A Scholar's Library from the Seventeenth Century:

The Books of Gregorio Leti (1630-1701)

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Abstract

This thesis aims at presenting Gregorio Leti (1630 - 1701) through the books he owned and using the auction catalogue established at his death. This unique approach paints a picture of a well-read man with connections in influential literary circles and interest in literary and philosophical topics. This analysis required the creation of an extensive database, transcribing and fixing mistakes from the auction catalogue from 1701. This database supported the quantitative and qualitative observations on Leti's reading habits and interests. Quantitatively, the database agreed with the usual accounts of Leti's life as a typical seventeenth century academic and educated historian, accounts that have been discussed in the few bibliographies focusing on Leti. Qualitatively, this thesis highlighted a thoroughness and range of interest matching the profile of a seventeenth century scholar. While analysing Leti's life and personality, this thesis also introduces some changes of the seventeenth century, including an analysis of philosophical and literary movements that became more prominent in this period.

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Introduction

'Studies of book ownership and reading among different classes of society help to understand the economic and social development of society as a whole, ways of people's communication and spread ideas.'

Inventories of books from private owners, libraries or bookshops can be valuable in understanding society. Books are important material objects, however there has been a very limited effort in the past years to analyse book lists and inventories. By analysing the books owned by a person, one can learn about their political and religious views, and the life of the library owner. This paper is attempting to analyse Gregorio Leti's book catalogue from 1701, the year of his death, and conclude whether the few biographies of the author are decisive in his religious views and personal life.

Gregorio Leti (1630-1701) was an Italian writer, satirist and teacher in the seventeenth century. Born into a traditional religious family, he embodied all the main characteristics of an educated privileged seventeenth-century academic. Similarly to most writers and publishers during this time, he fled to the Dutch Republic to seek asylum from censorship and religious oppression. The accounts on his life are scarce and contradictory, making him an interesting character to analyse further. To that end, this work will use the extensive book collection he amassed during his life. His prominent position in literary circles gave him access to social and political circles. Through these circles, he built social connections with prominent philosophers and writers of his time, including Pierre Bayle, Jean Le Clerc and Pierre Jurieu, who will be further presented in the remainder of this thesis. Leti's work did not only attract him positive attention. He also angered monarchs, including King Charles II and Louis XIV, leading to him being exiled from three different countries before finally settling in Amsterdam where he lived until his death.

By analysing his book ownership, the thesis will attempt to understand in more depth Leti's personality, while also touching upon the reading preferences and societal changes such as the Baroque and early Enlightenment movements in the seventeenth century. His library reflected the literature of his time and included popular works by Italian and French authors, as well as the first periodicals created in the century. Moreover, this thesis is interested in the

¹ M. Dobre. 'Early Cartesianism and the Journal des Sçavans, 1665–1671.' *Studium*, 4(2011), pp.228–240, https://www.gewina-studium.nl/articles/10.18352/studium.1557/# (April 20, 2019)

books in Leti's library which span many countries and were written by the most prominent authors of the time.

Gregorio Leti had correspondence with the most influential scholars of his time and was part of political circles like the court of the Sun King. However, the few accounts available on Leti's life do not highlight these parts of his life, so it will be this thesis's ambition to present Leti from a different perspective. Leti's collection attests to his interests and forms a coherent account of his life untainted by historical bias. A database has been created based on Leti's book catalogue, which enables a quantitative analysis of the genres he owned, the different languages of his books, and so on. This thesis specifically focused on books and important writers of the century.

Throughout the analysis, the thesis acknowledges what Benedict and Léchot have written: 'rather than offering us a sharply defined picture of its last owner's personal intellectual orientation, [the library] reveals instead his larger intellectual inheritance and the range of texts he might have used to think with, or against'². Hence, Gregorio Leti's library might include philosophical and theological ideas he did not agree with, but it does show the interest and level of curiosity he had during his lifetime.

The general aim of this thesis, therefore, is to present Leti's life by means of his library. This can only be achieved when his main occupation, namely, writing history, and the historical context surrounding his life are taken into account. Leti lived through a tumultuous century which directly impacted his life and led him on his path of exile through five different countries. The historical events of each of these countries will therefore first be examined in the following chapters, in order to provide context to Leti's book collection with regard to the emergence of new philosophical movements and changes in literature and style.

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² P. Benedic, P-O, Léchot, 'The Library of Elie Bouhéreay', in M. McCharthy, A. Simmons, *Marsh' Library: Mirror on the World* (Dublin: Fourt Courts Press, 2009), pp. 183

I. Gregorio Leti's Life in Context: The 'Long' Seventeenth Century

The seventeenth century was a period of change: economically, socially and politically. As the English historian D. William wrote: 'All across Europe, rulers sought ways to gain firmer control of their countries, and of the fractious nobilities whose religious and factional fights had produced so much disorder.' While Italy and other European countries struggled during this period, the Dutch Republic was thriving. This historical context is important in order to understand Gregorio Leti's journey from Italy, via Switzerland, England and France, to his final destination, the Dutch Republic, and Amsterdam in particular, where he would spend the remainder of his life. It is also essential to better comprehend the response to Leti's work and views.

Italy

The seventeenth century in Italy is often called the 'iron century': a period of struggles that put the country on its knees. In this thesis, Italy is regarded as a country, although during that period, it still was a conglomerate of multiple independent city states and Vatican lands. The causes of the struggles were many, as many of the small city states were dominated by foreign powers, such as the Habsburg Empire and France.⁴ This geographical division was accompanied by a demographic decline; after 1585, Italy suffered from famine and plagues. Major cities like Milan, Naples, and Genoa, lost half of their population. The high mortality rates instilled fear in the population, leading to witch hunts and the persecution of Jews, who were accused of causing the calamities and plagues. Economically, the situation was dire as countries in North-Western Europe such as England and the Dutch Republic now were the main manufacturers of textiles, which undermined the position of the Mediterranean ports. Moreover, the country was drained by the constant conflicts, both domestic and abroad. The multiple wars in Europe, including the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) and the conflict between the Ottoman Empire and Persia (1623-1639) ruined Italy's export markets. Between 1628 and 1659 Spanish, German, French, and Piedmont armies battled each other in the north of Italy. The period between 1628 and 1631, in particular, was marked by war, political unrest, and famine. While an outbreak of the plague was decimating the population, internal wars started over disagreements such as the succession in Mantua and Monferrato. In 1647,

³ D. William, *The Oxford Handbook of the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 211.

⁴ The following paragraphs are based on C. Duggan, A Concise History of Italy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

revolts broke out in Palermo and Naples against the Spanish feudal lords who were colonizing the area. As the Spanish wanted to expand their territory and gain more power and wealth in Italy, their soldiers raided the countryside, causing the rural population to abandon their farms, which in turn led to famine.

While the country was faced with profound social unrest, the economy was also degrading quickly. In the decade between 1611 and 1620, the agricultural production and urban industry went into a crisis. In the south, the soil was exhausted because of extensive wheat production and deforestation. The north was facing an overexpansion of unproductive land, as intensive agriculture was needed to support the large cities, again causing soil depletion. In the cities, wool manufacturing fell by 50%, in some places, coming to a complete standstill, silk being the only product that was still making some profit. The early industrial edge created during the Renaissance was lost because of competition coming from manufacturers in North-Western Europe, as their products were cheaper and started to gain dominance in the Italian markets. This was partially due to Italian guilds opposing technological changes, tax increases, and higher labour costs. Italy subsequently entered a long-term crisis. The only region that managed to escape the negative trend was Lombardy.

While the economic regression favoured the aristocracy and reinforced the stagnant social hierarchy, the Church was still in charge. It owned vast areas of land and controlled every aspect of social life, including the education of the ruling class. With the economic crisis, the division between rich and poor widened, adding another problem in a country that was already in shambles. Peasants were forced by the landowning aristocracy into a state of slavery without any rights. The agricultural crisis led to heavy taxes, which had been raised in order to restore the economy, resulting in revolts by peasants who refused to pay. The failing economy also created a monetary crisis, which affected all of Europe. Only the Dutch Republic and the British Isles were able to escape the consequences.

Geneva

The seventeenth century in the Calvinist city state Geneva was equally a period of misfortune, dominated by famine, plague and political conflicts with the Duke of Savoy and France. At the same time it was a century of transition: the Genevan economy developed from a state of crisis and economic slump to a new industrial phase, its focus shifting from the Mediterranean towards the Atlantic nations. Culturally, Geneva experienced development

from an orthodox protestant identity to a more tolerant and rationalist attitude at the beginning of the Enlightenment.⁵

As the century began, the Republic of Geneva was caught between war and peace. The Protestant conviction of the city was a constant thorn in the side of Catholicism. Geneva enjoyed, although not officially, the protection of the king of France after the 1601 Treaty of Lyons which ended the war between France and the Duchy of Savoy. On the night of the 11th of December, 1602, the forces of Savoy attempted to take Geneva without any prior declaration of war. This failed attempt consolidated the status of Geneva as a 'Sacred City'. With the help of its allies (Zurich and France) and the threat of a new war between the French King Henry IV and Savoy, Geneva managed to obtain a Treaty of Independence from the Duke of Savoy which put an end to a century of wars. The treaty did not, however, reduce the claims from Savoy; it simply shifted a long and very real war into a form of cold war.

Hitherto bipartisan, the external relations of Geneva changed as France became its protector. Starting with a form of preferred assistance under Henry IV, Geneva evolved into a protectorate and satellite state under Louis XIV, who appointed a permanent French Resident in Geneva, an omen of a dreaded return to the French territory. This new threat was a direct consequence of the absolutist rule of Louis XIV, which combined a strong renewal of Catholicism and an expansionist external policy. The French Resident was meant to exert a direct influence on the city, meaning it would have to comply with France on interior as well as exterior matters. This influence was, however, directly limited by the Duchy of Savoy which did not want Geneva to fall into the hands of France, but, more importantly, by the Swiss allies of Geneva: the Berne and Zurich cantons. The existence of a double protectorate of France and the Swiss cantons resulted in Geneva being recognized as friendly territory of the Swiss and, shortly after, in becoming the fourteenth canton of the Swiss Confederation. Although France was an important ally against the Duchy of Savoy, Louis XIV remained nonetheless a formidable threat to the city's independence. Despite this threat, diplomacy and steadiness allowed Geneva to survive and gain recognition as a Swiss canton.

The aforementioned failed invasion by Savoy led to tumultuous internal political strife, accompanied by a witch hunt against those responsible for the invasion, culminating in numerous arrests and death sentences. Geneva was torn in a power struggle between the religious and political councils of the city, which turned it into a highly oligarchic regime despite efforts towards a more democratic political structure. This power struggle is

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⁵ The following is based on A. Dufour, *Histoire de Genève* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2014).

exemplified by the gradual reduction of the power of the Calvinist ministers in favour of the rule of the city magistrates.

Socially and demographically, Geneva was experiencing a crisis throughout the century due to repeated outbreaks of the plague and famine. Economically, the first half of the century (from 1620 until the 1650s) was a dark period marked by mass unemployment after the demise of the silk manufacture, which coincided with the Thirty Years' War. In the second half of the century, the economy began to prosper again as trade with France, Germany, the Dutch Republic, and England flourished. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685 made Geneva a refugee town. Many of the French Huguenot refugees were small bourgeois, often specialized in a trade or craft. This increase in the demography was a welcome addition to the existing workforce.

France

Like Italy, France faced economic, political, and social change and uncertainty. In particular between 1630 and 1750, France suffered from economic depression. The period was tumultuous and violent, as can be demonstrated by the atrocities committed in 1675 in Bretagne and the peasants' uprising in 1636-1639. Moreover, French society witnessed profound changes, as the absolute monarchy by Louis XIV (1638-1715), established in 1661 introduced a new period of decline.⁶

In the countryside, the feudal system still existed, but it required extensive administration causing the noble families to move into the bourgeois class. Depending directly or indirectly on agriculture, the aristocracy was sensitive to increases in production and thus to new farming techniques. The life of the peasants, on the other hand, was hard. They suffered from famine during the repeated agricultural crises, caused by falling prices and heavy taxes. Often they ran into debts and had to sell their lands. The population was always on the brink of revolt, sometimes against their aristocratic feudal lord, sometimes against the monarchy, but always against the tax system. By joining forces, the monarchy, the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie aimed to keep the masses under control, but there were also tensions between the monarchy and the aristocracy. Capitalism was limited to the cities, where rich bourgeois tried to climb the social ladder by marrying into the aristocracy.

France, like Italy, was fractured, some regions being almost independent from the monarchy. They often had a different lifestyle, language and traditions. The intellectual elites

⁶ The following paragraphs are based on H. Mèthivier, *L'Ancien Régime* (Paris Presses Universitaire de France, 2002), pp. 57

supported the unification of the country under an increasingly absolutist monarchy, particularly in the period 1661 to 1715, when power was monopolized by the monarchy. This authoritarian administration developed into an anonymous and complex technocratic machine which partly controlled the power of the king by selecting what information could reach him. The monarchy under Louis XIV was very similar to a religion, with its god (the king), its priests (dignitaries, the court), its dogma (absolute monarchy), its temple (Versailles), and the believers (the subjects). This was made possible by the support of the bourgeoisie, the development of a reinvigorated Catholicism, and a strong standing army that could deal with the quasi-constant state of revolt in the countryside as well as ongoing wars with France's neighbours. The absolute monarchy was at first welcomed as it put an end to a long period of disruption. It was a response to a crisis of faith among the population, which had lost belief in the government. Those who disapproved would only express their views in private, as the public opinion was in favour of the king. However, the economic failure of the regime gradually damaged the image of absolutism.

In the religious sphere, the Protestant minority was protected during much of the seventeenth century by Henry IV's Edict of Nantes of 1598, which had granted the Huguenots the right to publicly practise their religion in specific areas of the country and to attend school and university. When Louis XIV revoked the Edict in 1685 and started oppressing the Huguenots, a mass exodus began. Hundreds of thousands of protestants left the country, emigrating to neighbouring countries, and particularly to the Dutch Republic.

England

During much of the seventeenth century, the political situation in England was marked by political unrest, which at times erupted into war. In 1603 James I (1566-1625) ascended to the throne, hoping to unite the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. This attempt failed, and his son and successor, Charles I (1600-1649) was not able to maintain the peace as radical Puritans in Parliament confronted his more moderate Anglican Protestantism.⁷ After a bloody civil war, Charles I was executed in 1649 and a 'protectorate' was established by Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), which lasted until 1660, when the monarchy was restored. Still, the country was not yet at peace, as several plots and invasions by the king's opponents were foiled, until finally in 1688 William of Orange (1650-1702), stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, who was married to a daughter of James II (1633-1701), on the invitation of Whig

⁷ This paragraph is based on B. Cottret, *History of England. From William the Conqueror to the Present* (Paris: Tallandier, 2007), pp. 60-73

politicians drove his father-in-law out of the country and put himself on the throne one year later. In return, William had to sign a Bill of Rights which placed the monarchy under the law. Simultaneously, a religious compromise was found to reconcile Anglicans and Puritans. After William III's death, he was succeeded by his wife's sister Anne (1665-1714), and after her death a new royal dynasty was established, that of the Hanoverians.

