's book *Ordklasserne* (1928) is an interesting object for inquiry into twentieth-century linguistics,<sup>42</sup> and Jakob Ulfeldt's marginal notes to his manuscripts on contemporary sixteenth-century Europe might give us an idea about what a Danish nobleman learned about the world during his study abroad.<sup>43</sup>

Turning to the borrowing records of The Royal Library would be another possibility. The library has 133 volumes of borrowing records covering the period 1778-1935, that have been used by scholars working on, for instance, Kierkegaard and Grundtvig. The borrowing records have been portrayed by Christian Kaatmann as a buried treasure.<sup>44</sup>

Another possibility would be to analyse reading as it is taking place. Reading room readers often describe the encounter with a long searched for book in the reading room as an emotional event: accelerated heart beats, time standing still, awe or ecstasy. It would be interesting to see a cognitive research project carried out at The Royal Library on the two different reading situations, reading the same rare book in the

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<sup>36</sup> *Catalogi bibliothecæ Thottianæ tomus I [-VII]*. Havnix: Nic. Møller (...), 1789-1795. (Copenhagen, KB, I 6295 8°).

<sup>37</sup> K. Jensen, *Revolution and the Antiquarian Book: Reshaping the Past, 1780-1815*. Cambridge 2011, could be used for inspiration.

<sup>38</sup> Henrik Horstbøll recently published a study, inspired by Robert Darnton's study of STN, of the correspondence between STN and the publisher C. Philibert in Copenhagen: H. Horstbøll, 'En bogtrykker og boghandler i København. Claude Philiberts forbindelse med Société typographique de Neuchâtel 1771-1783', in: *Fund og Forskning*, 51 (2012), 311-335.

<sup>39</sup> A. Frøland, *Dansk boghandels historie 1482 til 1945*. København 1974, 69.

<sup>40</sup> D. E. Rhodes, 'Some neglected aspects of the career of Giovanni Battista Ciotti', in: *The Library*, 6th Series 9 (1987) 3, 230-231.

<sup>41</sup> H. J. Jackson, *Marginalia: Readers writing in books*. New Haven 2001. Cf. E. Jørgensen's review of O. Walde, *Storhetstidens litterara krigsbyten*, in: *Historisk tidsskrift*, 9th ser. 2 (1921-1923), 384-386.

<sup>42</sup> The Royal Library, ms. Acc. 1965/95.

<sup>43</sup> F. Zuliani, 'En samling politiske håndskrifter fra slutningen af det 16. århundrede. Giacomo Castelvetro og Christian Barnekows bibliotek', in: *Fund og Forskning* 50 (2011), 240; cf. D. Tamm, *Christian den fjerdes kanslere*. København 1987, 44.

<sup>44</sup> C. Kaatmann, 'En nedgraven skat. Det Kgl. Biblioteks udlån 1778-1820', in: *Fund og forskning* 33 (1994), 119-149.

reading room after having overcome various barriers and at home in front of the screen using the Early European Books website.

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<sup>i</sup> Distant Reading is famously promoted by Franco Moretti in *Distant Reading* (Verso, 2013); "Surface Reading" by Stephen Best and Sharon Marcus in "Surface Reading: An Introduction" *Representations*, Vol. 108, No. 1 (Fall 2009), 1-21.

<sup>ii</sup> I am thinking here specifically of the work of Bruno Latour, Bill Brown, and Graham Harman, all of whom speak to different aspects of the importance of objects in literary analysis.

<sup>iii</sup> Clifford Siskin and William Warner, *This is Enlightenment* (Chicago, 2010), 33.

<sup>iv</sup> John Guillory, "Enlightening Mediation" in *This is Enlightenment* (Chicago, 2010),

<sup>v</sup> Andrew Piper, "Reading's Refrain: From Bibliography to Topology" *ELH*, Vol 80, Number 2, Summer 2013, pp. 373-399.

<sup>vi</sup> Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain*. Princeton, 2012, 2.

<sup>vii</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Paper Machine*, trans. Rachel Bowlby (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005)

**Nicolas BAS MARTIN**  
**University of Valencia, ES**

### *THIS IS THE WAY THEY SAW US: SPANISH BOOKS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY EUROPE*

The circulation of books was one of the most important forms of communication in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe. Along with letters, books became an open door to knowledge. In this sense, the book became a cultural object that helped to consolidate particular topics.

