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‘Blawius paratissimus est excudere Niciana omnia’: Gian Vittorio Rossi’s *Pinacotheca* and the Collaborative Navigation of the Interconfessional Early Modern Book Trade

Jennifer K. Nelson

In the early months of 1643, a peculiar collection of biographies came off the presses: *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium doctrinae vel ingenii laude virorum qui, auctore superstite, diem suum obierunt* (hereafter *Pinacotheca*).¹ The work contains biographies of cardinals, theologians, scientists, mathematicians, philosophers, antiquarians, poets, painters, musicians and other notable figures who lived between the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. Contrary to what the title suggests, the book’s author, who went by the name Ianus Nicius Erythraeus, does not offer his readers an unequivocally ‘great man’ portrayal of his biographical subjects. Instead, he frequently relishes their negative, and even downright scandalous characteristics, thereby creating, at least in some instances, a rogues’ gallery rather than the portrait gallery suggested by the encomiastic title.²

In this brief description, *Pinacotheca* already represents two things that are not quite what they seem: a subject matter that differs from what its title suggests, and the author’s name, which is a Hellenised version of the Roman humanist’s real name, Gian Vittorio Rossi (1577–1647). Yet another example of appearances differing from reality is the book’s imprint: the publication place and name, Coloniae Agrippinae, Apud Cornelium ab Egmond (in Cologne by Cornelis van Egmond), conceal the real printer and location: Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam. To be sure, authors publishing under pseudonyms is nothing new, and it is well known that Dutch publishers used false imprints for books destined for the Catholic marketplace. Nevertheless, these gestures of concealment are an invitation to draw back the curtain and examine more closely mechanisms that are often presented as axiomatic. How did these agreements between Dutch and Catholic publishers come about? If multiple relationships existed, how did they decide whose imprint to use in any given situation? How did a relationship between a Catholic author and a Protestant Dutch publisher develop in the first place? Who made sure the text would be acceptable to a Catholic audience? These and a myriad of

¹ The title translates in English to ‘A portrait gallery of men who distinguished themselves by their praiseworthy learning or talent, who passed away during the author’s lifetime’.

² Describing the work as a ‘cabinet of curiosities’ (Kuriösitätenkabinett), Ingo Herklotz maintains that *Pinacotheca* contains many instances of *exempla vitanda* instead of the usual *exempla imitanda* found in traditional encomiastic biographical portraits (‘Ianus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard: Zur schweren Geburt einer neulateinischen Vitensammlung des 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch. Journal of Neo-Latin Language and Literature*, 10 (2008), pp. 153-154). For a further description of Rossi’s unconventional portrayal of his subjects, see Benedetto Croce, *Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento* (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 2003), p. 136.

other pre-publication decisions had to be made and arranged before a book could be set to type and printed.

The present chapter is an exploration of such pre-publication decisions and logistics and the relationships that made them possible. Using as a case study the publication history of a single work, Gian Vittorio Rossi's 1643 *Pinacotheca*, as supported by contemporary correspondence, this contribution describes the constitution of Rossi's network of friends and associates who brought his work to fruition, thereby elucidating the decisions they employed at the various stages of production regarding the concealment of names and places, as well as critical censorship interventions on Rossi's original manuscript, which were necessary to navigate the cross-border, interconfessional tensions impacting the seventeenth-century European book trade.

Catholic Book Publishing in Seventeenth-Century Amsterdam

The sixteenth-century Tridentine reform of the Catholic liturgy and the success of the Counter-Reformation created a demand among Catholics for Bibles, liturgical works, devotional literature and early Church writings.³ The growing dominance of the Dutch book trade in the early seventeenth-century European marketplace was partially driven by the economic opportunity that this demand provided, both domestically and internationally, and the willingness of Dutch publishers to cater to a confessionally diverse customer base.⁴ To be sure, the domestic need for Catholic devotional works was also met by printers who were themselves Catholic, but savvy non-Catholic publishers in Calvinist strongholds like Amsterdam did not hesitate to supply this market, often masking their identities behind false imprints so as to conceal (or at least not openly flaunt) their non-Catholic origin during the period of intense confessional strife of the Thirty Years' War.⁵

That non-Catholic printers and publishers in cities such as Amsterdam produced books for the Catholic market under false imprints is well attested in the scholarship on the seventeenth-century European book trade.⁶ The environment of religious toleration in the Dutch Republic,

³ Th. Clemens, 'The Trade in Catholic Books from the Northern to the Southern Netherlands, 1650–1795', in *Le Magasin de l'Univers: The Dutch Republic as the Centre of the European Book Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), p. 86.

⁴ Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019), pp. 266–271; 322–323.

⁵ For an examination of the print consumption of the albeit disenfranchised and marginalized community of Dutch Roman Catholics and the Catholic printers and booksellers in the Dutch Republic, see Elise Watson, 'Lost Saints: Printed Catholic Ephemera in the Dutch Republic', in *Reformation, Religious Culture and Print in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), pp. 215–234.

⁶ Among the most prolific practitioners of this strategy (though they were not the only ones) were Willem Janszoon Blaeu and his son Joan Blaeu, Lodewijk (Louis) Elzevier, and the Huguetan brothers, Marc, Jean-Henri and Pierre. See, for example, Pettegree and der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 341–344; Dirk Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers as Apprentices in Antwerp: Bernhard Wolters, Johann Kinckius and Cornelis van Egmont', *The Library*, 17 (2016), pp. 17–27; Paul Begheyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic and*

described by Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies as the ‘product of a unique combination of religious and political pluriformity and enlightened economic self-interest’, made these arrangements possible, especially in a flourishing commercial centre such as Amsterdam.⁷ At the same time, the economic strength of the Dutch Republic exempted it from the harsh censorship practices that existed in other regions and cities, meaning that, other than the thinly veiled decoy (and largely open secret) of the false imprint, there were no real impediments to printing and exporting Catholic works.⁸ As Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen explain,

Toleration in the Dutch Republic was a grudging recognition that the establishment of a single faith lay beyond the realms of the possible; and certainly, in a country born of persecution, there was little appetite for inquisition. Because the Dutch Republic lived for trade, it became a polyglot nation: uniformity of faith took second place to the needs of commerce.⁹

As has already been implied, one such Amsterdam-based printer who employed this practice of the false imprint was Joan Blaeu, who published Gian Vittorio Rossi’s *Pinacotheca* under the name of the Cologne publisher Cornelis van Egmond.