This century is not only a political cornerstone of British history but also an economic one. Britain's population and its workforce outgrew the agricultural demand and began to diversify into the textile and other industries. This growth in the population was sustained by technical improvements in the agricultural sector, notably through the use of fertilizers and enclosures. The century is also marked by the colonization of the eastern part of the North American continent (Jamestown in 1607, Plymouth in 1621).

Diversification brought the population to the cities. During the seventeenth century, London grew dramatically and dwarfed all the other cities, British or European. The dynamic heart of the British Isles attracted men and production alike and stimulated the economy. London's port was a major doorway to the international markets, while the bustling activity in the city created a strong demand for products from the countryside. This urban explosion was accompanied by a financial revolution, epitomized by the newly founded Bank of England.

Yet, the century was also marked by economic crises (1614-1616, 1621-1623, and 1640-1642) and great disasters (17.6% of the city's population died during the Great Plague of 1665 and London itself was at great risk during the Great Fire of 1666 which turned 13,000 houses to ashes). The British expansion also witnessed setbacks, for instance, through the Virginia company's bankruptcy in 1624.8

The Dutch Republic

In contrast to the situation in the countries described above, the Dutch Republic witnessed a remarkable Golden Age during the seventeenth century. This was the result of multiple factors. One of these factors was the massive immigration around 1600 of religious, economic and political refugees from various European countries, but particularly from the Southern Netherlands, who brought economic, cultural and intellectual capital to the young country. When in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, a new wave of refugees came to the Netherlands. These Huguenots too played an important role in the economic and cultural success of the Republic.

⁸ This paragraph is based on B. Cottret, *History of England. From William the Conqueror to the Present* (Paris: Tallandier, 2007), pp. 90-103

Another factor was the maritime superiority of the Dutch Republic which became a trading centre for a wide variety of goods from all over the world. Rich merchants, bankers and financial insurers pushed global trade, creating a staple market and the production of finished goods for export. This position was strengthened by a good infrastructure of roads, rivers and waterways which allowed a quick and reliable transport of goods to the hinterland. Easy access to European markets was also ensured by direct access to the North Sea.

A third factor was the fact that the Dutch Republic was a federal state of seven semi-independent provinces, as a result of which central power, which resided with the States General in The Hague, was weak. As a result, immigrants and refugees were welcomed and different religions and cultures coexisted.⁹

Finally, the Golden Age also benefited from a cultural and intellectual flourishing. Literacy was high as primary and secondary education were available to many citizens. Even in the countryside, schools could be found. This was to the advantage of the Dutch book trade. In fact, the Dutch Republic in the words of the English historian Graham Gibbs, was the 'unquestioned intellectual entrepot of Europe. In Authors and publishers were able to produce books without being excessively regulated by the government or the church. Books were produced in very large quantities at competitive prices. Printing and publishing became such an important part of the Dutch economy, that as many as 270 booksellers and printers could make a living in the last quarter of the century.

So, while most other European countries were struggling in the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic thrived, economically, culturally and intellectually. It made the country an ideal haven for refugees and immigrants such as Gregorio Leti, as the following chapters on Gregorio Leti's life, his work and his library aim to demonstrate.

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⁹ For an overview, see P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', *European History Online*, 2015, http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/backgrounds/the-book-market/paul-g-hoftijzer-the-dutch-republic-centre-of-the-european-book-trade-in-the-17th-century (25 May, 2018).

¹⁰ Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century'

¹¹ G.C. Gibbs, 'The Role of the Dutch Republic as the Intellectual Entrepôt of Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 86 (1971), pp. 323-349.

II. Gregorio Leti: A Life in Europe

Early years in Italy

Gregorio Leti was born in Milan in 1630 as the son of Girolamo and Isabella Lampugnano. Being a nephew of Nicolò Leti, the Bishop of Acquapendente in Umbria, he was raised by the Jesuits in Cosenza for five years after the death of his father. His early life was shaped by Catholicism, which may have been the reason for his deep hatred of the religion later in life and his decision to leave Italy in order to pursue a career elsewhere in Europe. ¹²

After being educated by Jesuits, he went to live with his uncle Agostino in Rome, who pushed him into becoming a judge, and later a priest like himself. Disliking this pressure Leti decided to go live with his mother again in Milan. After her death in 1646 Leti was forced to go back to his uncle Agostino, by now a vicar in Orvieto. A period of harsh religious education followed. Around 1654, when his uncle finally realized that Leti's attitude towards Catholicism was not going to improve, he decided to set him free and allow him to travel in Italy and abroad.

Leti in Geneva

In the 1650s, when Leti was residing in Bologna, he started his writing career. He attempted his first literary exercises¹³, writing novels and poetry as well as operettas¹⁴ in Latin. Bologna was also the place where his desire to leave for France blossomed. His brother-in-law Cesare Reina procured him with a letter of recommendation addressed to a French noble and governor of Valenza Po, Marquis François-Auguste de Valavoir. Leti's dream was to find employment in Paris, but on his way there he first stayed for a while in Turin and later in Geneva where, in 1660, he fell in love with the daughter of local medical doctor Jean-Antoine Guérin, whom he would marry shortly after. It was in Geneva that Leti officially became a Calvinist.

He spent his time in Geneva lecturing and writing. He worked as a private teacher of languages and history to the children of the Genevan patriciate and aristocracy. Among his pupils was the Prince of Curlan, a member of the House of Solms who was the English ambassador in Turin. He also established a name for himself as an author of biographies characterized by satirical and pseudo-political ideas. His first novel *L'amore di Carlo*

¹² E. Bufacchi, ''LETI, Gregorio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64 (Roma: Instituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), n.pag http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-leti (Dizionario-Biografico)/ (August 20, 2018)

¹³ G. Leti, Preface of *La strage de' riformati innocenti* (Geneva, 1661)

¹⁴ G. Leti, Vita di Oliviero Cromvele (Amsterdam, 1692)

Gonzaga duca di Mantova e della contessa Margarita della Rovere (The love of Carlo Gonzaga Duke of Mantua and of the Countess Margarita della Rovere, 1666) was well received, as was his biography *Vita di donna Olimpia Maldachini* (Life of Mrs. Olimpia Maldachini) published the same year.

Leti lived in Geneva for nineteen years and in that period his wife bore him five children: four daughters and a son. The oldest daughter, Maria, would marry Jean Le Clerc (1657-1736), a young local theologian who later settled in Amsterdam. But as he wrote more books, he attracted the ire of the Calvinist church which did not like his critical attitude and satirical style. Despite losing foot with the Calvinist church, Leti still enjoyed the favour of government circles because of his renown as a private teacher.¹⁵

This came to an end in 1679. In that year Leti published his *Vita di Filippo II* (Life of Philip II), a biography of the Spanish King Philip II (1527-1598). In the preface Leti wrote about a nearly fatal illness he had had. He describes that some catholic priests visited him to prepare him for his death, and mentions how Benedetto Calandrini in particular had tried to prevent his colleagues from visiting Leti. This information offended the Catholics. The Spanish ambassador in Geneva, Alsonso Casati, demanded that the city government would censor and ban the book. Leti, in turn, explained to the city council that his book did not contain any offensive information against the Spanish. At first he was successful in his defence, but eventually the pressure became too great and he had to leave Geneva in secret with his family in July 1679. Years later, this episode would lead to the writing of the second edition of his most voluminous works, *L'Historia Ginevrina* (The history of Geneva) in 1686. This will be detailed in the subsequent parts pertaining to his life in the Netherlands.

Leti in France

Leti's dream had always been to go to France and now, albeit against his will, he finally had the opportunity to do so. He first stayed for two months in the border town of Gex, trying to establish contacts with various important men in Paris, in particular the adviser and secretary of the king, Henry Justel, and Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the minister of foreign affairs. Both convinced Louis XIV to take Leti under his protection. The king's primary consideration was that he believed that his image among the population would benefit from his protecting a protestant persecuted for religious reasons. Leti was made official historian of Louis XIV in the Italian language. It was a short-lived appointment. The king expected Leti to convert back

¹⁵ L. Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1923), pp. 80.

to Catholicism as a prerequisite to stay in France. Leti refused, thus making his stay in France impossible. ¹⁶

Leti in England

Leti left France in 1680, now moving to England where he hoped to find a safe haven. There is not much information on the period he stayed in England. What is known comes from ten letters that he sent in this period to his friend Antonio Magliabechi (1633-1714), a Florentine scholar and librarian to Grand Duke Cosimo II de Medici, consequently an important figure in the scholarly and literary world in Italy with an extensive network of correspondence. ¹⁷ Leti arrived in England during a difficult period; between 1679 and 1681 the country was troubled by the Exclusion Crisis, during which attempts were made to prevent the brother of King Charles II, James, Duke of York from succeeding his brother because of his Catholic beliefs. The crisis forced Charles II to dissolve the Parliament twice, which led to the creation of two parties: the Tories and the Whigs, the latter of which opposed the Duke of York. The ongoing political unrest made it difficult for Leti to find patronage. ¹⁸

Nonetheless, he was accepted at the court, certainly also because of his renown as a pamphleteer and someone who could spark controversy through his satirical works. He became close with Francesco Terriesi, an Italian diplomat from Florence who had come to England in 1668 as a merchant and whose connections made him the central figure in relations between England and Florence, and popular at the English court. Here Leti hoped to find patronage, since he had dedicated one of his books to the Duke of York. Leti had a survival strategy he applied to each country he lived in: he thought that, by making the right friends, he would be protected even if his writings were scandalous. Leti gradually expanded his connections, by dining with important figures and establishing contacts with numerous aristocrats and Anglican clergymen. Most notably among them, Gilbert Burnet, a Scottish theologian and historian (and later Bishop of Salisbury), Isaac Vossius, a Dutch scholar and book collector, and John Pearson, an English theologian, professor at Cambridge and Bishop of Chester. Although he did not speak English, he was introduced to Charles II in 1681, at which occasion he presented a panegyric in his honour, *Panegirico in lode* (Panegyrics in praise) in the expectation that the king would give him some financial compensation, or, even

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¹⁶ Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento, pp. 120.

¹⁷ K. Loffler, 'Antonio Magliabechi', *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 9 (1910), n.pag, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/09530c.htm (1 December 2018)

¹⁸ C. Petrakos, "Those Times can Tell The Story": The Anglican Reformation, Henry VIII's Succession Statutes, and England's Exclusion Crisis, 1679-1681', Anglican and Episcopal History, 84 (2015), pp. 393-415.

better, an appointment as his official historiographer.¹⁹ He subsequently moved his family to Chelsea and started writing *Il Teatro Britannico*, a history of England, which was published in 1683 by the well-known London publisher Robert Scott. Unfortunately, the royal patronage did not materialize and Leti was soon after ordered to leave Britain because of his remarks on English domestic politics. He had mentioned in his book the secret marriage of the Duke of York with Anna Hyde, and had written that Charles II mistreated his wife, Queen Catherine of Braganza, while also alluding to the private life of various nobles and dignitaries.²⁰ The book sparked outrage in England, and all copies were ordered to be confiscated and destroyed.²¹ Now, there was no other place for Leti to go to but Amsterdam, the city widely known for accepting refugees and exiles of all sorts.

Final destination: Amsterdam

The Dutch Republic was seen by Leti as the 'arc of fugitives'.²² Large numbers of French refugees had arrived in the country since the 1670s, receiving citizenship and the right to work. Leti himself arrived in Amsterdam in 1683 where he was received well, notably by the Italian community that lived in the city.²³ He received citizenship on 3 May and immediately began giving lessons in French and Latin (the most popular foreign languages at the time) to the children of rich citizens and magistrates. He had to lecture twice a week on a variety of topics such as history, politics and Italian. In 1684, he was introduced to another refugee, the French Huguenot scholar Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) who lived in Rotterdam, where he edited a journal and worked on his famous *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, which would be published in 1690. Leti was introduced to Bayle by Jean Le Clerc, the husband of Leti's oldest daughter, who had also established himself and his family in Amsterdam and had found employment at the Remonstrant seminary in the city. Thanks to his association with Bayle and Le Clerc among others, Leti was appointed the position of official historian of Amsterdam, a title that gave him financial independence, prestige, and time to write.²⁴

Already in the year of his arrival, he published a second edition of *Il Teatro Britannico*, which now was expanded to five volumes. He changed the text of the first volumes, deleting the sections that had caused his expulsion from England. Furthermore, he worked on a second edition of the *Historia Ginevrina*, narrating the events in Geneva in his

¹⁹ E. Bufacchi, ''LETI, Gregorio', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 64 (Roma: Instituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, 2005), n.pag http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gregorio-leti (Dizionario-Biografico)/ (August 20, 2018)

²⁰ L. Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1923), pp. 190.

²¹ Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento, pp. 200

²² Ibid, pp. 218

²³ G. Leti, *Il teatro brittanico o vero Historia della Grande Brettagna* (Amsterdam: Abramo Wolfgang, 1684), pp. 136

²⁴ G. Leti, *Il teatro brittanico o vero Historia della Grande Brettagna*, pp. 97

favour and depicting how poorly the Genevan government had treated him. Before publishing the new edition, he tried to blackmail the city's rulers: he would renounce his publication in exchange for generous compensation. The attempt failed, and the second edition of *Historia Ginevrina* was published in Amsterdam in 1686.

In these years he also distanced himself from Louis XIV, as he had come to believe that the French king constituted a grave danger to the stability of Europe and was convinced that the more democratic political system he had come to appreciate in the Dutch Republic was to be preferred above the French absolute monarchy. Leti was much influenced by Dutch culture. For instance, he abandoned the theory of Imago Dei, which argued that humans are based on the image of God, in order to praise the republican and democratic political principles of the Dutch Republic, the country where he had found a good position and built himself a respectable reputation.²⁵

In 1695 he published a poem dedicated to William III of Orange, entitled 'The prodigy of nature and gratitude', in which he lauded the Glorious Revolution and William's ascension to the English throne in 1689. Besides giving praise to the king, another motive for writing it was an attempt to re-establish relations with England and the English court. A few years before his death, however, he published a *Critique sur les lotteries* (ca. 1697), which abruptly ended the calm years he had spent in Amsterdam, as it was greatly criticised. It led to his excommunication from the Dutch Calvinist church. This work stated Leti's idea that human existence is precarious and that political institutions or man's actions have no positive effects whatsoever. The French theologian Pierre Ricotier fiercely attacked Leti by responding with *Considérations sur la Critique sur les lotteries de mr. L.* Leti had to defend himself once again, by describing his religious fidelity and renouncing some of the incriminating statements he had made.