In this sense, the image of Spain continued to be bogged down in the Age of Enlightenment due to stereotypes such as that of the "Black Legend". A reality that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was associated with the Inquisition, a lack of culture and excessive clerical influence. Opinions that, far from contributing to a better understanding of Spanish culture, only succeeded in distancing the European public from reading Spanish books.

The assumption of this "inferiority" is surely the explanation for dedicating closer attention to the study of the receipt of European literature in 18<sup>th</sup> century Spain, and not vice versa. Thereby, we know the impact that work of the *philosophes* made in our country quite well, along with the influence of the classic works of English thinkers such as Hume, Smith or Robertson, to name but a few. Authors of a distinguished "modernity", whose works were published and translated into Spanish throughout the century. Translations serve as an example, some of which were interrupted, such as the Panckoucke edition of *Encyclopédie* or Robertson's *History of America*.

However, this one-way vision, associated with modern intellectual Europe, left the impact that Spanish literature had had on 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe by the wayside. Might the fact that Spain was not included on the itinerary of the *Grand Tour* completely marginalise it? To respond to this question and others, I have dedicated recent years,

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and likewise hopefully forthcoming ones, to studying the presence of Spanish books in that effervescent century, especially in France and (currently) in England. A preview of this research is exactly what I would like to present in this Workshop.

Things to consider beforehand. The first of which, and *leitmotiv* of this encounter at Cambridge University, is the relationship of this research with the digital resources of information searches, namely digital libraries and databases. The contributions of this technological information in my research has been extremely relevant. The second evaluation is that my affirmations and conclusions are more directed to the presence of Spanish literature in France and not so much in England. This latter research is still in progress, even though I believe that it does not differ enormously given the documents already consulted.

## 1. Starting point

My latest research has led me to work on the circulation of books between Spain and France at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, thanks to the welcome discovery of correspondence between a Spanish intellectual (Cavanilles) and a Parisian bookseller (Jean Baptiste Fournier). A relationship that enabled hundreds of mainly French books to reach Spain, most of which had a common characteristic: their distinct modernity. Thanks to the close collaboration of two intellectuals committed to their era, Gallic, Jansenist and encyclopaedic authors, as well as authors representing erotic literature, reached Spain.

In Spain's case, a commitment that was associated with the most representative authors of 18<sup>th</sup> century French literature. By contrast, no references to French authors or books from prior centuries are found. Components that indicate how the Spanish image of France was practically reduced to the *siècle des Lumières*.

I became interested in understanding the reverse phenomenon after conducting this research. What Spanish books were read in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe? What literary perspective did the French and English have of Spanish literature? Did the topics correspond to the reading? Some of these answers are yet to be finalised, but they can help us to understand other more general aspects.

## 2. Methodology

No one better than Dickens knew how to express the spirit of the two most relevant 18<sup>th</sup> century European cities: Paris and London. In his *Tale of Two Cities*, which helped inspire me to carry out this work, one attempts to trail Spanish influence in those two metropolises. A task that is far from easy in works of fiction, which remain unclear as to whether they were reflective of the era or not.

And it is reality which leads us to ask the following question. Where can we find Spanish books in 18<sup>th</sup> century Paris and London? An answer that, centuries later, continues to lead us to the same place as today, to bookshops. Booksellers, better than anyone, perfectly knew the market and the readers they sought to serve. There remains scattered documentation of their existence, although their catalogues specifically enable us to get to the bottom of the Spanish case with greater certainty. Although the catalogues have, naturally, not been our only source of enquiry, they have been the most important. An enquiry that has been limited to the existing catalogues in the French National Library and in the British Library in London. Locations that currently house the greatest number of documents in relation to the presence of Spanish literature in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe.

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My approach began with the presence of Spanish books in France, limiting my study to the city of Paris and to the catalogues of 18<sup>th</sup> century Parisian booksellers. I used important bibliographic sources in order to do so, including the extremely useful *Catalogues de libraires 1473-1810* (BNF, 2006) by Claire Lesage, Eve Netchine and Veronique Sarrazine. And I cannot overlook the coordination in this work of Sabine Juratic, *IHMC Chargée de recherche* (CNRS-ENS). The study plan consisted of discovering those booksellers whose catalogues contained evidence of the existence of Spanish books, normally differentiated with the “*livres espagnols*” epigraph, and not translations which are being studied along with other European books by an international research group led by Professor Juratic, whose inclusion would have drastically increased the focus of the present study.