How did a private figure like Gian Vittorio Rossi come to see not only his *Pinacotheca* published by the prestigious Blaeu publishing house, but a grand total of eighteen of his works, thus bringing the name Ianus Nicius Erythraeus to prominence for at least a century after his death? The network of people that made this possible provides a window into the challenges and successes of the early modern book trade in the decades leading up to the end of the Thirty Years’ War.

Gian Vittorio Rossi in Search of a Publisher

In the early 1640s, the Italian humanist Gian Vittorio Rossi was working on a number of book projects but finding himself with few avenues to publication. His first foray into print had been in 1603 when

Its Generality Lands, 1567–1773: A Bibliography (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 8-13; Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies, ‘Instruments of Culture’, in *1650: Hard Won Unity. Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, vol. 1, ([Assen]: Royal van Gorcum; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 266; Clemens, ‘The Trade in Catholic Books’, pp. 85-94; J.F.M. Sterck, ‘Calcovius-Blaeu-Vondel: Keulsche Boeken te Amsterdam Gedrukt’, *Vondel Kroniek*, 7 (1936), pp. 66-76; Maurits Sabbe, ‘Valsche Plantin- en Moretusdrukken’, *De gulden Passer = Le compas d’or*, 1 (1923), pp. 182-192.

⁷ Frijhoff and Spies, ‘Instruments of Culture’, p. 264. See also, Cornelius Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1970), p. 8.

⁸ Frijhoff and Spies, ‘Instruments of Culture’, pp. 263-267.

⁹ *The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 322-323.

he published, in Rome, a few short Latin works that were mostly on religious topics.¹⁰ After a hiatus of more than twenty years, he published a collection of Italian religious poems in Viterbo.¹¹ In 1637, at the age of sixty, he published a novel titled *Eudemiae libri VIII* with the famed Elzevier publishing house in Leiden.¹² This marked the first time that a work was issued under his pseudonym, Ianus Nicius Erythraeus, instead of under his real name. Moreover, *Eudemia* was to be the first of many of his works printed in Northern Europe. The satirical nature of *Eudemia*, which criticised the fawning social climbers of the papal court under Urban VIII Barberini and the powerful Barberini family, met with a frosty reception in Rome and resulted in Roman (and presumably Italian) printers being unwilling to publish any more of his writing. A mere decade later, by the time of Rossi's death in 1647, everything had changed: in quick succession, he had published eleven books, including a second, augmented edition of *Eudemia*, which were followed by seven works published posthumously, amassing a body of work that garnered him the reputation as a Latinist on par with Cicero, Angelo Poliziano and Pietro Bembo.

Born in 1577 in Rome to a family that he describes as respectable but of modest means,¹³ Rossi received his early education at the Jesuit Collegio Romano, where he was a pupil of such teachers as Bernardino Stefonio and Francesco Benci, the latter a student of one of the greatest Latinists of the Renaissance, the French humanist Marc-Antoine Muret. He went on to study law in the hope that this degree would lead to an administrative position within the papal court; however, after being unable to secure a permanent position with that institution, Rossi became generally disillusioned with the law and withdrew to a house on the Janiculum Hill to devote himself to humanistic studies. Rossi was a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi (or Academia Humoristarum), a literary society frequented by the most celebrated authors, scholars and artists in

¹⁰ *Orationes novem. Problema* (Romae: Apud Aloysium Zannettum, 1603) [USTC 4030279]; *Oratio de Christi Domini ascensu ad Clementem VIII Pont. Max. habita in aede D. Petri in Vaticano VI kal. iunii M.DC.IV.* (Romae: Apud G. Facciottum, 1604) [USTC 4033807]; *De diuturna aegrotatione toleranda oratio* (Romae: Apud Carolum Vulliettium, 1605) [USTC 4035550].

¹¹ *Rime spirituali composte dal sig. Gio. Vittorio de' Rossi romano* (Viterbo: Appresso Agostino Discepolo, 1629) [USTC 4044253].

¹² *Eudemiae libri VIII* ([Leiden: Bonaventure and Abraham Elzevier], 1637) [USTC 1027923].

¹³ *Dialogi septendecim* (Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645) [USTC 1515192], prefatory letter to the 13th dialogue addressed to Vaius Vaius: '[P]otes ... breviter respondere me esse bono genere ortum, bonis prognatum, modicis facultatibus' ('The short answer is that I come from a good family and am descended from noble people of modest means'). The most thorough study of Rossi's life and works is Luigi Gerboni, *Un umanista nel secento, Giano Nicio Eritreo, studio biografico critico* (Città di Castello, 1899), pp. 6-46. For other accounts of Rossi's life, see the introduction by Jennifer K. Nelson to *Gian Vittorio Rossi's Eudemiae libri decem: Edited and Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2021), pp. 16-23, and his entry in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* by Luisella Giachino.