Leti continued writing and publishing books in these years such as *Raguagli historici e politici* (Historical and political references, 1699), which is a laudatory appraisal of the Dutch government, *Vita di don Pietro Giron, duca d'Ossuna* (Life of Sir Pietro Giron, Duke of Ossuna, 1699), and his ultimate work, *Vita dell'invittissimo imperadore Carlo V* (Life of the invincible Emperor Charles V, 1700), two fictional biographies of Emperor Charles V filled with anecdotes. He died on 9 June, 1701 from an apoplectic attack in Amsterdam and was buried in the Walloon Church in Amsterdam. According to his last will, all of his books were given to his daughters.²⁶

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²⁵ L. Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1923), pp. 105

²⁶ Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento, pp. 67

Leti's life was shaped by drama and controversy. Being exiled from three different countries (Switzerland, France and England) after leaving his homeland, he finally settled in Amsterdam, the city that welcomed refugees from all nationalities and religions. The appreciation of Leti varies among modern historians. Some, like the Italian historian Luigi Fassò describe him as a man who, in spite of his making many enemies, managed to connect with the highest establishment, such as Louis XIV of France and Charles II of England, both of whom recognized Leti's literary talent, but also were aware of the danger he posed to their reputation. There are also contrasting accounts of his life. For example, Emanuela Bufacchi, an Italian historian, states that Leti did not speak French, although he lived in Geneva for most of his life and he was a lecturer of the French language and even published some of his books in French such as his Critique... sur les lotteries (Historical, political, moral ... criticism of lotteries, 1697). In general, it can be seen from his ability to find protection in each country he lived in that Gregorio Leti was a charismatic person who knew how to take advantage of circumstances, but also became their victim.

Leti's Work and Reputation

Gregorio Leti was an influential writer during the seventeenth century; he was admitted into royal courts and was welcomed in, as well as exiled from many countries. However, he has mostly been neglected by modern historians, as they regard Leti as someone who liked to write about gossip and based his writings on unreliable sources and hearsay. Leti is described by some historians as too outspoken, even to the extent that he was obscene against the Church and Europe's principal states. He was full of wit, and wrote biographies of Popes and monarchs that were well written, but nonetheless unreliable.²⁷ The English historian Philip Major describes him as a satirist who combined private anecdotes and personal bias into a coherent narrative, which led to a misleading description of events and people in his works. According to Major, Leti's works should not be used to base any new research on, but simply as resources to integrate anecdotes. ²⁸ He argues that Leti's work foreshadowed a new historical style of writing, in which the narrative is based on sources like newsbooks, rather than the traditional style of historical writing.

The next chapters aim to shed some further light on the religious and political beliefs of this controversial figure by investigating what printed books he owned.

²⁷ P. Hainsworth, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), npag

²⁸ P. Major, Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath, 1640-1690 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 56 -

III. Book Catalogues and Database Methodology

Book catalogues: variety and use

Before describing the methodology behind creating Leti's auction catalogue database, the notion of what constitutes a book catalogue must be defined. During the seventeenth century, there were two main reasons for creating catalogues: as part of someone's inheritance after death, the so-called probate inventory, or for sale at a book auction sale, an event for which a printed catalogue was made.²⁹ Probate inventories, usually a book document drawn up by a notary, are the most common type of early-modern book list and they include books which were more or less summarily described by a local notary. The books were listed alongside the other possessions of the departed.³⁰ The auction sale catalogue was hastily compiled and printed as a booklet, mostly in quarto format. When the deceased had owned a large library, often first a summary list was made for the probate inventory, after which the auction catalogue was printed. The phenomenon of the book auction with a printed catalogue was first introduced in the Dutch Republic at the end of the sixteenth century. By 1700 they were common all over Europe.³¹

Although book auctions were popular, their catalogues contained multiple errors. Most were caused by hasty or inexperienced transcribers who did not have much bibliographical knowledge. Some of these mistakes produce misleading information that can make the identification of a book difficult or even impossible. As a rule, the title of the books is not completely transcribed, while often no information is given on the place where and the year when a book was published. These problems can make the analysis of book lists a complicated matter.³²

Gregorio Leti's Book Catalogue and Database

In the case of the library of Gregorio Leti, the auction catalogue that was produced for the book auction in Amsterdam on 25 October, 1701, four months after his death, is luckily available.³³ The catalogue was compiled in Amsterdam by the booksellers Dirk and Hendrik Bruyn and Jean Louis de Lorme. It numbers 24 pages and is divided into sections of bound and unbound books, and further categorized by their format (folio, quarto, octavo, duodecimo).

²⁹ P. Major, Literatures of Exile in the English Revolution and its Aftermath, 1640-1690, pp. 157.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid, pp. 95.

³³ Ibid.

Moreover, there are separate sections for the languages: Latin, Italian, French and miscellaneous languages (including English, Spanish and Dutch). The total number of books listed in the catalogue was 479, which makes Leti's library rather small for the collection of a learned scholar of the seventeenth century. According to David Pearson, an average library size in England during the seventeenth century was over 3000 books in the years between 1690 and 1715. As Leti had had a tumultuous life which was marked by frequent exiles, there is every reason to assume that the auction catalogue does not list all of the books he had owned during his long life. Many of them will have gone lost during his perambulations in Europe.

As a rule, about half of the contents of an average seventeenth-century library comprised books on theology of some shape or form. The other half consisted of books on other fields of knowledge, such as history, geography, mathematics, science, literature, and travel, philosophy, Greek and Roman classics, and mathematics, natural history, medicine, and law. However, Leti's library was far from average, as the analysis of his books shows.

The first step to analyse his catalogue was to digitise it, in order to make both a qualitative and quantitative analyses possible. To do so, a document in Excel was created, divided by language as shown below in Figure 1.

Format	Bound/ Unbound	Language	Author	Date of Public ation	Title	Genre	City
Octavo/	Down	Italian	Giovanni	1550	La Sfera dei Scrittori Antichi e	Literature/	Vanias
Duodecimo	Bound	Italian	Marinelli	1330	Moderni, e altri trattati	History	Venice
Octavo/ Duodecimo	Bound	Italian	Giorgio Dati	1551	Valerio Massimo	Biography	Venice
			Vincenzo				
Quarto	Bound	Italian	Brugiantino	1554	Le Cento Novelle	Poetry	Venice
Quarto	Bound	French	Antonio de Guevara	1558	Les Epitres de Guevara	Epistles (didactic letter)	Lyon
			Camillo			History/Bio	
Quarto	Bound	Italian	Camilli	1576	Imprese	graphy	Venice
Folio	Bound	Latin	Justinianus	1576	Codex Justinianus, cum notis Accursii & Ant. Contii	Law	Antwerp

Figure 1: Preview of the catalogue of Gregorio Leti's library in digitised format

It was then decided to divide the books by language in order to understand not only Leti's preference in vernacular languages, but also to make the search of authors from a certain nationality easier. In the Excel database, there are different columns for format, language, date of publication, title, genre and city of publication. When digitising the original catalogue, multiple difficulties were encountered. Some of the information was missing, such as the date of publication of the book or the original location of publishing. The titles of the books also contained multiple mistakes or were incomplete, which was a common feature of sales catalogues of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Hence, bibliographical searches had to be done in WorldCat.org and Google Scholar on the basis of fragmented titles or in bibliographies of a particular author. Unfortunately, the dates of publication for eight books in the database have not been identified.

Included in this thesis is a description of the genre based on how the book was described in WorldCat or other sources during an online search of titles to better understand the topic of the book.

The seventeenth century saw an explosion of book production. Besides books written in Latin, new types of texts in the vernacular were introduced as reading became an activity for an ever growing part of the population, including women and children. Because of the change in orientation, different genres of books became popular, such as periodicals, music, theatre and fine arts. This shift is visible in Gregorio Leti's library as well, as the catalogue includes books in a wide variety of genres, as shown in Figure 2 below.

Architecture	Economy	Language	Nature
Theology	Epistles (didactic letter)	Law	Novel
Astrology	Essay	Letter	Opera
Biography	Etiquette	Theatre	Painting
Biology	Gardening	Literary Criticism	Philosophy
Chemistry	Geography	Literature	Travel
Commentary	Grammar	Mathematics	Zoology
Commercial Law	Historical biography	Medicine	Poetry
		Medieval Canon	
Rhetoric	History	Law	Politics

Cooking	Journal	Memoir	Religion
Dictionary	Journal: Periodicals	Treaty	Satire
Speech	Sermon	Music	Pamphlet
Tale			

Figure 2: Gregorio Leti's Book Genre Catalogue

Gregorio Leti's library included a total of 479 books: 208 were in French, the most popular vernacular language of the time and spoken all over Europe in the early modern period. Moreover, there were 193 Italian books, 58 in Latin and nineteen in miscellaneous languages including Dutch, English and Spanish. Leti owned a few Dutch and English texts, languages of the last countries he resided in. The small number of Spanish books attest to Leti's interest in the history of the Spanish monarchy, most notably Philip II about whom he wrote an infamous biography that led to his exile from Geneva.

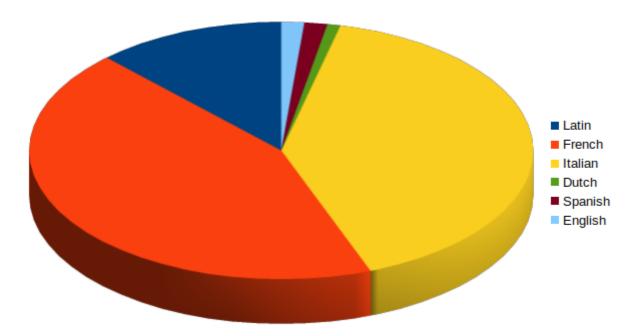


Figure 3: Analysis of book language in the auction catalogue of Gregorio Leti's library

The different genres of books in Leti's library were also analysed in order to understand what subject(s) he was most interested in. As shown in the graph below, the most popular subject was 'History', followed by 'Religion' and various smaller categories like 'Periodicals' and 'Diaries'.

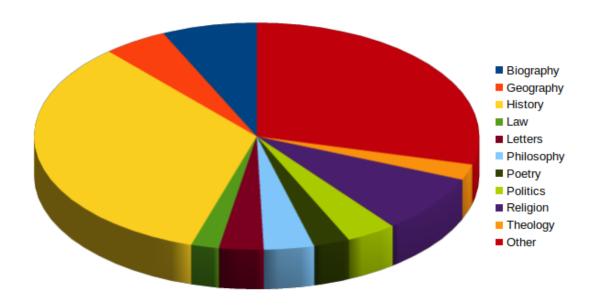


Figure 4: Analysis of genre in the auction catalogue of Gregorio Leti's library

The choice of categories reflects careful considerations regarding the status of these genres. For example, astronomy was a well-established field in the seventeenth century with a rich literature, whereas biology was at its infancy. The microscope had only been invented a few years earlier.³⁴ Although letters and essays could be categorized under a specific genre, such as politics and theology, it proved difficult to identify exactly the topic of these letters and essays from the information available. Therefore letters and essays have been treated as genres. During the seventeenth century, self-help books were introduced as a new genre. Here they have been subdivided into 'Cooking', 'Gardening' and 'Etiquette', as it is important to know which of these guides Leti used. Examples would be cookery book, Opera del Cuoco di Pio V (Handbook from the cook of Pope Pius V, 1570) of Bartolomeo Scappi, who was a chef de cuisine at the Vatican under Pope Pius V, and the Instruction pour les jardins fruitiers et potagers (Instructions for the fruit and vegetable gardens, 1690) by Jean-Baptiste de La Quintinie. In order to better understand Leti's interests, it was decided to include as much detail as possible in the classification. The same procedure was used for 'Biography' and 'Historical biography'. The first one focuses on the life of one and only one individual. However, Birgitte Possing, a professor of Cultural Studies, describes 'Historical biography' as a depiction of a historical individual described in multiple points of views, including an analysis of events or dynamic changes within a government.³⁵ For example, *Histoire de*

³⁴ L. Magner, A History of the Life Sciences (New York: Dekker, 1994).

³⁵ B. Possing, *Biography: Historical* (Copenhagen: The Danish National Archives), pp. 1-12, http://possing.dk/pdf/historicalbio.pdf> (25 August 2019)

Constantinople (History of Constantinople, 1685) by Louis Cousin is listed under 'History', La vie de François de la Noue (Life of François de la Noue, 1661) by Moses Amyrault, the biography of a French Huguenot captain is listed under 'Biography'. Finally, the biography Vie de Henry IV (Life of Henry IV, 1633) is listed under 'Historical biography'.

Furthermore, a distinction has been made between 'Theology' and 'Religion', as 'Theology' can indicate the concept of religion, while 'Religion' is about practical faith. For example, *The Genesis* and *L'Exode et le Levitique* by Isaac-Louis Le Maistre de Sacy was put under 'Religion' while *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande sur l'Histoire Critique du V.T* (Opinion of some theologians from Holland, 1685) by Jean Le Clerc would fall under 'Theology' as it is an analysis of the Bible. All these distinctions should be taken into account in the following analysis.

Whereas the category 'Politics' encompasses the political ideas and political theory, such as *Considerazioni in Materie di Stato* (Considerations in matters of state, 1598) by Giovanni Botero, political treaties between states such as *Il Trattato della pace conclusa nell'Anno 1659* (Peace treaty ratified in 1659, 1664) by Conte Priorato is listed under the category 'Treaty'. 'Memoir', in which the writer focuses on specific memories and events they witnessed, will be distinguished from records of events and observations, listed under 'Diary'. Similarly, a distinction between 'Medieval Canon Law' and 'Religion' will be made. While the former focuses on legal religious texts, the latter contains texts pertaining to religious beliefs and rituals. For instance, while the Bible is listed under 'Religion', it was not used as a legal reference.

Lastly, the database also makes it possible to analyse the year of publication of the books. The graph below shows that Leti mostly owned books that had been published fairly recently, between 1685 and 1695, which corresponds to his move to Amsterdam, the centre of the European book trade around 1700.

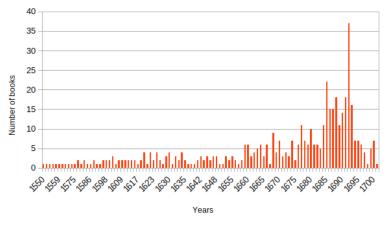


Figure 5: Publication dates of books owned by Gregorio Leti

IV. Radical Enlightenment and Leti's Philosophy

After the quantitative approach in the previous chapter, the emphasis here will be on a qualitative analysis of Leti's library. Which authors did he read? In spite of the prominence of historical biographies in Leti's library – Leti himself was a historian and biographer –, other categories, such as philosophy, religion, theology, literature and periodicals, are as important. The focus will therefore be on categories which reflect some of his personal interests.