Firstly, and before reaching the printed book stage, it concerned finding evidence of Spanish manuscripts in Paris. This was the start that took us from the manuscript, then to the printed book and finally to its inclusion in the catalogue. This would give us clues regarding the authors and works rejected, as well as those which were more gratefully received. In order to do so, we used important sources such as the archives of the Chambre Syndicale de la Librairie et Imprimerie, the main control and censorship organisation in the French capital during the so called Old Typography Regime. An enormous amount of documentation, part of which we have been able to collate thanks to the Digital Gallic Library, who increase their valuable bibliographic archives daily. Thereafter, we moved on to analyse the presence of Spanish books printed in the French capital via different means (bibliographies, auction catalogues, letters, bookshop catalogues, the press, tales of travellers and diplomats). To that end, both myself and the aforementioned Gallic Library used other digital resources, such as *Electronic Enlightenment, currently one of the most important correspondence databases, which is overseen by Oxford University; the Gazettes européennes du 18e siècle* database, which gathers 18th century French-written European press publications; or the *Esprit des livres* database. Catalogues de vente de bibliothèques conservés dans les bibliothèques parisiennes, from l' École de Chartes, among other digital resources.

We will now continue by entering the world of those Parisian booksellers that bought and sold Spanish books. The objective was to discover the routes and channels through which they stocked Spanish authors and works. In general, and without revealing excessive conclusions, we can confirm that few booksellers sold these types of books, although there was one notable exception among them.

### **3. The "Modern" Spanish writers: the Golden Age**

Lastly, our main objective was to determine the Spanish “Literary canon” in the eyes of the Parisians. What were the most popularly sold books in that enviable metropolis during the 18th century? Once again it is an English author, Jonathan Swift, who acts as our inspiration in order to explain our deliberations. In the fictitious battle of books held in the Saint James Library at the end of the 17th century, which Swift narrated to us so accurately, a dispute raged that pitted the so called “modern writers”, the spiders, against the “old writers”, the bees. A literary resource that found its echo in the French Academy during the 18th century, and one that would draw some of its glorious patrons against each other. Therefore, we can now present some of the conclusions by using this literary resource.

The first of which being that the “modern” Spanish pretenders, that is, the authors and works of the 18th century, were considered as “old writers” in 18th century Paris. Practically no Spanish works from the 1700's were sold in French bookshops. By contrast, the traditional “old writers”, those from the 16th and 17th century that is, were considered as the “modern writers”. Both French booksellers and readers found the modernity that they so desired in the Spanish Golden Age. Humour as well as cultural,

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political and religious renovation stemmed from, among others, Cervantes, Juan de Mariana, Quevedo, Santa Teresa de Jesús and Mateo Alemán. 18th century Spain remained totally silent. Economic, cultural and linguistic reasons can help to make such marginalisation understood. Spain remained on the periphery of a Europe that was in the process of modernisation. A discourse that was completely different to the one being experienced in Spain, where they were mostly interested in neighbouring 18th century France and not Montaigne, Racine or Corneille, to name but a few.

Lastly, it is pertinent to compare where the Spanish books that were sold on those book stalls were published. A trail that allows us to observe the noticeable foreign dependency that Spanish printing presses had throughout the century. Belgium, Holland, France and Switzerland became the main publishers of Spanish books. This was purely due to political and economic reasons and nothing to do with technical considerations. Spanish printing presses had sufficient infrastructure to publish these editions. Something altogether different is that other reasons made printing outside of Spain advisable. Regrettably, some Spanish intellectuals colluded in this reasoning.

#### 4. London-based research

If few works exist on Spanish literature in 18th century Paris, even fewer are dedicated to the presence of Spanish books in London during the Age of Enlightenment. A handicap that, far from discouraging, promotes the necessity to understand the vision that Spanish culture had in that city.