Rome.¹⁴ Through his participation in the Umoristi, Rossi came in contact with 'il fior della cittadinanza' ('the flower of Rome's citizenry'), gaining respect for his literary and linguistic abilities.¹⁵

After a period of employment as the private secretary to Cardinal Andrea Baroni Peretti di Montalto (ending with the cardinal's death in 1629), Rossi retreated definitively into private life to focus on his writing.¹⁶ As evidenced in his letters, Rossi was an active participant in the Republic of Letters, the pan-European intellectual community that fostered humanistic studies and the exchange of ideas via epistolary correspondence. As is clear from four published collections of letters, Rossi cultivated friendships with fellow humanists in Italy, France, Germany and the Low Countries.¹⁷

His difficulty in finding Italian publishers willing to print his works prompted Rossi to seek opportunities for publication elsewhere. On one occasion, Rossi turned to his friend, the French scholar Gabriel Naudé, to find him a publisher in Paris. Naudé (who in 1642 would return to his native city of Paris to become the librarian for Cardinal Jules Mazarin, and for whom he would spend a decade building up the famed Bibliothèque Mazarine) had spent almost fifteen years in Rome serving as librarian to Giovanni Francesco Guidi di Bagno and later to Cardinal Francesco Barberini (nephew of Urban VIII), where he moved in that city's elite literary circles and, like Rossi, was a member of the Accademia degli Umoristi. A great admirer of Rossi's Latin prose, Naudé was glad to try to help his friend publish a collection of his dialogues in Paris, but this effort was not immediately successful.¹⁸ In 1641 he wrote to his compatriot Jacques Dupuy regarding one attempt:

If [Guillaume] Pelé has no reason not to print Nicius's dialogues, other than to inquire why they are not being printed in Rome, you can tell him ... that it is because of *Eudemia*, which was printed in Holland. Because he did not spare the

¹⁴ The Accademia degli Umoristi was founded in the early 1600s by a group of literary-minded friends of the nobleman Paolo Mancini, who gathered at Palazzo Mancini (located in Rome's Via del Corso) on the occasion of his wedding to Vittoria Capozzi, which took place during the period of Carnival. The group entertained themselves by improvising and reciting comedies, sonnets and speeches on various diverting topics. They decided to keep meeting every eight days to continue this literary activity and came to be known as the Belli Humori. They formally incorporated in 1608, adopting the name Accademia Humoristarum or Accademia degli Umoristi: Michele Maylender and Luigi Rava, *Storia Delle Accademie d'Italia*, vol. 4 (Bologna: A. Forni Editore, 1976), pp. 370-374; Piera Russo, 'L'Accademia degli Umoristi. Fondazione, strutture e leggi: il primo decennio di attività', *Esperienze Letterarie* 4 (1979), pp. 47-61; Laura Alemanno, 'L'accademia Degli Umoristi', *Roma Moderna e Contemporanea* 3 (1995), pp. 97-99; Nelson, *Gian Vittorio Rossi's Eudemiae libri decem*, p. 18.

¹⁵ Gerboni, *Un umanista nel secento*, p. 16.

¹⁶ Gerboni, *Un umanista nel secento*, p. 25. Identified erroneously as Alessandro Peretti-Montalto in Nelson, *Gian Vittorio Rossi's Eudemiae libri decem*.

¹⁷ *Epistolae ad diversos*. Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645 [USTC 1512788]; *Epistolae ad Tyrrhenum*. Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645 [USTC 1512789]; *Epistolarum ad diversos volumen posterior; Epistolarum ad Tyrrhenum tomus posterior*. Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1649 [USTC 1513825].

¹⁸ See Gabriel Naudé, *Epistolae* (Genevae: Sumptibus Ioh. Hermannii Widerhold, 1667), pp. 694-695; Gerboni, *Un umanista nel secento*, p. 35.

Roman Curia in that work, the Master of the Sacred Palace did not want the name Janus Nicius appearing on any works printed in that city.¹⁹ And the author, who is quite a stubborn little old man, refuses to give up his pseudonym and would rather have his books seek their fortune in France or elsewhere than see them here under the name Giovanni Vittorio Rossi ... I can assure you ... that, were it not for this issue, Hermannus ... would have already printed his dialogues, elegies, letters, and everything he has written.²⁰

The broad context of Naudé's comment to Dupuy is clear: while trying to help Rossi find a French publisher for his dialogues and various other works, he was met with resistance because, it seems, the author's reputation preceded him.²¹

Besides Rossi's personal reputation as a 'stubborn little old man', the reluctance in Rome to publish his works stems, per Naudé's account, from the reception there of *Eudemiae libri VIII*, his satirical novel that had been published in Leiden. Written in the genre of Menippian satire mixing prose and verse, *Eudemia* tells the story of two men who flee Rome by ship in AD 31 in the aftermath of the conspiracy of Sejanus against the emperor Tiberius and become shipwrecked on the eponymous island of Eudemia, supposedly located off the coast of Mauritania. The plot of *Eudemia* is quite thin and serves mostly as a frame on which Rossi hangs various vignettes that make fun of many prominent artists and intellectuals behind pseudonyms and expose examples of immoral behaviour by those with wealth and power. Unsurprisingly, the book did not go over universally well in Rome.²² The book's potential to offend its satirical targets and Rossi's refusal to give up his

¹⁹ The office of Master of the Sacred Palace, the Vatican censor and granter of the necessary imprimatur for publishing books, was at that time held by Niccolò Riccardi.

²⁰ 'Si [Guillaume] Pelé n'a point d'autre raison pour imprimer les dialogues de Nicius que de demander pourquoi on ne les imprime pas à Rome, vous lui pourrez dire ... que c'est à cause de l'*Eudemia* imprimée en Hollande, car la cour de Rome n'étant pas épargnée en icelle, le Maître du Sacré Palais ne veut pas que le nom de Janus Nicius paraisse sur des livres imprimés en cette ville. Et l'auteur, qui est un petit vieillard assez obstiné, ne le veut point quitter, aimant mieux que ses livres aillent chercher leur bonne aventure en France ou ailleurs que de la trouver ici sous le nom de Giovanni Vittorio de Rossi ... Et je vous puis assurer ... que sans cette difficulté Hermannus ... aurait déjà imprimé les dialogues, éloges, épîtres, et tout ce que ledit auteur a fait': Phillip J. Wolfe (ed.), *Lettres de Gabriel Naudé à Jacques Dupuy : 1632–1652* (Edmonton, Alta., Canada: LEALTA/ALTA, 1982), p. 124.