The English historian Jonathan Israel, who is the leading specialist in the history of early modern philosophy in the Age of Enlightenment, describes the latter as a transition from an age 'based on a largely shared core of faith, tradition and authority' to one in which 'everything, no matter how fundamental or deeply rooted, was questioned in the light of philosophical reason', marking the end of 'theology's age-old hegemony'. ³⁶ The second half of the seventeenth century is according to Israel by the appearance of a 'Radical Enlightenment', during which philosophers began to advocate ideas like democracy, individual liberty, freedom of expression and criticism of religious authority. Some of these philosophers are the Dutch Jew Benedictus de Spinoza (1632-1677) as well as the Frenchman René Descartes (1596-1650) and the Englishman John Locke (1632-1704). Early Enlightenment philosophers did not agree on what had to be the nature of Enlightenment and their core principles (rationalism and empiricism) differed. This chapter will give some context to the main philosophical groups of the century, their views and prominent representatives read by Gregorio Leti in order to understand his philosophical views and interests.

Context: The Famous Philosophers

According to Israel, there are two forms of Enlightenment: the mainstream one based on the philosophies of Kant, Locke, Voltaire and Hume is the one that is best known. The second form is the Radical Enlightenment, inspired by philosophers such as Spinoza, Bayle and Diderot. The Enlightenment as a philosophical movement originated in the seventeenth century with four main visions, which are linked to their main protagonists: Cartesian, Newtonian and Lockean, Leibnizian and Radicalism.³⁷

³⁶J. Israel, Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750 (Oxford, 2001), pp.003-4

³⁷J. Israel, Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750, pp.003-4

René Descartes (1596-1650)³⁸ was a rationalist who sought to establish a system of universal truths and to reform education and science. In order to achieve this, he first needed to get rid of any possibly erroneous assumptions he held. Applying methodical and systematic doubt to each of his beliefs, he arrived at the conclusion that nothing remained certain but the fact that he doubted everything. This led him to realize that if there was such a thought, then there was a mind that could think and so there was one truth, obtained through pure reason, which would be the existence of the self. This last step is what allowed him to avoid the conclusion most sceptics arrived at using the same method, which is that truth is not knowable. Descartes was a devout Catholic: his purpose in establishing this system of knowledge was to prove the existence of the Catholic God. Descartes made major contributions to science, some later superseded, others, as in mathematics, still taught centuries later. But more importantly, he introduced a new form of philosophy, which was individualistic and innovative. It is the way of thinking that would remain in use throughout the Age of Enlightenment.

John Locke (1632-1704)³⁹ was an English empiricist who believed that the only reliable knowledge one can obtain is through the senses. Our mind would be empty if not shaped by experiences. He was deeply interested in political philosophy as he lived through a period of revolutionary change in England. In the 1680s, he even lived in the Dutch Republic for a while as a political exile. He believed in the fundamental right to property and freedom of individuals and was of the opinion we all agreed to be part of society so as to protect this right and freedom more effectively. He advocated the separation of church and state as a practical solution to obtain a peaceful society. His work was a source of inspiration for various reform movements, including the American revolution.

Benedictus Spinoza (1632-1677)⁴⁰ was a Jewish philosopher from Amsterdam who renounced the Jewish faith in his teen years and was subsequently excommunicated. He then built his philosophy upon the ideas of Descartes, trying to describe and improve the Cartesian system in his earliest publications. Later he detached himself from Descartes' arguments and began writing his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, a text which among other things asserted that the bible was merely an eclectic collection of ancient texts which had no purpose of conveying any truth and was only a tool to instill obedience towards God. As the historian of philosophy Anthony Kennedy puts it, Spinoza argued that 'Science and Scripture have

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³⁸ A. Kenny, *The rise of modern philosophy* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 36-37

³⁹ A. Kenny, *The rise of modern philosophy*, pp. 51

⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 61

different functions, and neither is superior to the other'⁴¹. In the end, what matters in the bible is not the stories themselves but the message it conveys that believers must love God and their neighbours. These revolutionary ideas made Spinoza the enemy of not only the Jews but also the Dutch Calvinists. His relationship with the religious establishment would not improve as his philosophy was often interpreted as atheism. It was a metaphysical system inspired by the thinking of Descartes in which, instead of the Cartesian separation of mind and matter, Spinoza considered a unique substance which can either be called 'God' or 'Nature' making his metaphysical system pantheistic. By removing the notion of an anthropomorphic deity, Spinoza further departed from the institutional religions by denying the inherent nature of actions as good or evil. In contrast, he believed in a deterministic world in which actions are interpreted by humans as good or evil. His philosophical system led to a branch of Enlightenment which is called the Radical Enlightenment and was dedicated to spread ideas of civil rights, individual freedom and abolition of religious authority.

Gottfried Leibniz (1646-1716)⁴² equally was a champion of rationalism who, through the use of logical formalism and core principles, developed a metaphysical system based on indivisible units called Monads, which formed the units of existence, both material and spiritual in Cartesian terms. Leibniz was a devout Christian and, unlike Spinoza, he used his philosophical system to support the Christian God. To him, God is a perfect existence and the universe is his perfect creation, and the world therefore must be the best of all possible worlds. However such perfection cannot be seen in individual actions and events but only in the world as a whole.

These philosophers, all contemporaries of Gregorio Leti; have shaped modern society, and they were highly influential during his life. The Age of the early Enlightenment was not exhaustively shaped by the aforementioned figures, however. When applying Israel's classification of the different movements, it can be seen that these philosophers encompass all these movements. Descartes introduced a dualism of mind and matter while Spinoza and Leibniz both supported monism. The British Locke and Newton were empiricists while the continental Descartes, Leibniz, and Spinoza were rationalists. Yet, in spite of all these differences, all these philosophers influenced each other, shared ideals and built a new age of philosophy. In the following, an attempt will be made to connect Leti and his library to the various philosophical ideas of his lifetime.

⁴¹ Ibid, pp.62

⁴² Ibid, pp.70

Leti's Philosophical Views

Gregorio Leti had seventeen philosophy books in his library. He owned several philosophy books by classical authors such as Seneca and Cicero, as well as the work of the humanist scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606). Traditional philosophical books, such as these, were studied by academics during the seventeenth century. Hence it is not surprising that Leti owned these books since Leti had a traditional upbringing, came from a deeply Catholic life and had a traditional education. However his interest was more varied, as he also owned books by French and English thinkers like Pierre Nicole. Most noteworthy, however, is the presence of the works of Pierre Bayle, whom he knew personally after being introduced to him by Jean Le Clerc.

Pierre Bayle

Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) was a French Huguenot philosopher living in exile in Rotterdam. He was condemned by both the Walloon Church of Rotterdam and the French Roman Catholic Church, as he was accused of being an atheist. He certainly wasn't an atheist, but his two main convictions were toleration towards all religions and a 'belief in God's goodness and omnipotence [which] had to rest solely on faith, because human reason was too weak to clear up mysteries. Halthough he was a son of Calvinist minister he had converted to Roman Catholicism in 1669. To earn a living, he first worked as a tutor and then was appointed lecturer in philosophy in 1675 at the Protestant Academy of Sedan. In 1681 he fled to the Dutch Republic, where one year later he published *Pensées Diverses sur l'Occasion de la Comète* (Various Thoughts on the Occasion of the Comet) in Rotterdam in which he questioned various Christian traditions, pleading religious toleration for everyone, including atheists. This book caused problems with many Calvinist theologians, the most important of whom was Pierre Jurieu, who accused Bayle of being an atheist in disguise. Jurieu and Bayle disagreed on many points of view, which led to a long lasting feud between the two men, on which more at the end of this chapter.

Bayle rejected Spinoza's monism. He wrote that Spinoza believed a philosopher should create a clear intellectual system which individual believers could use to distinguish what is true and what is false. However, Bayle did not think such certainty was attainable and he considered it dangerous as religious and political groups could claim the 'exclusive possession of truth' to justify their intolerance. Spinoza believed that an 'all-encompassing

⁴³J. Delvolve, 'Religion, critique, et philosophie positive chez Pierre Bayle', *The Philosophical Review*, 18 (1909), pp.560

⁴⁴A. Gottlieb, *The dream of Enlightenment: the rise of modern philosophy* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin Books, 2016)

philosophy, 45 would free the mind from superstition and theological dogma. Bayle disagreed with that belief and considered that any attempt at a final resolution would lead to a new form of dogmatism. He believed intellectual discussions should welcome challenges and contradictions to stave off these final resolutions. 46

After this condemnation by Jurieu and Spinoza, Bayle began compiling his Dictionnaire historique et critique (1697), a collection of articles on religion, philosophy and history. It included quotations, anecdotes and critical commentaries, to the dislike of the Calvinists. For instance, the article *David* was deemed too supportive of radical skepticism and Epicureanism while offensively using Scripture. 47 Bayle was even accused of conspiring with France to keep the Dutch out of the Anglo-Austrian alliance. Bayle is now considered one of the most important philosophers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century because of this dictionary. The popularity of his ideas, however, peaked after Leti's death. Leti probably owned the Lettres sur les matières du temps, complètes (Letters on the matters of time, 1688-1690) and the Nouvelles lettres de l'auteur de la critique générale de l'histoire du calvinisme de M. Maimbourg (New letters of the author of the general criticism of the history of calvinism by M. Maimbourg, 1685) because of his interest in philosophy and his friendship with Bayle. As mentioned in the second chapter, Leti was known as a satirist rather than as a historian and his books often sparked controversy. Hence it is not unlikely that Leti supported Bayle's controversial views on religion. The two men corresponded with each other, sharing their books and commenting on their reviews. 48 While Bayle wrote a positive review of Leti's Historia Ginevrina, he also privately expressed outrage, by letter, to their common friend, the Genevan professor Vicenzo Minutoli, over the inaccuracies in the book.⁴⁹

Pierre Jurieu

As mentioned above, Bayle's views were strongly rejected by Pierre Jurieu (1637-1713). Jurieu was a controversialist who has been described as 'being unconstrained by the norms of the intellectual order and social order and indifferent to the moral order.' He had many

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⁴⁵ A. J. Patrick Kenny, *The Rise of Modern Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2006), pp. 36-37
⁴⁶A. Sutcliffe, 'Spinoza, Bayle, and the Enlightenment Politics of Philosophical Certainty', *History of European Ideas*, 1 (2008), pp. 66-76

 ⁴⁷_J. Delvolve, 'Religion, critique, et philosophie positive chez Pierre Bayle', The Philosophical Review, 18 (1909), pp.560
 48 Université Jean Monnet, Bayle-correspondance, Saint-Étienne, Letter 392, <http://bayle-correspondance.univ-stetienne.fr/?Lettre-392-Gregorio-Leti-a-Pierre&lang=fr

⁴⁹ L. Fassò, Avventurieri della penna del seicento (Florence: F. Le Monnier, 1923), pp. 223-225

⁵⁰R. Howells, *Pierre Jureu: Antinomian Radical* (Durham: University of Durham, 1983)

enemies, including Bayle, who believed he was a populist who did not follow rational arguments but was only driven by passion.

Jurieu had been a professor of theology and Hebrew at the Protestant Academy at Sedan until Louis XIV in 1685 revoked the Edict of Nantes, forcing him to flee to the Dutch Republic, more specifically Rotterdam where he became a minister of the Walloon church. His most important work, the *Traité de la devotion*, published in 1675, was very popular and could be found in many late seventeenth century libraries. Most of his work focused on theology and history, topics he was deeply interested in. Jurieu was known for opposing Louis XIV's government and supporting William III of Orange. He questioned absolutism, and the belief that kings were appointed by God.⁵¹ Howells describes Jurieu as an Antinomian, a follower of the belief that Christians would obey the law, divine or human, motivated only by their own principles, rather by any form of punishment.⁵² According to Howells, Jurieu was also a paranoid and megalomaniac man, who wrote in a self-contradictory and rash style.

The relationship between Bayle and Jurieu was ferocious. Bayle's dictionary was largely written against Jurieu. Their main disagreement was related to Bayle's loyalty to the French monarchy. Bayle wanted to return to France, as he did not believe in actively discussing politics and voicing his disagreements with Louis XIV. But he also did not think that the Sun King would stop persecuting Protestants, which is the reason why he decided to logically describe how the end of the Sun King was drawing near. Jurieu, on the other hand, did not refrain from conspiring to overthrow Louis XIV and supported governments that opposed the French king. He was more realistic towards the fate of the Huguenots in the Dutch Republic and was active as a Calvinist propagandist. However, according to the American historian of ideas Harry Bracken, their disagreement seems to be more personal than ideological, if the speculation is true of an affair between Bayle and Jurieu's wife. He was more realistic towards the fate of the Huguenots in the American historian of ideas Harry Bracken, their disagreement seems to be more personal

Leti owned Jurieu's *Factum contre Mr Bayle* of 1692, written in response to Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, as well as *Lettre sur le différent de Mr. Jurieu & Bayle* of the same year a letter further describing Jurieu's objection to Bayle's arguments expressed in the *Dictionnaire*. The presence of these books again shows Leti's interest in following contemporary debates in

⁵¹F. R. J. Knecht, 'Pierre Jurieu, réfugié unique et caractéristique', Bulletin de la Société de L'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 115 (1969), pp. 445-485

⁵²R. Howells, *Pierre Jureu: Antinomian Radical* (Durham: University of Durham, 1983)

⁵³H.M.Bracken, 'Pierre Jurieu: The Politics of Prophecy', Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture, 4 (2013), pp. 85 - 94

⁵⁴H.M.Bracken, 'Pierre Jurieu: The Politics of Prophecy', Millenarianism and Messianism in Early Modern European Culture, 4 (2013), pp. 85 - 94

theology and philosophy. By owning books of both authors, he appears to have wanted to come to an independent judgement on their disagreements.

Blaise Pascal 55

Leti also owned a copy of Blaise Pascal's most famous work, the *Pensées* published in 1684. Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) was a devout Christian who tried to give rational arguments for believing in God through his 'wager': a possible eternal damnation in the afterlife outweighs the difficulties of a religious life. Leti's interest in Pascal's work could be related to his work as a biographer and historian. Despite his abandonment of Catholicism and writing satirical works on the Catholic church, like *Il cardinalismo di Santa Chiesa*, he still read about Catholicism years after his conversion. It is possible that his aversion to Catholicism was maybe first and foremost a consequence of his strict upbringing in Italy. It may also have served as a facade for his work as a satirist rather than stemming from a real antipathy.

Through the ownership of these divergent books, Leti shows to have had a connection to both Catholicism and Calvinism. While he himself was a Calvinist, he also owned books which described Calvinism to either quench his curiosity or to use for research for his future writings. According to the Italian historian Fassò, Leti's works were deemed unreliable, as they included personal anecdotes and unverified rumours. However, the varied contents of Leti's library suggests that he engaged in comprehensive research and was interested in a multitude of subjects. His interest in theology was not superficial, as he owned various controversial books written by Jurieu and Bayle. Leti's library provides another picture of the man that can be derived from his own work or the often critical accounts given of him by later historians.