Following the same methodology as in the French case, the objective is to trail the presence of Spanish works and authors from the traditional manuscript to the printed work. To that end, we used Spanish book manuscript catalogues, such as that of Pascual de Gayangos. *Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Spanish language in the British Museum* (London, 1875-93); or of printed books, such as the works of : Mattingly, H.; Burnett, I.A. K. *The List of catalogues of English book sales 1676-1900* now in the British Museum. London, 1915; Munby, A.N.L.; Coral's, L. *British book sale catalogues 1676-1800: a union list*. London, 1977, or the book, *Eighteenth-century Spanish chapbooks in the British Library: a descriptive catalogue*. London: The British Library, 1997.

Tools to which we have to add important digital resources such as the Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) database, from where we can consult bookseller catalogues, bibliographies, library catalogues and other indispensable sources in order to understand the presence of Spanish books.

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**Ann THOMSON**  
**EUI, IT**

## **TRANSLATION AS MEDIATION**

In their Introduction to *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (CUP, 2007), Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Tsia regret that what they call the “historical turn” in Translation Studies has not been matched by a turn towards the study of translation on the part of historians, and they indicate that one of the aims of their volume is “to encourage a dialogue between workers in Translation studies and in cultural history”.<sup>vii</sup> I could add the, in my view, somewhat surprising fact that intellectual history has been generally blind to the importance of translation, perhaps because of the frequent emphasis on particular national traditions; when Pocock, for example, talks about “languages”, he means different types of discourse and his references to translation tend to be diachronic rather than trans-linguistic.<sup>vii</sup> This contrasts with the field of philosophy, in which the importance of the translation of concepts in particular has long been seen as important.<sup>vii</sup> Likewise *Begriffsgeschichte*, which studies how political and social concepts change over time and between languages, has paid more attention to translation, although again probably more to changes over time than between languages.<sup>vii</sup> The recent volume entitled *Why Concepts Matter. Translating Social and Political Thought*, edited by Martin J. Burke and Melvin Richter (Brill, 2012), brings together conceptual historians and specialists of translation theory and of the history of translation. While much of the concern is with what constitutes an acceptable translation, one article, for example, discusses the translation of John Stuart Mill into Japanese, paying particular attention to the role of the translator in making “Mill’s theory better cohere with Japanese government needs at a time of massive social and political transformation”. And Jeremy Munday evokes, in addition to factors like the imposition of translators’ ideology on the translation of a text, the importance of decisions by publishers and editors.<sup>vii</sup>

Intellectual history, as I understand it, must be in dialogue with cultural history, and given the lack of intellectual frontiers between different countries in the Eighteenth Century, it is increasingly realised that it must pay more careful and detailed attention to the circulation of ideas, without which no real understanding of eighteenth-century intellectual history is possible. This includes, in addition to material and print culture, correspondence, communication networks and so on, the study of all aspects of translation, beyond the basic question of how

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texts are transformed.<sup>vii</sup> Translation needs to be studied as an activity that is both linguistic and cultural in a way that has not been so far sufficiently undertaken, although the emphasis on cultural transfers has begun to remedy this in part, as can be seen from the recent collective volume edited by Stefanie Stockhorst, *Cultural Transfer through Translation. The Circulation of Enlightened Thought in Europe through Translation* (Rodopi, 2010). While many of the contributions to this volume tend to concentrate on discussions of particular works, some incorporate the different elements I have just mentioned.<sup>vii</sup>

It may also be necessary to emphasize quite how important translation was in the Eighteenth Century, as a view still pertains in many quarters that French had replaced Latin as the lingua franca of the educated classes, thus dispensing with the need for extensive translation (except into French, of course) as texts could circulate in French without further translation. This is increasingly seen to be a mistaken view.<sup>vii</sup> We need to build on the quite large existing number of case studies of translations of individual works or notions, and the particularly useful studies of the retranslation of works and the comparative study of reception in different cultural and linguistic contexts.<sup>vii</sup> In addition, much work needs to be done on the more concrete aspects of translation as mediation, which has attracted less interest. One strand of the big Franco-German research project “TransferS” directed by Michel Espagne, the pioneer of cultural transfer studies, is devoted to translation, including concrete aspects of the circulation of literary translations, although more emphasis seems to be placed on philosophical and linguistic aspects.<sup>vii</sup> One fruitful line of inquiry is in my opinion to concentrate on the role of the translator as mediator. Relatively little is as yet known about eighteenth-century translators, many of whom remain anonymous, and even relatively high-profile figures like Locke’s translator Pierre Coste have been little studied. While some well-known writers engaged in translation, others were much more obscure, and for most, translation was a subsidiary activity; many translations were produced by pastors, lawyers or doctors, for example. It was really only towards the end of the century that something like professional translators began to appear. It is in order to bring together the existing information on translators that we have launched the project of an online biographical dictionary of translators at Paris 8 University, with the aim of providing an open-sourced database concerning translators and their works.