²¹ Eventually, in 1643, Naudé did find a Parisian publisher for the dialogues: *Dialogi* (Paris: Jacques Villery, 1643) [USTC 6041942]. Rossi remained dissatisfied with the edition, however, complaining that it was full of errors (see, e.g., *Epistolae ad Tyrrhenum*, 1.XXII and 1.XXXI).

²² The most strident opposition to it was apparently expressed by Lucas Holstenius, connected to the household of Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who characterized the work rather hyperbolically as being more pernicious than Calvin's *Institutes*: BAV Chig. A.III.56, fol. 493r (also cited in Giovanni Incisa della Rocchetta, 'Osservazioni sugli autografi delle *Epistolae ad Tyrrhenum* di Giano Nicio Eritreo', *Studi di bibliografia e di argomento Romano: In memoria di Luigi de Gregori* [Roma: Fratelli Palombi Editori, 1949], pp. 218–219, n. 9). Nevertheless, there is evidence in Rossi's correspondence that the supposed backlash against *Eudemia* was a bit overblown, and that Niccolò Riccardi, for one, had no problem with it and that Francesco Barberini rather

authorial pseudonym were among the factors that caused Rossi difficulty in finding publishers for his works in Rome and in Italy more generally, though he did hope for that opportunity.²³ According to a 1631 letter to the antiquarian and numismatist Giovanni Zarattino Castellini, Rossi had at one time been optimistic that the Roman bookseller Giovanni Battista Tamantini would arrange for *Eudemia* to be published in Venice, but this never came to fruition.²⁴ Instead, it was likely Hermann Scheus (the ‘Hermannus’ referred to in Naudé’s letter above), a Rome-based bookseller originally from the Low Countries, who arranged for *Eudemia* to be published with the Elzeviers in Leiden.²⁵

Contrary to its limited exposure in Rome, *Eudemiae libri VIII* did circulate in Northern Europe, where the Catholic Church’s Counter-Reformation prohibitions on authors, publishers, booksellers and readers was not as keenly felt as they were in the Eternal City itself. As Sabina Brevalgieri explains, the impact of the Post-Tridentine censorship campaign on the types of books, printed in Rome and elsewhere, that readers had access to weighed heavily on Rome’s intellectual elite.²⁶ To

enjoyed it (*Epistolae ad Tyrrhenum*, 1.XII; see also Herklotz, ‘Janus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard’, pp. 155-156).

²³ Ingo Herklotz notes that Rossi was so well known by his academy name that his stubborn insistence on it could not have been motivated by a desire for anonymity (‘Janus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard’, p. 152). Despite this, Chigi still expressed the same concern regarding Rossi’s preference for his pseudonym, writing to him before the editorial work on *Pinacotheca* commenced: ‘Venio nunc ad elegantissimam *Pin[ac]othecam* tuam, cuius subinde partes ... maxima cum oblectatione atque ingenii tui admiratione lego. Videris mihi opus exegisse aere perennius futurum, si publice committatur luci committendum ... Unum tantum audeo proponere ut felicissime posteritati mandetur, an expediat nomen proprium apponere, saltem in Epistola, et approbationem Urbis istius impetrare ne impingens peccasse dicaris in Consili Tridentini et Urbani VIII decreta, a quibus secus damnari videretur ... Velim super his cogitationem tuam intendas, quod eo facilius prestare poteris ac nunciare mihi per litteras, quo preluserit fortasse controversie huic tua *Eudemia*’ (‘And now to your most elegant *Pinacotheca*, parts of which I have read ... with much delight and admiration of your ingenuity. It seems to me you have created a work that will be more long-lasting than bronze [a reference to the famous first line of Horace’s *Odes* 3.30] if it is published ... I dare suggest only one thing so it can successfully be handed down to posterity: that it might be prudent to attach your real name to it, at least in the dedicatory letter, and to obtain the approval of Rome so that, when it is published, you will not be seen to have gone against the decrees of the Council of Trent and Urban VIII, and per which, it seems, the book might otherwise be condemned ... I would like you to give some thought to this matter and let me know by mail, because you might perhaps be able to more easily get out in front of the controversy that arose with your *Eudemia*’): BAV Chig. 1.VII.246, 16v-18r; BAV Chig. I.VII.244, fol. 9rv (also cited in Herklotz, ‘Janus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard’, p. 155, n. 28).

²⁴ ‘Itaque bibliopolae illi [i.e., Tamantini] in animo est Venetias imprimendam eam mittere’ (‘Thus the bookseller has in mind to send it to Venice for printing’): *Epistolae ad diversos* 1.IV.XVI. For the identification of the bookseller as Giovanni Battista Tamantini see Nelson, *Gian Vittorio Rossi’s Eudemiae libri decem*, p. 29.

²⁵ For Scheus’s role as intermediary in getting *Eudemia* published in Leiden, see Nelson, *Gian Vittorio Rossi’s Eudemiae libri decem*, p. 29.

²⁶ Sabina Brevalgieri, ‘Editoria e scienza nella Roma della prima metà del Seicento: il caso dello stampatore Mascardi’, in *Rome et la science moderne entre Renaissance et Lumières* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 2009), p. 266. For a general history of the *Index of Prohibited Books* see Robin J.E. Vose, *The Index of Prohibited Books: Four Centuries of Struggle over Word and Image for the Greater Glory of God* (London: Reaktion Books, 2022); Vittorio Frajese, *Nascita dell’Indice: La censura ecclesiastica dal Rinascimento alla Controriforma* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2006); Jesus Martinez De Bujanda, ‘Sguardo panoramico sugli Indici dei libri proibiti del XVI secolo’, in Ugo Rozzo (ed.), *La censura libraria nell’Europa del secolo XVI: Convegno internazionale di studi Cividale del Friuli, 9–10 novembre 1995* (Udine: Forum, 1997), pp.1-14. On the difficulty of enforcing censorship as dictated by the Index, see Marco Cavarzere, ‘An Interrupted Dialogue? Italy and the Protestant Book Market

illustrate their frustration and concern regarding what they saw as an editorial crisis, Brevaglieri cites a comment by Rossi's friend Girolamo Aleandro in a letter to the French scholar Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, in which he contrasts publishing practices in Rome and the North:

In this context, the increasing difficulty in publishing innovative works of interest to an international audience and the impoverishment of Roman print offerings is felt to be the most urgent reason for the collapse of the Roman book trade: "We don't publish novelty books here; on the contrary, the market is shrinking so much that I believe we will be reduced to printing missals and breviaries, and leaving all the profits to the booksellers and printers on the other side of the Alps".²⁷

Leaving aside the fact that missals and breviaries were as much a source of profit for Roman printers as they were for printers elsewhere, Aleandro's express discontentment is somewhat belied by the on-the-ground reality that saw a flourishing of Roman publishing in many other areas such as music, theatre, law, natural philosophy and medicine.²⁸ What is more, the extensive granting of reading permits by the Holy Office and the Congregation of the Index allowed readers (albeit elite, well-connected ones) to acquire and possess books listed on the *Index of Prohibited Books*.²⁹ Despite the perhaps surprising dynamism of seventeenth-century Roman reading culture, Girolamo Aleandro's vexation at the dearth of 'libri curiosi' (unusual books) in his city was nonetheless justified, since certain genres, such as humanist scholarship and creative fiction, were among those ceded by Rome to Northern printers on account of the strictures of censorship.³⁰ Indeed, as we shall see, it is

in the Early Seventeenth Century', in Cornel Zwierlein and Vincenzo Lavenia (eds.), *Fruits of Migration: Heterodox Italian Migrants and Central European Culture 1550–1620* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 28–34.

²⁷ 'In questa situazione, la difficoltà crescente a pubblicare novità di interesse per il pubblico internazionale e l'impovertimento dell'offerta tipografica vengono avvertite come le più gravi cause del ripiegamento del mercato del libro romano: "In queste nostre parti non si usa di stampar libri curiosi, anzi il negotio va tanto restringendosi, che credo ci ridurremo solamente a stampar i missali e breviari, e così lasceremo che i librai e stampatori *trans montes* solamente arricchiscano": Sabina Brevaglieri, 'Editoria e cultura', pp. 267–268.

Andrew Pettegree and Arthur der Weduwen provide as evidence of Italy's decline as a significant force in the international book market stock catalogues from 1634 of Johannes Janssonius (Amsterdam) and Abraham and Bonaventure Elzevier (Leiden), in which very few Italian-published items were listed (*The Bookshop of the World*, pp. 269–270).

²⁸ Ian Maclean, *Episodes in the Life of the Early Modern Learned Book* (Leiden: Brill, 2021), pp. 70–71; Brevaglieri, 'Editoria e cultura', pp. 263–270.

²⁹ Cavarzere, 'An Interrupted Dialogue?', pp. 34–36; Hannah Marcus, 'Bibliography and Book Bureaucracy: Reading Licenses and the Circulation of Prohibited Books in Counter-Reformation Italy', *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 110 (2016), pp. 433–457; Marco Cavarzere, *La prassi della censura nell'Italia del Seicento: tra repressione e mediazione* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2011), pp. 133–134. For an example of a printed license form that grants a dispensation to read prohibited books, see Watson, 'Lost Saints', p. 225.

³⁰ Maclean, *Episodes*, p. 71.

precisely ‘trans montes’ where Rossi’s novel *Eudemia* came to the attention of Bishop Fabio Chigi, who was at that time serving as papal nuncio to Cologne.

Gian Vittorio Rossi’s Network

More than forty years ago, Robert Darnton coined the term ‘communications circuit’ to describe the actors involved in the creation and circulation of books, which include authors, printers, booksellers and readers.³¹ Uniting all of the actors in this circuit is what he called ‘economic and social conjecture’, which is the potential for the conferral of social status or monetary profits that motivates the actors to produce books. After all, printing is costly, so (excluding institutional or vanity presses) these are necessary calculations if a book is going to make it from manuscript to market. In the context of seventeenth-century Italy, Marco Cavarzere helpfully expanded Darnton’s list of actors to include censors, whose role, he argues, was not to obstruct the publication and circulation of books outright, but was instead to ‘translate the reasoning of the [Holy Office] into a language comprehensible and accepted by both authors and their patrons’.³² Cavarzere’s expansion of Darnton’s model informs our examination of Rossi’s ‘communications circuit’, his network of friends and associates that, through the publication of *Pinacotheca* and eventually his entire oeuvre, launched him from relative obscurity into broad acclaim for more than a century after his death.³³

The primary actors (besides himself) in Rossi’s communications circuit are Fabio Chigi (eventually elected to the papacy in 1655 as Alexander VII); Barthold Nihus (a German convert to Catholicism, priest, and writer of controversialist texts); the Dutch publisher Joan Blaeu; the Cologne-based printer Cornelis van Egmond; and, to a lesser extent, Leonardus Marius van der Goes, the vicar general of the Diocese of Haarlem. Each of these men were certainly motivated by social conjecture in their collective project, albeit some more than others.

With regard to social status, Rossi had the most to gain in seeing his *Pinacotheca* published, especially with an important person like Fabio Chigi as his patron. As Ingo Herklotz notes, however, Chigi also derived a benefit from this arrangement since, as the work’s dedicatee, he could mark his status as both a special friend of the author and a patron of the arts.³⁴ Barthold Nihus occupied the

³¹ ‘What Is the History of Books?’ *Daedalus* (1982), pp. 65-83, and reconsidered in ‘“What is the history of books?” revisited’, *Modern Intellectual History* 4 (2007), pp. 495-508.