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⁵⁵ A.J. Patrick Kenny, *The rise of modern philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 53

V. Literature and Poetry

While the previous chapter discussed Leti's philosophical beliefs, this chapter will focus on his literary books in order to further understand both his interests and the trends of the century. Since he owned works by famous Italian Baroque writers such as Giambattista Marino and Torquato Tasso, this chapter will attempt to describe the style of the seventeenth century literature before analysing the other literary content of the library.

As described in detail in the previous chapters, the seventeenth century was a period of profound change. We have seen how the Enlightenment questioned the hegemony of political and religious institutions. A similar shift happened in literature and poetry with the rise of the Baroque movement, which merged the ideas of nature, history and the individual from the Renaissance with traditional religious ideas from the Middle Ages. According to the American literary historian Frank J. Warnke, this literature was the dominant style in Europe from the last decades of the sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century. ⁵⁶ The term Baroque has multiple meanings: Warnke describes it not as a single style with specific devices, but as an emphasis on ideas.

Baroque literature is characterized by specific literary themes as well as experimentations in literary techniques. The authors of this time wanted to evoke strong emotions in the reader, such as romanticism or a deeper understanding of humanity. Baroque authors wrote novels focusing on classical mythology, such as the *Adonis* by Giambattista Marino (1569-1625), a famous Italian author and whose work was present in Leti's library. The *Adonis* is a perfect example of the Baroque style: a classic tale of Venus and Love described in verse full of metaphors, which aims to give a deeper understanding of human flaws. The poem also included art, such as illustrations, creating a fusion of word and image which is another important aspect of Baroque.

In Baroque literature the language is often intricate and convoluted, with grandiose and dramatic vocabulary to support the use of abstract concepts, images and descriptions of animals, people and objects. Sometimes rare and obsolete terms are used. For example, one of the books present in Leti's library is Emanuele Tesauro's *Il Cannocchiale Aristotelico* (The Aristotelian Telescope, 1654) which includes difficult sentences such as, in Warnke's words, 'the most ingenious and acute, the most pilgrim and admirable, the most jovial and the most

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⁵⁶ The following paragraphs are based on F.J. Warnke, *Version of baroque: European literature in the seventeenth century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 50.

fruitful and fertile birth of the "human intellect".⁵⁷ These convoluted terms were often put in rare metric forms in order to create a total reinvention of traditional forms. Baroque authors experimented with language, particularly in poetry, and used extravagance, irregularity, and asymmetry as well as rhetorical figures such as metaphors, hyperboles, and oxymorons. An example of this are madrigals, a form of vocal chamber music that included five to fourteen stanza's of seven or eleven syllables. They originated in the North of Italy in the fourteenth century but became popular during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The sixteenth century madrigal combined the stylistic forms of poetry such as sonnets and ballads. Language became a more prominent stylistic tool in literary works, and as a result, it was scrutinized and extensively reflected on. For example, after the publication of the first Italian dictionary, *Il Vocabolario della Crusca* (1612), a polemics began on the Italian language, whether it should be conserved or improved.

Francesco Petrarch

Among the other Italian literary works in Leti's library is Petrarch (1304-1374). He is regarded as one of the most well-known Italian humanists, scholars and poets of the early Renaissance. His interest in classical authors motivated him to travel across Europe to read classical works preserved in monastic libraries. It is his love for religious literature, vast knowledge of Latin and Italian that made Petrarch such a revolutionary poet. ⁵⁸

In 1312, young Petrarch moved with his family to Avignon, the home of the exiled papal court, as his father wished to find employment abroad as an Italian lawyer. He was first educated in Carpentras, and later studied law in Montpellier. In 1320, he decided to return to Italy to continue his law studies in Bologna but his real passion was to study and write literature. After the death of his father in 1326, Petrarch was able to pursue his true interests.

Deeply religious since his youth, he returned to Avignon to join the clergy and develop his writing skills. His earliest poem is related to the death of his mother and written partly in Montpellier, partly in Bologna. Between 1330 and 1340, he traveled across France, writing poetry and exploring his religious faith. This is why Petrarch believed so strongly in a link between classical culture and Christianity. Petrarch's poetry was much loved: in 1341, he received a degree from Padua university as poet 'ad honoris' of Padua.

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⁵⁷ The following paragraphs are based on F.J. Warnke, *Version of baroque: European literature in the seventeenth century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 50.

⁵⁸ The following paragraphs are based on A.R. Ascoli, U. Falkedi, *The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.11-36

Petrarch's best known work is *Il Canzoniere*, written between 1336 and the year of his death, 1347. It contains 366 poems, one for every day of the year plus an introductory poem and is divided into two sections: 'Poems written during Laura's life' and 'Poems written after her death'. Laura is an important character in Petrarch's life, albeit a mysterious one. He met her in 1327 at the Church of St. Clare at Avignon after having become a priest. Nothing is known about her real identity, however. Il Canzoniere is not only about Petrarch's love for Laura, but also a reflection of his spiritual growth. Besides describing his feelings towards Laura, he also asks the Virgin Mary to guide him through difficult times. Laura almost becomes an ethereal image that tempts him with emotional and carnal feelings. Il Canzoniere is written in Italian, at a time when Latin was still the dominant language in writing. According to Ascoli and Falkedi, Petrarch describes love and grief, and how man can deal with sorrow in a passionate language. He created the modern lyrical style of poetry, which was of great influence on later writers. Curiously, however, Leti only owned the second volume of Il Canzoniere, Il trattato dei rimedi dell'una e dell'altra fortuna (1583). This work contains four volumes of poems dedicated to Petrarch's old friend Azzo da Correggio, in which he narrates his life while presenting an analysis of humans are in need of constantly enjoying pleasure and happiness, whatever the cost may be. The protagonist's belief that happiness is based on money or popularity is shattered when he realizes that what he had been chasing was meaningless. This anthology too was a great success at the time, as is demonstrated by the many editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As a biographer, Leti was highly interested in human nature, which may explain the presence of the book in his library.⁵⁹

Emanuele Tesauro

Literature (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), n.pag

A third Italian writer in Leti's collection is Emanuele Tesauro (1592-1675). Born in Turin into an illustrious aristocratic family, he became one of the most important Baroque authors in Italy. Just like Leti, Tesauro had a traditional upbringing and was raised by the Jesuit Order. Because of his educational background, he studied theology in Naples and Milan and entered the Holy Orders. However, in 1634, he left the church and a year later joined the court of Savoy. There, he focused on writing histories of Piedmont, Turin and Italy under foreign rule. He also wrote two tragedies and works related to moral philosophy.⁶⁰

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⁵⁹ A.R. Ascoli, U. Falkedi, The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp.11-⁶⁰The following paragraphs are based on P. Hainsworth, D. Robey, 'Emanuele Tesauro', The Oxford Companion to Italian

One of Tesauro's books that Leti owned was his main work *Il cannocchiale* aristotelico, published in 1654 and remaining popular through the seventeenth century, being reprinted more than ten times. Tesauro's work is a perfect example of Baroque literature, as his poetry is enriched by what he called '*ingegno*' (ingenuity) instead of '*intelletto*' (intellect). The former transforms the ideas through analogies and lateral thinking, giving more depth than is possible by the latter. Applying this to poetry, he showed that a metaphor can lead to infinite more metaphors. According to literary historians Hainsworth and Robey,

Tesauro is conscious of the dangers of slippage between truth and language, but he appreciates the sensuous and intellectual pleasure and wonder that non-literal, non-transparent words and signs can create. For him, all language is inherently metaphorical in that it involves transference from thought to the senses.⁶¹

As previously mentioned, language and literature changed in the seventeenth century, as the Baroque transformed the way language was used and style became more complex, with metaphors and rhetorical figures used. It is therefore not surprising that this book is in Leti's library: as one of the most popular Baroque titles of the time, Leti was the ideal intended reader.

Leti owned numerous other works by Tesauro such as the *Inscriptiones* (1670), *La Filosofia Morale* (1670), an often translated philosophical text, *La Vergine Trionfante* (1680), *Origine delle Guerre Civili del Piemonte* (1673), *I campeggiamenti del Principe Tommaso di Savoia* (1674) *Istoria di Torino* (1679) *and Del Regno d'Italia sotto i barbari* (1669). The last five books describe the history of Turin, Piedmont and the Duchy of Savoy, along the same lines as Leti compiled his histories during his early career. Leti undoubtedly used these works as sources for his own work on the history of Italy.

As mentioned above, Leti and Tesauro shared an upbringing by the Order of Jesuits, and they both left the Jesuits in order to explore the new philosophical ideas that were emerging during the Early Enlightenment. The presence of Tesauro's work in Leti's library is therefore unlikely to be a mere fluke, the more so since both men as true members of the Republic of Letters were corresponding with each other. Emanuele Tesauro expressed

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⁶¹ P. Hainsworth, D. Robey, 'Emanuele Tesauro', *The Oxford Companion to Italian Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), n.pag

interested in Leti's work, asking his publisher Bartolomeo Zavatta for a copy of *Opera di V*. *Ilustrissima*. A letter has survived of Leti sending the copy to Tesauro.⁶²

Stefano Guazzo

Another influential Italian author of the sixteenth century was Stefano Guazzo (1530-1593). He was read in Italian and in translation throughout Europe and continued his popularity a century later during Leti's time. Unfortunately, there is not much information on his personal life, as there is no biography available and his two works have not been reprinted since the seventeenth century. His name is not mentioned in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* nor in the Italian equivalent (*Treccani*), and the *History of Italian literature*. The information recovered about the author comes from letters and mentions from his large number of acquaintances and collected by author John Leon Lievsay in 1956.⁶³

Guazzo was born in 1530 in Piedmont, although it is unknown exactly where. He was of noble descent; his ancestors having served as city magistrates of Pavia. He studied law in Pavia and subsequently became a secretary to the Duchess of Mantua. As her representative, he travelled to France and Spain. He resided in France from 1555 until 1562. When the Duchess of Mantua died in 1566, Guazzo retired from public life and decided to focus on his personal life. Yet, he later served as rector of the University of Pavia until his death in 1593.

In 1550 he published his debut, an elegy in Latin on the death of a jurist from Pavia. The poem was published twice by the same press and in the same year. Although this poem is not remarkable, it was the beginning of a literary career which brought him appreciation and admiration. His most notable works are *La Civil Conversazione* and *Dialoghi Piacevoli* respectively published posthumously in 1593 and 1610. Leti owned them both in copies of the many later editions that were published in the seventeenth century. *La Civil Conversazione* was a difficult book, featuring a discussion between Hannibal and a Knight broaching on a variety of themes. According to Lievsay, this work 'belongs to the area of philosophy and in particular of ethics, and his humanistic ideology requires him to address his discourse to a universal audience using plain language.'64

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⁶² G. Leti, *Lettere di Gregorio Leti, sopra differenti materie, con de proposte, e risposte.* (Amsterdam: Georgio Gallet, 1701),

pp. 115 - 117

⁶³ J.L. Lievsay, 'Stefano Guazzo and His Circle', *Romantic Review*, 47 (1956), pp. 3-12 https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/docview/1290884487?rfr id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo (January 10, 2019)

⁶⁴ J.L. Lievsay, 'Stefano Guazzo and His Circle', *Romantic Review*, 47 (1956), pp. 3-12 https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/docview/1290884487?rfr id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo (January 10, 2019)

The ownership of Guazzo's works shows Leti's interest in Italian authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Moreover, the themes of ethics, theology and philosophy dealt with in *La Civil Conversazione* were all themes of interest to Leti as well.

Torquato Tasso

One of the most read Italian authors of the sixteenth century was Torquato Tasso (1544-1595). He came from Sorrento near Naples. His father, Bernardo Tasso, was a lyricist and poet while his mother, Porzia de' Rossi, was of noble, Neapolitan descent. Tasso had a complicated life, as his father had pleaded allegiance to San Severino, the prince of Salerno, when desperate for employment. When San Severino was forced into exile in 1552, Tasso's father followed him, while all of his estates were confiscated. Torquato stayed with his mother until 1554, when he moved to Rome to join his father. In 1556, he went to live in Urbino, the same year of his mother's death. 65

Tasso had an early passion for poetry, learning his father's poems by heart and thus becoming familiar with verses. There are many descriptions of young Tasso being an exceptional child, for instance being able to answer questions rationally at the age of two, and being apathetic. Although these descriptions may well be exaggerated, Tasso's talent for poetry and writing was discovered early in his life. He became even more popular in the seventeenth century when his popularity spread through Europe, although his work was not appreciated fully until modern times.

His most well-known work is *Gerusalemme liberata*, completed in 1581, but started in 1559 in Venice, when he was only nineteen. This epic poem tells the story of the First Crusade, focusing on Godfrey of Buillon's Christian army fighting Muslims and conquering Jerusalem. Tasso mixed historical accuracy with fantasy and invention. His goal was to reconcile the Renaissance rules for an epic with his own lyrical style. *Gerusalemme liberata* is based on the idea of a traditional Renaissance romantic poem but also contains elements from Homer and Virgil. It is an early example of Baroque writing, as the story includes themes of the debate between love and duty and emotions versus rationality. In spite of early mixed reviews, the poem was translated into many European languages.⁶⁶

65 The following paragraphs are based on P. Brand, L. Pertile, *The Cambridge History of Italian Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), n.pag

⁶⁶ The following paragraphs are based on R.J. Clements, 'Torquato Tasso: a study of the poet and of his contribution to english literature', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 28(2007), pp.491

In May 1592, while under the patronage of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini (1551-1610), a nephew of Pope Clement VIII, Tasso wrote a revised version of his epic dedicated to his patron and now entitled *Gerusalemme Conquista* (Conquered Jerusalem). However, the revision did not enjoy the same success as the original. This led Tasso to justify his concept of poetic art in the multi-volume *Discorsi del poema eroico* (Treatise on Epic Poetry), published in 1594. This work, which can be found in Leti's library, analyses poetry and literature by discussing the elements and characteristics of epic poems and fables. Tasso was granted an annual pension as well as the title of poet laureate by the pope. He died in 1595, having long suffered from bipolar disorder and having lived his last years in poverty.

Gregorio Leti strangely did not own *Gerusalemme liberata*, but his library does hold a copy of *La Cavalletta* (The Grasshopper), one of Tasso's lesser-known poems, written in 1584, as well as the aforementioned *Discorsi del poema eroico*. In this work, Tasso wanted to answer questions related to heroic poetry: does it have to be based on historical truth, or can it include creative thoughts? Tasso explains that the purpose of an epic poem is to set an example of actions to be imitated by the readers. Poetry cannot but portray human actions but, in order to fulfill its purpose, it is not limited to historical deeds. With regards to his style, Tasso explains that classic poets like Homer and Virgil did not need to use multiple themes, but the public taste had since changed and required more variety. Moreover, Tasso argued that an epic poem could present a level of variety mimicking that of the universe as made by God.⁶⁷

The *Discorsi del poema eroico* raised questions about the style of writing poetry and discusses philosophical ideas related to human nature. Therefore, Leti's ownership of the book shows Tasso's enduring popularity in the second half of the seventeenth century, but also Leti's interest in understanding literature.