It is clear from existing studies that the roles of journalist and translator often overlapped during the Eighteenth Century.<sup>vii</sup> While the role of journalists as mediators is of course recognised and studied, this aspect of their activity would repay greater attention. It is often forgotten, in the study of the international circulation of works through translation, that many works that were never translated as such were known through articles in learned journals; these articles, often referred to as “reviews”, were in fact more often “extracts”, that is translated passages from the work under review, sometimes (but not always) interspersed with comments by the journalist/translator, for whom both these activities were often only secondary. This enabled the main arguments and extensive parts of a work to be known in other cultural and linguistic areas, although often filtered through the viewpoint of the journalist/translator.<sup>vii</sup> In addition, translated extracts could be incorporated into other types of works, thus ensuring the diffusion of texts in a way that cannot be understood from catalogues of printed books. This is part of the general circulation of texts in the Eighteenth Century, in which quotations or even quite extensive passages were re-used in other works, either in an adapted form or as they stood. A large number of works recycled texts in this way, from French clandestine irreligious manuscripts, to encyclopædias, a particularly telling example being the multi-volume *Histoire des Deux Indes*, published under the name of abbé Guillaume-Thomas Raynal.<sup>vii</sup> The extent of this form of circulation of texts is still insufficiently known, and any study of it needs to take account of not only the incorporation of passages more or less as they stand (with alterations) but also the use of passages translated from foreign-language works.<sup>vii</sup> Digital databases, corpora and libraries should facilitate the retrieval of these extracts in order to obtain a more precise picture of this process, but there remains the problem of the passage from one language into another. At the same time, the history of the press and publishing needs to be mobilized in order to understand the constraints on what was translated and in what form, whether in extracts or as complete works. The publication of translated extracts could be the result, for example, of

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pressure from the printer of the original work or from the journalist-translator trying to create public interest in order to convince a printer to publish a translation of the whole work, or of a decision by the printer of the journal to drum up interest in a forthcoming complete translation. But it could also be a substitute for a complete translation, thought to be impossible for commercial reasons.

This study likewise obviously needs to be integrated with that of communication networks. In view of the lack of archives concerning much publishing and journalistic activity, the study of correspondence networks remains the principal source of information about them. Here it is vital to facilitate the integration of the various programmes underway devoted to the editions of correspondence. My own study of the vast correspondence of the London-based Pierre Des Maizeaux in the first half of the century has underlined for me the vital importance of such a correspondence for the history of publishing, the press and translation, not only between Britain and France, but also further afield, during this period. The letters from Charles de La Motte, ‘correcteur d’imprimerie’ for most of the Dutch printers, which we are currently editing, are in particular a mine of information.<sup>vii</sup> For the later part of the century, the archives of the Société typographique de Neuchâtel have proved an important source; this printing house produced a large number of translations, which were distributed all over Europe, and a study of their correspondence brings to light the commercial imperatives behind these publications and the functioning of their networks.<sup>viii</sup> But correspondence networks could also be a vector for the circulation of translated extracts taken from different types of publications, an aspect of the circulation of texts as yet little investigated.

The main point I wish to make in relation to the present project is that for a clearer understanding of the transmission of texts, more attention needs to be paid to the role of translators, whose activity is still insufficiently known, and to the production and circulation of translations. Here the need for collaborative projects is vital, like that of the online biographical dictionary of translators, but also with a view to the production of bibliographies of translated works and the exploitation of digital resources for the identification of translated extracts. Here too, a priority for research is the need to connect up the different electronic editions of correspondences in order to facilitate a better understanding of the factors determining what was translated and the varied routes by which texts and their translations circulated.