³² ‘Commercio librario e lettori nel seicento italiano: i cataloghi di vendita’, *Rivista di Storia del Cristianesimo* 9 (2012), pp. 363-364; see also Daniel Stolzenberg, ‘The Holy Office in the Republic of Letters: Roman Censorship, Dutch Atlases, and the European Information Order, circa 1660’, *Isis* 110 (2019), p. 22. Marco Cavarzere, ‘The Workings of a Papal Institution’, in Arndt Brendecke (ed.), *Praktiken der frühen Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 2015), p. 376.

³³ For a discussion of Rossi’s reception through the first quarter of the nineteenth century, see Nelson, *Gian Vittorio Rossi’s Eudemiae libri decem*, pp. 51-53.

³⁴ Herklotz, ‘Ianus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard’, p. 153.

dual role of Chigi's friend and trusted editor for critical pre-publication interventions on Rossi's text so it would be acceptable to the Roman market. No less crucial, and of most interest to a publisher like Joan Blaeu, was the question of economic profit: ideally, the book would also make money.³⁵ That said, Blaeu had a stake in social conjecture as well; he was widely respected for his erudition and knowledge of languages, having studied law at Leiden and travelled extensively, and one can imagine that collaborating on a book with Fabio Chigi would be a source of honour.³⁶ For the Cologne-based printer whose name appears on the book, in this case Cornelis van Egmond, even if no money changed hands, the prominent display of the printer's mark and his authorship of a dedicatory letter was an opportunity to advertise his press. The remainder of this section will show how these men met and came to be involved in this collective publishing project.

Born in 1599, the Sienese Fabio Chigi was the nephew of famous banker and patron of the arts Agostino Chigi, and great-nephew of Pope Paul V Borghese. Starting in his youth, Chigi cultivated what would be a lifelong passion for literature, art and books. After completing his studies in law at the University of Siena, Chigi moved to Rome in 1626 to embark on an ecclesiastical career, during which time he took part in that city's vibrant intellectual and artistic life, including attending meetings of the Accademia degli Umoristi. Chigi would leave Rome in 1629 for his first diplomatic post as vice-legate in Ferrara under Cardinal Giulio Sachetti.³⁷ In 1634 he returned to Rome to become ordained, after which he was appointed inquisitor in Malta.³⁸ After five years in this assignment, in 1639 he was tapped to be papal nuncio to Cologne, which was the seat of the permanent papal embassy in the Holy Roman Empire and the principal base of operations for the Northern Missions, the Vatican's campaign to bring Protestants in Germany and the Low Countries back into the Catholic fold.³⁹ From his post in Germany, Chigi's most significant diplomatic role

³⁵ Nihus would remark in a 4 January 1644 letter to Chigi, 'bibliopolarum professio est quaerere semper lucrum quam compendiosissime' ('the business of people in the book trade is to make as much money as possible'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, ff. 107r-108v; published in G.J. Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', in *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent nederlandsche Kunstenaars en Geleerden*, v. 3 (s'Gravenhage: M. Nijhoff, 1917) p. 385.

³⁶ In a 1642 letter to Fabio Chigi, Barthold Nihus describes Blaeu as 'viro admodum docto, imo iuris Doctori promoti et multarum linguarum perito' ('a highly learned man, who achieved a degree in law and is proficient in many languages'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 43r-v; published in Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', p. 381. Blaeu always had a particular fondness for Italy, recalling the time he spent there as 'de zoetste verblijfplaats mijner jeugd' ('the sweetest sojourn of my youth'): Gloria Moorman, 'Publishers at the Intersection of Cultures. The Significance of Italo-Dutch Contacts in the Creation Process of Joan Blaeu's *Theatrum Italiae* (1663)', *Incontri. Rivista europea di studi italiani* 30 (2015), p. 72; see also, Verwey, 'Dr. Joan Blaeu', p. 5.

³⁷ Maria Teresa Börner (ed.), *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland nebst ergänzenden Aktenstücken. Die Kölner Nuntiatur*, Band IX:1 (München: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009), p. XXVII; Marie-Louise Rodén, 'Fabio Chigi's Observations on the Practice of Diplomacy in Westphalia', in *Ab Aquilone: Nordic Studies in Honour and Memory of Leonardo E. Boyle, OP* (1999), p. 120; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, sub voce; *Enciclopedia dei Papi* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana), sub voce.

³⁸ Börner, *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, p. 120.

³⁹ By the end of the sixteenth century the papacy had twelve permanent embassies in Europe: Vienna, France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, Cologne, Switzerland, Flanders, Naples, Savoy, Venice and Florence (Rodén, 'Fabio

commenced on 23 December 1643, when he was appointed as *mediator pacis*, the diplomatic representative of the papacy during the negotiations (which took place in Münster) that led to the 1648 Peace of Westphalia and brought an end to the Thirty Years' War, the religious and political conflict that had engulfed Europe since 1618.

Chigi's tenure as nuncio to Cologne commenced when the Thirty Years' War was in its last decade. Early victories of Catholic armies provided, as Marc R. Forster explains, 'Catholic authorities with the opportunity to restore Catholicism in a number of Protestant regions'.⁴⁰ The Church's hopes of the re-Catholicisation of Northern Europe reinvigorated missionary activity in Germany and the Low Countries, as evidenced, for example, by Pope Gregory XV's establishment of the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith) in 1622. The heavy-handed approach to Catholic conversion by the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand II, however (which had the support of the Pope and the Jesuits), and his punitive measures against Protestants proved to be a disastrous overreach.⁴¹ His actions stirred up resentment not only among Protestants, but also among Catholics who preferred a softer missionary approach that sought to bring people to the faith via persuasion rather than force. In the early 1630s these initial Catholic victories in the region were tempered by the advance of Protestant armies, led by King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, which 'restored the military balance in Germany', leaving the 'confidence of the Catholic elite ... badly shaken by what many came to see as the destructive consequences of confessional militancy'.⁴²

Even after being firmly established in his prestigious diplomatic career, Fabio Chigi continued to cultivate his love of the arts and humanities. Indeed, an early biography of Chigi indicates that the bishop was always eager to read things that were new, unique and interesting.⁴³ Though this was mostly due to his innate intellectual curiosity, Chigi's interest in reading books in a broad range of subjects also had a practical aspect: informed by his experience as a diplomat for the papacy in the context of the Northern Missions during this period of intense confessional strife, Chigi was convinced of the wisdom and efficacy of the persuasive approach to conversion. As Irene Fosi explains,

Chigi's Observations', p. 118). Regarding Cologne and the Northern Missions, see Friedrich Niewöhner and Fidel Rädle, *Konversionen im Mittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit* (Hildesheim; New York: Georg Olms, 1999), p. 110.