Giambattista Marino

Giambattista Marino (1569-1625, also known as GiovanBattista Marino) came from a Neapolitan family of lawyers. He travelled extensively in Italy and settled in Paris before returning to Naples. He is considered one of the greatest Italian poets of the time, and the successor of Torquato Tasso. He was the founder of Marinism, a poetic style originated in the seventeenth century, and according to Baldick, 'it is one of several stylistic manifestations of

⁶⁷L. Waters, 'L'altre stelle: The Arguments of Tasso's Discorsi del poema eroico', *American Association of Teachers of Italian*, 55 (1978), pp. 303-320, http://www.viv-it.org/schede/discorsi-del-poema-eroico-che-cos%E2%80%99%C3%A8-poesia-epica (April 3, 2019)

the European baroque cult of ingenuity'. ⁶⁸ Marinism was used in narrative poems, sonnets and madrigals. However, imitations of Marino's work did not meet the popularity of Marino's original work. Their take on Marinism proved too extreme, taking the complex word plays and intricate metaphors to such a level that Marinism became a derogatory term. ⁶⁹ The movement ended at the end of the seventeenth-century when Baroque ended.

As an adolescent, Marino was helped by Manso, the biographer of Torquato Tasso, who influenced him and his writing style throughout his life. Marino worked as a secretary to the Neapolitan prince but had to leave Naples after being twice arrested, in 1598 and 1600, for immorality, although he was eventually freed thanks to his connections. He went to Rome where he became acquainted with one of the Pope's nephews, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, with whom he traveled across Italy, moving from Rome to Parma and lastly Turin in 1608, where he lived for seven years. It was during his time in Turin that he started writing *La Lira* (The Lyre). *La Lira* is a collection of poetry divided into three parts and published in 1614. Marino tried to publish other poems while staying in Parma, but he was only able to publish work in 1602 after escaping censorship. ⁷⁰

Leti owned two versions of L'Adone (Adonis), one published in 1633 and a reprint of 1679. L'Adone, Marino's most popular work, was first published in 1623 with a dedication to the French king Louis XIII. The poem retells a story from Ovid's Metamorphoses, a description of the love of Venus for Prince Adonis, who takes refuge on the island of Cyprus after surviving a storm. Marino's work contains some additions, such as descriptions of visits to the palace of Venus to discover the five senses, or to the Island of Poetry. As described by Hugh, this work was 'initially conceived as an idyll divided into two cantos, it was reworked over two decades, to become a poem of twenty cantos comprising more than 8,000 octaves'. It currently is the longest poem written in Italian, although Hugh describes L'Adone as a madrigal instead of an epic poem. The use of mythology was a classic feature in Baroque art, with themes of love and idolisation of women taking centre stage. This poem achieved great success when it was first published and Leti must have appreciated it as well, as he owned multiple copies. Despite his somewhat mitigated reputation, Marino was a pioneer who

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⁶⁸ C. Baldick, The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), npag

⁶⁹ J.V. Mirollo, *The poet of the marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963)

⁷⁰ J.V. Mirollo, *The poet of the marvelous: Giambattista Marino* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1963)

⁷¹ The following paragraphs are based on C. Hugh, ed 'Boccalini, Trajano', *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), pp. 105

inspired change in poetry and the authors who followed his example wrote about concrete objects and reality in a more metaphorical way.

Marino, like Tasso had done before him, experimented with style and even originated a new branch in Baroque poetry. His works were likely to be owned by any educated academic of the seventeenth century with an interest in literature and its evolution. Leti certainly was such a man.

Trajano Boccalini

Finally Trajano Boccalini (1556-1613) should be mentioned. He was an influential author in Italy as well as Europe in general, best known for his anti-Spanish stance. His most popular work is the satire *Ragguagli di Parnaso* (Reports from Parnassus) published one year before his death in 1612.

The son of an architect, Boccalini studied law in Rome and worked for the papal administration. Later he moved to Venice where he worked as a diplomat. His political career life is illustrated in the *Ragguagli di Parnaso*. Published in the form of 201 satirical newsletters, it broaches topics such as politics, literature and art. Another important work of Boccalini, entitled *Pietra del paragone politico* (Political Touchstones), was published posthumously in 1614. In it, he denounces the Spanish domination of Europe. The book was very popular and was translated into French, English, and other languages. His *Commentari sopra Cornelio Tacito* (Comments upon Cornelius Tacitus) was first published only in 1677. This work features a discussion of politics and government, mimicking Machiavelli's *Il Principe*. In his last work, *Religione e ragione di stato* (Religion and State Law), which was only published in 1933, he comments on the attitude of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V towards the German protestants.

Leti owned three editions of Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnaso*, published in Milan, Venice and Amsterdam. As the writer of *La bilancia politica di tutte le opere di Traiano Boccalini*, in which he discusses Boccalini's work and analyses his political views, it is not surprising that he owned works from Boccalini.

Giovanni Ermanno Widerhold printed in 1678 the third volume of *Bilancia Politica*, including twenty unreleased letters Boccalini had allegedly written. These letters had been sourced by Gregorio Leti, who then admitted in some correspondence addressed to Prince Auguso Guglielmo di Braunschweigh-Luneburg that seventeen of the twenty letters had been

written by Leti himself. Hence, his interest in Boccalini went beyond merely reading his books as he also attempted to use Boccalini to further his reputation.⁷²

In conclusion, it can be said that Leti's library with regard to Italian literature reflects the trends of the century as well as his personal interests. Since he had a tumultuous life, it is difficult to judge if certain texts are missing from his library, as the losses his collection may have suffered cannot be accounted for. However, on the basis of the contents of the auction catalogues of his library, it can be said that a good number of influential Italian literary authors are present, all representing the experiments with a new literary style, which we now call Baroque. This testifies to Leti's deep and remaining involvement in the literature of the country where he was born, even though he spent the major part of his life outside Italy.

⁷² L. Firpo, 'Traiano Boccalini ed il suo pseudo-epistolario', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, 119(1942), pp. 105 - 129.

VI. Journals and Periodicals

The aim of this thesis was to analyse the multiple aspects of Gregorio Leti's library, and lastly it will therefore discuss his possession of a number of journals and periodicals. Journals were introduced in the late seventeenth century as periodical magazines that focused on a particular subject and were written by professionals in the specific field of interest. Gregorio Leti owned multiple issues of three of these journals: the *Journal des Savans*, the *Mercure Historique* and the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*.

The *Journal des Savans* was founded in Paris in1665 by Denis de Sallo, a bibliophile and adviser to the French government. He first published the periodical in 1665 under the pseudonym of Sieur d'Hédouville. De Sallo got the idea of this journal from the historian François Eudes de Mézeray, who had written a proposal for a periodical which would record news and discoveries in the arts and sciences, publish book reviews and everything else that might be of interest to scholars. Based on this idea, de Sallo created his journal to share news and information among the members of the Republic of Letters.⁷³

The Republic of Letters was an idealized, transnational community that existed during the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. The members were scholars of a variety of backgrounds interested in science, history, literature and philosophy. Through the Republic of Letters, the scholarly and scientific community could discuss new developments and discoveries via correspondence and books and periodicals. According to Dobre,

learned men (and almost exclusively behind the scenes some women, as far as we know) shared information about work-in-progress and published books, they gossiped about colleagues and recommended students, they reflected on the politics of universities, princes, and the church, and they reported on family matters and their health.⁷⁴

There were some ground rules for joining the Republic of Letters, such as the need to reciprocate letters and expand communication between the scholars. Moreover, religious and political differences should be ignored and the discussions should focus on pragmatism and

⁷³ D. van Miert, 'What was the Republic of Letters? A Brief introduction to a long history', *Briefgeschiedenis*, 2004(2014), pp. 260 287

pp. 269 - 287

⁷⁴ M. Dobre. 'Early Cartesianism and the Journal des Sçavans, 1665–1671.' *Studium*, 4(2011), pp.228–240, https://www.gewina-studium.nl/articles/10.18352/studium.1557/# (April 20, 2019)

evidence. There would be no fighting and insults, just 'friendliness, openness, constancy, patience, and forgiveness.'⁷⁵

The Republic of Letters heavily relied on correspondence and books to share information between its members and to introduce new ideas into the academic discussions. When the *Journal des Savans* was founded, it revolutionized how the group shared information and discussed new philosophical views, such as Cartesianism. Its model was soon copied outside of France, for instance in England, where the London based Royal Society in January 1665 began publication of the *Philosophical Transactions*, with the aim to 'make known all that is new in the Republic of Letters'. ⁷⁶

Gregorio Leti owned the complete series of the *Journal des Savans* for the years 1665 to 1701. His subscription in all likelihood had multiple motivations. First, he was a scholar with a strong interest in history, philosophy, and politics, as shown by the number of books he owned related to these topics. Second, he was part of various literary circles and scholarly networks and corresponded or maintained contacts with prominent philosophers and authors of his time, such as Pierre Bayle and Jean Le Clerc. The possession of the *Journal des Savans* and his participation in the Republic of Letters show that Leti was well aware of developments in the arts and sciences and was in contact with many influential characters of the period. Although his work as a satirist is generally described as historically unreliable and biased, he remained influential and relevant as an academic. Moreover, the historical descriptions rarely mention the wide variety of interests that were found in his library. A satirist might not be taken seriously, historically speaking, but Leti thoroughly researched historical events, persons and ideas before writing any of his books.

Another periodical owned by Gregorio Leti was the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, which began publication in Amsterdam in 1684. This journal was focused on reviewing the latest books from across Europe, exactly what intellectuals like Leti wanted. The periodical was founded by Henri Desbordes, a Huguenot bookseller, who before his flight to the Dutch Republic had had a bookshop in Saumur, selling books to the professor and students of the local Protestant academy. He was imprisoned in 1682 on the accusation of printing Pierre Jurieu's *Préservatif contre le changement de religion*, a book regarded as too harsh on the Catholic doctrine. After being released in the same year, he decided to move to

⁷⁵ M. Dobre. 'Early Cartesianism and the Journal des Sçavans, 1665–1671.' *Studium*, 4(2011), pp.228–240, https://www.gewina-studium.nl/articles/10.18352/studium.1557/# (April 20, 2019)

⁷⁶ D. van Miert, 'What was the Republic of Letters? A Brief introduction to a long history', *Briefgeschiedenis*, 2004(2014), pp. 269 - 287

Amsterdam where he continued publishing and selling books to clients in the Dutch Republic, France, Geneva, and elsewhere. The journal was written and edited by Pierre Bayle between 1684 and 1687, and then continued by Daniel de Larroque, Jean Barrin, and most importantly, Jean Le Clerc, Leti's son-in-law, until April 1689. As the title indicates, the journal helped to foster the conception of an international community of intellectuals and scholars.⁷⁷

The most recent periodical owned by Gregorio Leti was the *Mercure Historique*. Founded in The Hague in 1686, it was published until 1782. It was yet another French journal that was published abroad to avoid censorship. This journal, founded by the Huguenot journalist Gatien de Courtilz de Sandras, discussed the internal affairs of every state and their diplomatic relations. It also examined how ideas and religion evolved in this century. A total of 192 volumes were published, and the *Mercure* is believed to have introduced modern journalistic techniques with the use of comments and description of news and politics, rather than literature and opinionated pieces. Still, the editors of these journals struggled with the impartiality of the news they brought. The first director of the journal adopted the point of view of the monarchs and governments, so he was deemed biased and partial, while the latest editor wanted to be impartial and respectful of the countries. A later comment by Rousset describes in 1738 the issues of reliability and depicting news without any particular biases:

Some complain when the news is not accompanied by reflections; others would like to be told the facts only plainly and simply; others would like reflections, but according to their ideas.⁷⁹

Hence, this journal, emerging at the time of Gregorio Leti, was already concerned with issues of bias and objectivity and fostered reflection on those topics.

These journals were aimed at creating a debate among scholars and spark discussions within the Republic of Letters. They were so popular at the time that it is said that even Louis XIV read the *Mercure Historique*. Gregorio Leti's ownership of these journals shows his interest in debating literature and philosophy as well as his keen interest in the affairs of the world.

⁷⁷D.C. van der Linder, EXPERIENCING EXILE: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680-1700, Utrecht (2013)

⁷⁸ J. Lombard, 'Mercure Historique et Politique (1686 - 1792)', *Dictionnaire des journaux*

^{1600-1789, 1991} http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0940-mercure-historique-et-politique-1 (February 10, 2019)

⁷⁹ J. Lombard, 'Mercure Historique et Politique (1686 - 1792)', *Dictionnaire des journaux* 1600-1789, 1991 http://dictionnaire-journaux.gazettes18e.fr/journal/0940-mercure-historique-et-politique-1 (February 10, 2019)

Conclusion

The analysis of Gregorio Leti's library confirms that he was a complicated character. He managed to make himself an influential writer in various political spheres of Europe, yet his legacy is not taken very seriously by modern historians. His tendency to focus on gossip and frivolous rumors have led historians to dismiss his reach as an intellectual. However, these same biographies mention his presence in the royal courts of France and England and describe the numerous countries he had to exile himself from. Is it then possible that Leti's reputation as an unreliable historian was merely a superficial facade hiding a more complex person?

This is the question this thesis has presented an answer through the analysis of his library. Established at his death, the catalogue of Leti's library gives some insight into his personality. Both quantitatively and qualitatively, it allowed us to retrace his life while at the same time uncover some parts of his personality which were not brought up in the aforementioned biographies. His library indicated that Leti was an extremely well-read man engaged in notorious literary, political as well as philosophical circles of his time.

Gregorio Leti was a historian of the seventeenth century, a period of turmoil in Europe marked by strong political, religious, and philosophical evolutions. Leti lived through the economic crisis in Italy, the territorial wars in Geneva, the protestant repression in France, the revolution in England, and finally found refuge in Amsterdam. Not only did Leti live through these events but he was also connected to influential people. To earn a living, he taught languages and history to nobles and was appointed twice historian of the city, first in Geneva and then in Amsterdam. His writing attracted the ire and the interest of many a powerful politician, such as the Spanish ambassador to Geneva or even King Louis XIV himself. Leti wrote controversial accounts of historical events which he researched thoroughly and mixed with anecdotes to create a narrative. This would explain why Louis XIV found him a threat and wanted his support against the Huguenots. In France, this attention benefited him, allowing him to be protected by the king even though he was protestant for instance. However, Leti's works eventually led him to be exiled from Geneva, France and finally England.

Leti was not known for his strong views, but his library and his relationships show an interest in philosophy and theology, mostly through his acquaintance Pierre Bayle. Leti had a traditional Catholic upbringing and later converted to Calvinism. He was expelled from the

Calvinist city Geneva but, when asked by Louis XIV, he refused to convert back to Catholicism and abandoned a situation he had desired for a long time. Leti had a complex relationship with religion and his library is proof of that fact, containing many theological texts as well as works by the controversial Pierre Bayle. In addition, Leti was a member of literary and philosophical circles such as the Republic of Letters. Through them, Leti remained at the forefront of literary innovations, represented in his library by the Italian Baroque poets such as Torquato Tasso and Giambattista Marino. This is further supported by Leti's collection of periodicals, some of which were popular among the members of the Republic of Letters. Modern historians focused on the inaccuracies in his work. However, Leti corresponded with many influential writers, such as Emanuele Tesauro, and was accepted in literary circles in spite of his well-known unreliability.

While the study of his library provides some insight into who Gregorio Leti was, it cannot substitute itself to a full historical analysis. This is a decisive limit into the extent of this analysis but it is sufficient to shed doubt over the usual account of Gregorio Leti's life.

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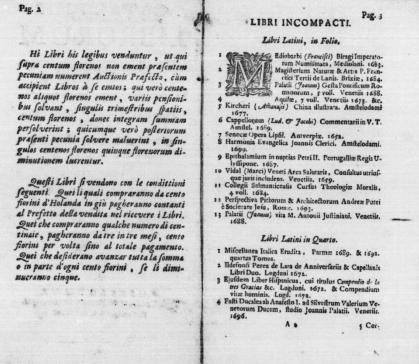
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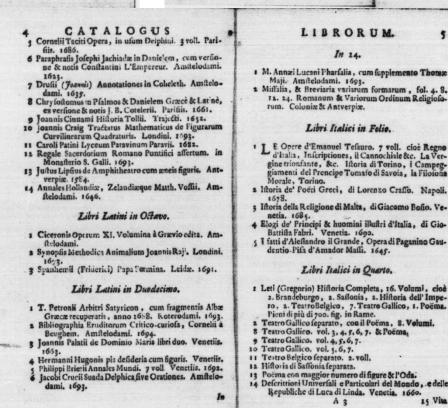
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Appendix

The following are pictures of Gregorio Leti's catalogue, transcribed in Amsterdam in 1701 following his death.







In 24.

CATALOGUS

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 15 Vita di S. Pietro di Giovanni Palazzi. Venetia 1687.

 16 Difcorfi di Enea Vico Parmigiano fopra le Medaglie de gli Antichi. Parigi.

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5 Histoire de la negotiation des Ambassadeurs Suisses envoiezau Duc de Savoie en 1686. à Geneve. 1690.
6 Ramas de poésies vieilles & nouvelles, à Cologne,

1689.
7 Le livre des Pfeaumes, nouvelles version, à Amster-

7 Le livre des Pfeaumes, nouvelles version, à Amsterdam, 1692.

8 Recueuil de diverses pieces servant à l'Histoire de Henri III, à Cologne, 1693.

9 Discours sur Histoire Universelle, par Mr. de Meaux, à Amsterdam, 1681.

10 Lapolitique des Jesuites par Louis de Monpersan, à Cologne, 1692.

11 Journal du siège de Mons, contenant tout ce qui s'est passional du siège de Mons, contenant tout ce qui s'est passional d'Armée de France, à Lille, 1691.

12 Lettres passorales, par Mr. Jurieu, 1680.

13 Le vai Cuisinter François, à Amsterdam.

14 L'Etat présent d'Angleterre, par le Docteur Chamber-layne, à Amsterdam, 1688. A 6.

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- 15 Le threfor de l'Arithmetique par Nicolas le Roux , à
- Bruxelles, 1692.

 16 Nouvelle Histoire d'Abissinie, à Paris, 1694.

 17 Del'Amitié en quatre chants Heroiques, à Amsterdam.
- 1691.

 18 Les Larmes de l'Angleterre, à Cologne, 1692.

 19 Revolutions arrivées en Europe, par Varillas, Tomes
 V. & VI. à Amiler am 1690.

 20 Défenfe de l'Hittoire des Variations, par Mr. de Meaux,
- à Paris, 1691. 21 L'Etat préfent de l'Eglife Greque, par Ricaut, à Mid-delbourg, 1692. 22 Lesjeux de la providence par Mr. de Gerimond, à Co-

- logne, 1690.

 23 Menestrier, la Science de la Noblesse, à Paris, 1691.

 24 Pracés de Fouquet, 13. Volumes.

 25 Lettres Historiques, 17. voll. à la Have.

 29 Mercure Historique, 28. voll. à la Have.

 30 Elemens des Mathematiques par le P. l'Ami, à Amsterdam, 1692. 31 Nouveaux Essais de Morale I. Partie, à Amsterdam,
- 1692. 12 L'Histoire de Philippe Emanuel de Lorraine Duc de Mer-
- Les Offices de Ciccion en François, à la Haye, 1692.
 Mémoires pour ferrir à l'Hiltoire de Louis de Bourhoa.
 Prince de Condé. 2. Tomes. à Cologne, 1693.
 La Maniere d'amollie les Os, par Mr. Papin, à Amilerde de Condé.
- dam, 1688. 36 Hiftoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, par Mr. de Fabert, à
- Cologne, 1689. 7 Penfers de Mr. Pascal, à Amsterdam, 1684. S L'Histoire de l'Empire de Heist, en 3. Tomes, à la

- 58 L'Hittoire de l'Empire de Heiff, en 3. Tomes, à la Have, 1694.
 39 Relation du voiage de Ceilan, par Robert Knox, à Amardam, 1694.
 30 Voiage des Jefuites & de l'Abbé de Choify à Siam, en 3. Volumes, à Amflerdam, 1687.
 41 Hittoire de la vie de David, par l'Abbé de Choify, à Amflerdam, 1692.
 42 Comedies de Plaute par Mad. le Fevre, à Amflerdam, 1691.
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 43 Lettres de Gui Patin. en s. Tomes, à Geneve.

 44 Les mêmes, i. Tome de l'Edition de Hollande.

 45 Les Vou ages de Jean Baptifle Taveroier en 3. voll. fur
 la Copie de Paris, 1692.

 46 Hilfoir de la Reformation d'Angleterre de Burnet, Edition de Geneve, en 4. voll.

 47 Critique fur les Loteries, par Greg. Leti, en 2. volumes, à Amflerdam, 1598.

 48 La vie de Cromwel par Mr. Leti, en 2. Tomes, 1694.

 49 Abreg: del Hilfoire de Brandebourg, par Mr. Leti, à
 Amflerdam, 1687.

 50 La Monarchie Univerfelle de Louïs XIV. par Mr. Leti, 2. voll. à Amflerdam.

 51 Les Memoires de Ludlow en 2. Tomes, à Amflerdam,
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 52 Les Délices de la Hollande, à Amsterdam, 1697.
 53 Voiage de Suisse de Reboulet & la Brune, à la Haye,
 1686. 54 Le procés de Guillaume Vicomte de Stafford, à Coloi
- gne, 1681. 55 Evenemens Historiques choisis, à Paris, 1691. 56 Le parsait Capitaine du Duc de Rohan, à Amsterdam,
- 1691. 57 Reflexion fur les défauts ordinaires des hommes, à Paris, 1695. 58 L'usage desadversitez par Mr. de Bussy, à Amsterdam,
- 1694.

 59 Memoires de la Cour d'Espagne en 2. Tomes, 1692.

 60 Journal d'un voiage dans la mer de Sud en 1684. &c...
 par Raveneau de Lusian, à Paris, 1690.

 61 Lettre sur les differens de Mr. Jurieu & Bayle, à Am-
- fterdam, 1692. 62 Traité de Miniature, 5. Edition revue & corrigée, à Bruffelles, 1692. 63 Hiftoire fecrete de Bourgogne en 2. voll. à la Haye;

- 1694.

 64 Abregé de l'Histoire des Vaudois, par P. Boyer Minifire, à la Haye, 1691.

 65 Sorberiana, ou bons mots &c. de Mr. de Sorbiere, à Amsterdam, 1691.

 66 Entretien des morts, sur l'état present de l'Europe, 1690.

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 67 Apo-

CATALOGUS 16

5 Lipfii (*Jufii*) liber de Amphitheatro. Antwerpire. 1387. 4 Atlas Janfonii. Amstelod. 1673. 7 Palatii (*Journis*) Falti Ducales Venetorum. 1696.

In Octave.

7 Ephemerides Eruditorum ab anno 1665. ad annum 1667. Francofurti. 1671. 2 Camdeni (Guillelmi) Elizabetha. Amftelodami. 1677. 3 Hygini Opera, cum notis Schefferi & Munckeri. 1674. 4 Euclides demonstratus ab Henr. Coetsio. Lugd. 1692. 5 Synonymorum fylva S. Pelegromii. Londini. 1639. 6 Palatii (70amis) Libri duo dedominio Maris. Venetiis. 1667.

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1 I Iftoire de Mr. de Thou, traduite par de Rier. A Paris. 1659. 3. voll.
2 Monftrelet (Engueras de) Chroniques. 3. voll, A Paris. 1786.
3 Vie de Frederic Henry de Nassau. A Amsterdam. 1659.
4 Le Petit (Jean François) Grande Chronique des païsbas. A Dordrecht. 1661.
5 Description des Indes Occidentales par Herrera, & autres pieces. 1632.
6 Mausoice d'Ifabelle d'Aûtriche. A Bruxelles. 1634.
7 Histoire des Pays Bas, par De Meteren. A la Haye. 1618.

7 Hiftoire des Pays Bas, par De Neterett. A la 12/01618.
8 La Republique de Platon, par Morel. A Paris. 1600.
9 Serre (Fan de) Inventaire de l'Hiftoire de France.
2. voll. à Paris. 1618.
10 Bouju (Thesphrafte) Philosophie. A Paris. 1614.
11 Ocuvres Morales de Plutarque. A Paris. 1575.
12 Hiftoire des Martyrs. A Geneve. 1619.
13 La Germanie Inferieure de Kærius. A Amsterdam.
1622.

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1 Relation d'un voyage de Constantinople. à Paris. 1680. 2 L'Opera d'Achil'e. A Amsterdam. 1688. 3 Les Epitres de Guevare. A Lion. 1558. L'Architecture de Vitruve en François. A Geneve.

1618.
5 La vie de Christoste de Dhona. A Geneve. 1630.
6 La fageste Civile de Cardan. A Lion. 1632.
7 Les Etats & Empires de Davity. A Rouën, 1635.
8 Le partait Marechal de Soleisle. A Lion. 1639.
9 Mornay (Philippe de) ses Memoires. A Geneve. 1624.
10 Le Ministre d'Estat de Silhon. A Paris. 1634.
11 Le Grain (Baptiste) vie de Henry IV. à Rouen. 1633.
12 Histoire d'Elizabet par Camden, en François. A Paris.

1627.

13 Abregé des Actes du Clergé de France, par Borion. A Paris. 1680.

14 Guicciardin (Louis) fa description des Païs Bas. A Arahem. 1613.
15 Dictionaire François Latin de Tachard. A Paris. 1692.
16 Le Theatre d'Agriculture d'Olivier de Serres. A Paris.

1617. 17 La Discipline des Eglises Réformées. 1654.

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I Experiences fur la Vipere par Moife Charras. A Paris,

167a.

Les Délices de la France. A Leide 1687.

Sentimens de quelques Theologiens de Hollande, fur l'Histoire Critique de R. Simon. à Amsterdam. 1685.

4 Le même. 5 Histoire de l'Empire par Heist. 2 voll. A la Haye. 1685. 6 Histoire des Turcs par du Verdier en 3. Tomes. A Lion

en 1682.
7 L'Etat del'Empire par Louis du May en a. Tomes. A
Geneve. en 1674. S L'E-

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8 L'Esprit de Mr. Arnaud. 2. voll. 1684.
9 Abregé de l'Histoire d'Angleterre en 2. voll. 1660.
10 Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique du Calvinime. 2. voll. A Amsterdam. 1687.
12 Histoire du Gouvernement de Venife, par Amelo: de la Houssye. A Amsterdam. 1686.
13 Nouveaux Interêts des Princes de l'Europe. A Cologne. 1686.

1080. 14 Voyage d'Espagne fait en 1655. A la Haye. 1666. 15 Le meme. 16 Le Tocsin au Roi &c. par la statue de Memnon. A Pa-

ris. 1610. 17 Le Citadin de Geneve. A Geneve en 1606. 28 Du Laurens de la Conservation de la fanté. A Paris.

17 Le Citadin de Geneve. A Geneve en 1606.
28 Du Laurens de la Confervation de la fanté. A Paris.
1630.
29 Recueuil concernant le Baptême. A Amfterdam. 1695.
20 Abregé de la vie de Charles I. A Leide. 1666.
21 La Politique des Jefuites. A Amfterdam.
22 Traité des Bibliotheques par le Gallois. A Paris. 1685.
23 Sentimens defintereffez fur la retraite des Pafleurs de France. A Deventer. 1688.
24 Defenfe de l'Apologie pour les Pafleurs de France. A Franctort. 1688.
25 L'Etat de la France en 2. voll. A Paris. 1683.
26 Le Tombeau des Délices du monde, par la Serre. A Bruàxelles. 1632.
27 L'Ulyffe Gallobelgique, par Coulon. A Paris en 1643.
28 Le Mercure Suiffe. A Rouén. 1634.
29 Projet de Reunion. A Londres. 1689.
31 Traité des Inferiptions en faux. A Paris. 1666.
31 Traité de l'Ample de Hollande en 3 Tomes. A Amfterdam. 1688
31 Traité de Chy mie par Glafer. A Paris. 1674.
32 Hittoire dels Guerre des Cofaques. A Brais. 1674.
33 Hittoire des Empereurs Ottomins. A Bruxelles. 1689.
37 Mouvemens d'Angleterre. A Anvers. 1691.
38 Hittoire des Empereurs Ottomins. A Bruxelles. 1689.
39 L'Irrevocabilité du Teft. A Amfterdam. 1688.

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40 L'Amerique Angloife. A Amfterdam. 1688.
41 Recueuildes reglemens für les Finances. A Paris. 1600.
42 La Demonomanie de Bodin. A Anvers. 1993.
43 Hifloire Generale des Larrons. A Paris. 1633.
44 Hifloire des promeffes illufoires. A Paris en 1684.
45 Le Favory de la Cour. A Anvers. 1557.
46 La generation des Hommes, par le moyen des Oeufs.
A Rouvelle Méthode, parapprendre la langue Espagnole.
A Paris. 1681.
48 Remarques für l'Estedes Provinces Unies, par Mr. Temple. A la Haye. 1680.
49 Entretiens für le Gouvernement d'Angleterre. A Londres.

dres. 50 La Bête Dégradée, par Darmanson. A Amsterdam.