⁴⁰ Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 85.

⁴¹ The actions of Ferdinand II were exacerbated by his issuance of the 1629 Edict of Restitution, which demanded that all church property taken by Protestants since 1552 and all Catholic territories secularized by Protestants since 1555 be returned to the Catholic Church: Forster, *Catholic Germany*, p. 87.

⁴² Forster, *Catholic Germany*, p. 85.

⁴³ Sforza Pallavicino and Pietro Giordani, *Della Vita di Alessandro VII: Libri Cinque*, vol. 1. (Prato: Tipografia dei fratelli Giachetti, 1839), p. 49.

Chigi had directly witnessed the problems afflicting the German lands and recognized the complications of the Catholic reconquest ... He well knew that the ban on reading prohibited books hindered the training of priests and theologians who needed, at all times, to resist the attacks of controversialists with valid arguments.⁴⁴

In short, by blocking missionaries' access to a vast swath of the diverse reading material available in Northern Europe, the Catholic Church was rendering its representatives unprepared to effectively debate the primacy of its position.

Sometime in the spring of 1641, a curious and diverting book landed on Chigi's desk, titled *Eudemiae libri VIII*. Its author, a certain Ianus Nicius Erythraeus, was familiar to him from his time in Rome when he frequented the Accademia degli Umoristi, and it must have amused him to recognise people he knew from those days behind their academy names. It also clearly pleased him to recognise himself as a character in book three named 'Tyrrhenus'.⁴⁵ Chigi's delight in *Eudemia* prompted him to write to Rossi in April of 1641, letting him know that he had a copy of the book and expressing his pleasure in seeing himself appear in it. What is more, his account of his eagerness to have it bound nicely and to read every last line speaks to his admiration for the work and its author.⁴⁶

We express our thanks at the honor of being called 'Tyrrhenus' in *Eudemia*, and this has prompted us to write to you often. I have recently got my hands on your *Eudemia*, among several books brought over from Holland. Repeatedly transfixed by the suggestive nature of its unusual title, jumping from page to page I read a few sentences at random, for I was not able to easily leaf through it, seeing as the little book had not yet been compiled into gatherings or been trimmed. I found its clarity of style pleasing, as well as the earnest and concise treatment of its subject matter. I therefore ordered it to be folded and elegantly bound right away; and when it was brought to me the following day, I read every last line of it with the greatest eagerness and delight. I will not mention here the praise this work deserves on account of its excellent expression of antiquity and its overall harmony. I go, and am willingly drawn, where this

⁴⁴ Irene Fosi, *Inquisition, Conversion, and Foreigners in Baroque Rome* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), p. 150; see also Stolzenberg, 'The Holy Office in the Republic of Letters', pp. 16, 21-22.

⁴⁵ In keeping with the Academy's tradition of members adopting Latinised or Hellenised names, 'Tyrrhenus', the name Chigi was known by among the Umoristi, was derived from Τυρρηνία (Tyrrhenia), the ancient Greek word for Etruria, a reference to Chigi's Tuscan origins.

⁴⁶ BAV Chig.I.VII.246: f. 12r-13r.

delightful book takes me, toward whom, in all sincerity, it is a gesture of friendship, because in it I have seen 'Tyrrhenus' praised elegantly and at length. Indeed, you know how much it means to receive praise from someone who is praiseworthy himself, and to be granted immortality through the power of excellent writing.⁴⁷

The fact that Chigi specifies that the book came to him from the Dutch Republic ('ex Hollandia') leads us to assume that, in all likelihood, he received the book from Barthold Nihus, a contact of his who was living in Amsterdam.⁴⁸ Born in 1589 in Wölpe, in what at the time was the Prince-Bishopric of Minden in the Holy Roman Empire, Nihus grew up a Lutheran and converted to Catholicism in 1622, becoming an ordained priest in 1624.⁴⁹ A respected theologian and thinker, Nihus applied his vast erudition to controversial writings in defence of Catholic doctrine and had ambitions of advancing in an ecclesiastical career. During a five-year period (1622–1627), when he was living and studying in Cologne, Nihus developed relationships with prominent Catholic intellectuals, including Leonardus Marius van der Goes, who at the time was teaching theology at the university in Cologne.⁵⁰ Nihus's value as an outspoken convert and controversialist was recognised by

⁴⁷ 'Gratias agit quod Tyrreni nomine honorifice in *Eudemia* appellatus fuerit et ad literas persaepe scribendas provocat. Venit ad manus meas nuper plures inter libros ex Hollandia advectos tua *Eudemia*. Haesi continuo ad novi nominis larvam, legique periodos aliquot nullo servato ordine ex una et altera pagina decerpens; neque enim commode evolvere poteram, cum non adhuc compactus esset libellus, aut marginibus recisis. Placuit mihi stili candor, et seria, ac pressa rerum, de quibus agebat repraesentatio. Iussi igitur eum in primis plicari atque expoliri, postmodum ad me relatum avidissime ac magna sane cum oblectatione legi a prima usque ad ultimam lineam. Supersedeo laudibus, quae maxime debentur operi ad antiquitatis praestantiam feliciter elaborato, omnibusque ad rem numeris absoluto; atque eo advolo, quo me invitat, libentemque trahit suavissimus cuique ingenuo viro titulus gratitudinis, propterea quod in eo viderim prolixè, atque eleganter commendari Tyrrenum. Scis enim quanti sit laudari a laudato viro, et egregiae scriptionis ope immortalitate donari': BAV Chig. I.VII.246, fol. 12r-13r. Chigi wrote in a 1642 letter to Nihus (BAV Chig. a.I.44: fol. 90v) that Rossi had praised him using the name 'Tyrrhenus' during an Academy meeting sixteen years earlier.