50 La Bête Dégradée, par Darmanson. A Amsterdam.
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151 Le vrai Interêt des Princes. A Strazbourg. 1686.
152 Les Ordonnances Ecclessastiques, Civiles &cc. dela Ville
de Geneve. 1669.
153 Abregéde l'Histoire des Vaudois, par Boyer. 1691.
154 Traite de l'Origine des Cardinaus. A Cologne. 1669.
155 Lettres Historiques depuis l'an 1692. jusqu'à 1700, en
18. Tomes.
16 Pieces du procésde Fouquet en 15. Tomes.
175 La Republique des Lettres en 10. Tomes.
176 Le Partait Ambassadeur de Lancelot. A Paris. 1642.
177 Relation de la Religion, par Edwin Sandis. A Amstere
dam. 1641.

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L A Conchiglia Celefte del Fabri, con figure. Veneta. 1690.

2 Hiftoria Univerfale di tutti i Concilii, di Marco Battaglini. 2. voll. Venezia. 1689.

3 Hiftorie dell' Origine degl' ordini militari, di Bernardo
Giuftiniani. Venezia. 169a.

4 Alarico Opera. Drefden. 1686.

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- 1 Relationi del Cardinal Bentivoglio. Parigi. 1631.
 2 Pompe Funebre per la morte d'Elena Cornara. Padoua. 1686.
 3 Teatro Brittanico, ftampato in Londra, s. voll. 1683.
 4 Hiftoria Generale della Monarchia di Spagua da Bernardo G'untiniani. Venezia. 1674.
 5 La Donzella Defterrada, di Gio Francesco Biondi. Venezia. 1690.

- 5 La Donzella Defterrada, di Gio Franceico Biondi. Venetia. 1630.
 6 L'Adone del Marino. Venezia. 1635.
 7 Tragedie di Girolamo Bartolomei. 2. voll. Firenze. 1655.
 8 Officina Itorica di Gio Felice Aftolfi. Venetia. 1622.
 1 L'Oracolo della Lingua Italiana. Bologna. 1641.
 80 Hilioria del Regno di Napoli di Gio Antonio Summonte. 4, voll. Napoli. 1675.
 11 Religione di flato di Pilato, da Ant. di Mirandola. Bologna. 1620.

- 11 Religione di flato di Pilato, da Ant. di Mirandola. Bo-logna. 1630.
 2 Origine delle Guerre Civili del Piemonte, di Emanuele Tefauro. Colonia. 1673.
 13 Gli huomini illufri dell' Academia degli Incogniti. Ve-netia. 1647.
 14 Dittionario Italiano & Francese del Veneroni. 2. voll. Amfterdam. 1695.
 15 Settimana Santa del Monacho. Venetia. 1653.
 16 Le Cento Novelle da Mr. Vincenzo Brugiantino. Vene-rio. 1854.
- zia. 1554.

 17 Teatro d'Huomini Letteratidi Girol. Guilini. Venetia.
- 17 Teatro d'Huomini Letteratidi Girol. Guilini. Venetia.
 1647.
 18 Le Descrittioni Universali & Particolari del Mondo di
 Luca di Linda. Venetia. 1660.
 19 Considerationi in Materie di stato. Venetia. 1598.
 20 L'Eromena di Gio Francesco Biondi. Venetia. 1637.
 21 L'Imagini delli Dei degl' Antichi, di Vincenzo Carrai.
 Venetia. 1647.
 21 Vite de Sommi Fontesici di Girolamo Beroardi. Venetia. 1612.
- 22 Ope-

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- 23 Opera di Bartolomeo Scappi Cuoco di PioV. Venetia.
 1598.
 24 Vite degli Imperadori Romani, da Pietro Mellia. Venetia. 1598.
 25 Vite de Pittori da Carlo Ridolfi. Venetia. 1648.
 26 Governo de Regni & Republiche di Francesco Sansovino. Venetia. 1583.
 27 Giardino di Fiori Curiosi da Cello Malespina. Venetial. 1501.
- 1 591. Historia delle Guerre Civili di Francia di Davila. Vene:
- tia. 1660. 29 Venetia descritta di Francesco Sansovino. Venetia:

- 29 Venetia descritta di Francesco Santovino. Venetia; 1663; 30 Il consolato del Mare. Venetia; 1668; 31 Offiervationi Politiche dei Schiappalaria. Verona. 1608; 32 Compendi Historici d'Alfonso Lofchi. Vicensa. 1608; 33 Compendio Historico del san Remo. Nizza. 1624; 34 Teatro Universale de' Prencipi, di Gio Nicolo Doglioni. Venetia: 1666; 35 Comentari di Roma d'Alfonso Lofchi. Vicenza. 1668; 36 Il Mercurio di Siri. 3, voll. T. 1. & 2. 31 Il Stezzo. 3, voll. T. 1. & 2. 38 Imprese di Girolamo Porro. Venetia. 1576. 39 Discorso del Signor Torquato Tasso. 1629.

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- Nuovo Dizzionario delle due Lingue Italiana & Tedefca.
 2. voll. Norimberga. 1676.
 2 Nuovo Dizzionario Latino, Italiano & Francefc. 3 vol.
 Genevra. 1677.
 Ragguagli di Parnafo di Trajano Boccalini, 2. voll. Milano. 1614.
 4 Il medefimo. In Venetia. 1629.
 Il medefimo. 2. voll. In Amflerdamo. 1669.
 6 Petrarcha dell' una & l'altra fortuna. 2. voll. Venetia, 1689.
- Petracua d.
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 9 Auvifi a Principi Chriftiani, di Carlo Giangolino. In
 Palermo. 1647.

 20 Mondi Clefti, Terrefiri & infernali, del Doni. Venetia. 1968.

 11 Ritratto di Venezia. 1684.

 12 Dialogh di Steph. Guazzo. Venetia. 1610.

 13 L'Europa Gelola.

 14 Opere di Virgilio Malvezzi. Geneva. 1676.

 15 Hiltoria degli Ufcochi del Minuci, del P. Paolo. Venetia. 1676.

 16 La Galeria del Cavelier Marino. Venetia. 1674.

 17 Le rime di M. Cefaret aporali, Vinegia. 1589.

 18 Itinerario di Italia di Francesco Scoto. Venetia. 1670.

 19 Panegirici del Gherardi. Venetia. 1699.

 20 Dell'origine, confecratione & decadenza degli stati di
 Renato di Lusinge. Ferrara, 1590.

 21 Grammatica Spagnola & Italiana, da Lorenzo Franciofini. Venetia. 1624.

 21 La Civil Conversatione di Stefano Guazzo. Veneria.

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- as La Civil Conversatione di Stefano Guazzo. Venezia.
 1593.

 3 Vita del Cardinal Mazzarino di Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato. 3, Tomi. Venezia. 1683.

 4 Lettere di Pietro Aretino. Parigi. 1609.

 3 Opere dell Abbate Lancelotti. 2, voll. Venetia. 1662.

 Memorie de viaggi per l'Europa Chrifiliana, del Abbate
 Gio Battifta Pacichelli. 4, voll. Napoli. 1687.

 7 La nobilta & l'eccellenza delle Donne. di Lucretia Marinella. Venetia. 1621.

 8 Valerio Maflimo tradotto da Giorgio Dati. Venetia.
 1551.

- 28 Valerio Maffimo tradotto da Giorgio Dati. Venetia. 1951.

 29 La Sfera de' Scrittori Antichi & Moderni, & altri trattatiti. Venetia. 1950.

 30 Il Trattato della pace conclufa nell'anno 1659. defcritta dal Conte Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato. In Bremen. 1664. con alcuni libretti Francesi.

 31 Panegrici Sacri di Emanuel Tefauro. Venetia. 1632.

 32 Le Cavaletta di Torquato Taffo. 1672.

 33 Le Cofe notabili di Venetia. 1663.

 34 Hiltorie di Fernando Colombo. Venetia. 1671.

 35 Difcorf Morali di Agoftino Mafcardi. 1564.

 36 Celefte Ancile di Juliano de Mari. Lione. 1664.

 37 Lete.

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- 37 Lettera del Cardinala Spinola. Geneva. 1680. 38 Sommario della bolla del Giubileo. 1625. 39 La Teorica de Globo terreftri, da Gio Battifta Nicolofi.

- 39 La Teorica de' Globo terreftri, da Gio Battifa Nicolofi.
 Roma. 1642.
 40 Rime diverfe. Venetis. 1559.
 41 Peéfie di Girolamo Preti. Perugis. 1648.
 42 Satire di Salvator Rofa, Amiterdamo.
 42 La Sampogna del Cavaller Marino. Venetia. 1643.
 44 La Poverta contenta, del Padre Daniel Bartoli. Venetia; 1669.
 45 Reservazio Historico della Guerra tra l'armi Cefaree, & Ctomane &c. Venetia. 1684.
 46 Desis completione del corpo humano di Levino Lennio. Venetia. 1564.
 47 Historia Geneviria di Gregorio Leti. 5. voll. 1686.
 48 Il Livello Politico di Greg. Leti. 4. voll. 1678.
 49 Il Teatro Brittanico di Greg. Leti. 5. voll. 1684.

Libri Hiffanici.

- H Istoria de la Vida de Carlos V. por Prudencio de Sandoval. 2. voil. Fol. En Amberes. 1681. 2 Vida del Picaro Guíman de Alfarache. 2. voil. En Am-
- beres. 1681.

 El Perfetto Religiolo, compuello por el Padre Francisco
 Aguado. Fol. En Madrid. 1629.

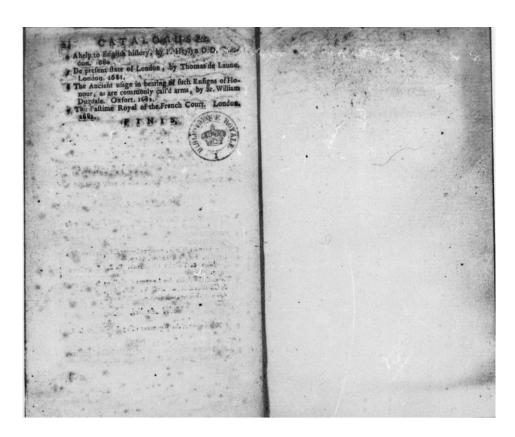
 Republica & Politica Christiana. In 8. Barcellona.
 1619.

 Vocabulario de las dos Lenguas Castellana & Italiana,
 de Christoval de las Casas. Venetia. 1613.

Libri Anglici.

- A N account of the jugement of 19. Regicider. In 8.
 London. 1679.
 Englands remarques. In 12. 1678.
 A book of the Valuation of all the Ecclefishticall preferements in England. In 12. London. 1680.

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Included below is the database that was created by the author of this thesis and based on Gregorio Leti's catalogue.

Format	Bound/	Language	Author	Date of	Title	Genre	City
	Unbound			Publication			
Folio	Bound	French	Pierre Kaerius	1622	La Germanie Intérieure	Geography	Amsterdam
Octavo	Unbound	French	Sebastian Fernández de Medrano; Pierre Henri de Vaernewyck	1688	La Géographie de Medrano	Geography	Bruxelles
Octavo/ Duodecimo	Bound	French	Adam Boussingault	1677	Le Guide des Pays-bas	Geography	Paris
Octavo/ Duodecimo	Bound	French	Richard Blome	1688	L'Amérique Angloise	Geography	Amsterdam
Quarto	Bound	French	Louis Guicciardin	1613	Sa description des Pays-Bas	Geography	Arnhem

Folio	Bound	French	Antonio de	1622	Description des Indes Occidentales	Geography	
			Herrera y		(and other pieces)		
			Tordesillas				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Louis Cousin	1685	Histoire de Constantinople (12 vol)	History	Paris
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Antoine	1686	Histoire de la négociation des	History	Geneve
			Teissier; Victor		Ambassadeurs Suisse envoiez au		
			Amadeus, King		Duc de Savoie		
			of Sardinia				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Hiob Ludolf;	1694	Nouvelle Histoire d'Abyssinie	History	Paris
			Antoine Cellier				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Pierre Marteau	1692	Les Larmes de l'Angleterre	History	Cologne
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Antoine Varillas	1690	Revolutions arrivées en Europe (vol	History	Amsterdam
					5 and 6)		
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	de Meaux	1691	Défense de l'Histoire des Variations	History	Paris
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Mr. de	1690	Les jeux de la providence	History	Cologne
			Gerimond				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Philippe	1689	L'Histoire de Philippe Emmanuel	History	Cologne
			Emmanuel de		de Lorraine Duc de Mercoeur		
			Lorraine				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Monsieur de	1689	Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne	History	Cologne
			Fabert				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Heiss (Von	1694	L'Histoire de l'Empire (3 vol)	History	The Hague
			Kogenheim)				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	M. l'Abbé de	1692	Histoire de la vie de David	History	Amsterdam
			Choisy				
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	M. De	1687	Histoire de la Reformation	History	Geneve
			Rosemond		d'Angleterre de Burnet (4 vol)		
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Gregorio Leti	1687	Abrégé de l'Histoire de	History	Amsterdam
					Brandebourg		
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Gregorio Leti	1701	La Monarchie Universelle de Louis	History	Amsterdam
					XIV (2 vol)		
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Jean Leonard	1691	Événements Historiques choisis	History	Paris
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Duc de Rohan	1692	Le parfait Capitaine	History	Amsterdam
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Charlotte Rose	1694	Histoire secrète de la Bourgogne	History	The Hague
			De Caumont De				
			La Force		1	ı	1

Duodecimo	Unbound	French	P. Boyer	1691	Abregé de l'Histoire des Vaudois	History	The Hague
Duodecinio	Unbound	French	Ministre	1091	Abrege de l'Histoire des Vaudois	History	The Hague
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	Pierre Marteau	1690	Entretien des morts, sur l'état présent de l'Europe	History	Cologne
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	J. Plaignant	1691	La Campagne des Allemands en 1600	History	Cologne
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	René Le Pays	1687	Les Oeuvres (in 2 parts)	History	Amsterdam
Duodecimo	Unbound	French	M. le Gén. de Gingel	1693	Relation de la campagne d'Irlande en 1691	History	Amsterdam
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			Dedekind;				
			Margherita				
			Salicola;				
			Christoph				
			Bernhard;				
			Veuve et				
			héritiers de				
			Melchior				
			Bergen				
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			Tesauro				
Quarto	Unbound	Italian	Gregorio Leti	1695	Poema con maggior numero di	Poetry	Amsterdam
					figure & l'Oda		
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					con le osservazioni del Cavalir		
					Ludovico du May, con le lettere		
					politiche del medesimo Boccalimi,		
					ricourate, restabilite e		
					raccommodate da Leti (3 volume)		

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Quarto	Bound	Italian	Francesco Sansovino	1583	Governo dei Regni e Republiche	Politics/Hist ory	Venice
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