⁴⁸ Nihus states in a 1645 letter that he had met Chigi 'ab annis iam fere quinque' ('almost five years ago'), but he does not specify where they met: Cornelissen Cornelissen, 'Brieven van en over Bartoldus Nihusius', *Haarlemsche Bijdragen*, 50 (1941), 334.

⁴⁹ Niewöhner and Rädle, *Konversionen im Mittelalter*, pp. 109-111.

⁵⁰ Hans Peterse, 'Leonardus Marius (1588–1652) und die Katholische Mission in den Niederlanden', in Herman Selderhuis, etc. (eds.), *Konfession, Migration und Elitenbildung: Studien zur Theologenausbildung des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 296; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, v. 7, *sub voce*; Anselm Schubert, 'Kommunikation und Konkurrenz. Gelehrtenrepublik und Konfession im 17. Jahrhundert', in Kaspar von Greyerz, etc. (eds.), *Interkonfessionalität – Transkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003), p. 109. Marius would fondly remember these years spent together in Cologne in a 1645 letter of recommendation on Nihus's behalf, addressed to the prefect of the Congregation Antonio Barberini: 'tandem feliciter anno XXXIIo [Nihus] pervenit Coloniam ... Ad primum adventum accepi eum in penitiorem amicitiam ... atque ab eo tempore quinque admodum annis amicissime simul Coloniae viximus' ('When he was 32 years old, [Nihus] fortuitously came to Cologne ... From the moment he arrived, I embraced him in very close friendship ... we were the closest of friends the entire five years we lived in Cologne together'): Cornelissen Cornelissen, 'Brieven', pp. 336-337.

Rome in the form of financial support to study theology in Cologne from 1622 to 1623, paid by the newly established Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, whose purpose was to reinvigorate the Northern Missions and whose operations were being run out of the papal nunciature in Cologne.⁵¹

Nihus left Cologne in 1623 to serve as provost of a Cistercian convent in Brunswick, after which he was appointed abbot of a monastery in Ilfeld and then as suffragan bishop in Mainz.⁵² Just as his hoped-for career was gaining momentum, in the face of the advancing Swedish armies, Nihus was forced to flee to Amsterdam in 1633, where he was taken in by his old friend Leonardus Marius, who in the meantime had been appointed vicar general of the Diocese of Haarlem; and in which role he also served as censor, empowered with granting the imprimatur required for publishing books within his jurisdiction.⁵³ After spending just a year in Amsterdam, Nihus moved to Haarlem for five years, returning to Amsterdam in 1639. The following year he met the recently arrived papal nuncio in Cologne, Fabio Chigi, and the two of them developed a friendship. Nihus even acted as an on-the-ground informant for Chigi in Holland for the Northern missionary effort.⁵⁴ Knowing of Chigi's penchant for new and interesting books, Nihus apparently thought to send a copy of *Eudemia* to him in Cologne.

Pleased by Fabio Chigi's letter expressing his enjoyment in reading *Eudemia*, Gian Vittorio Rossi shared this news with Gabriel Naudé, who, in turn, encouraged him to approach Chigi about finding him a publisher, perhaps even in Cologne, for the collection of biographies he had been working on, which he called *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium virorum*, his portrait gallery of illustrious men. Following Naudé's advice, Rossi responded to Chigi in September of 1641:

From that day Naudé was quite hopeful for it to come about that, with your influence and sway, the work I recently completed, the one about men who were famous because of their

⁵¹ The *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* was founded by Pope Gregory XV on 6 January 1622; Nihus even made a brief visit to Rome in 1622 at the invitation of the *Congregatio* (Niewöhner and Rädle, *Konversionen im Mittelalter*, p. 109).

⁵² John Edward Fletcher, *A Study of the Life and Works of Athanasius Kircher, 'Germanus Incredibilis': with a Selection of His Unpublished Correspondence and an Annotated Translation of his Autobiography* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), p. 323; Niewöhner and Rädle, *Konversionen im Mittelalter*, pp. 113-114.

⁵³ 'Venitque Amsterdamum anno aetatis XLIIIo ... ad me tunc Amsterdami residentem, pervenit pridie festivitatis S. Ursulae. Vidi virum, excepi, amplexus sum, deduxi ad mensam, atque ab eo tempore habui eum ut fratrem Amsterdami per annum fere unum' ('He came to Amsterdam when he was 43 years old ... he arrived the day before the Feast of St. Ursula [21 October] to stay with me, since I was living in Amsterdam at the time. I saw him, I welcomed him in, I embraced him, I had him sit at my table, and from that day he lived with me in Amsterdam as a brother for almost a year'): Cornelissen, 'Brieven', pp. 339-340.

⁵⁴ Stolzenberg, 'The Holy Office in the Republic of Letters', pp. 21-22; Schubert, 'Kommunikation und Konkurrenz', p. 116.

ingenuity and who passed away during my lifetime, could be published there in Cologne, where he knows there are famous publishing houses.⁵⁵

As it happened, Chigi found the *Pinacotheca* worthy of publication and assigned the task of finding a printer to his friend Barthold Nihus.

Living in Amsterdam meant that Nihus's contacts in the publishing world were primarily there rather than in Cologne.⁵⁶ Nihus approached two printers about the possibility of publishing *Pinacotheca*: Blaeu and Lodowijk Elzevier, head of the Amsterdam branch of the Elzevier publishing house, whose shop in Leiden had published *Eudemia*.⁵⁷ For his part, Lodowijk Elzevier was open to publishing this new work by Rossi, since *Eudemiae libri VIII* had proven to be a commercial success (and they were already sitting on a second edition of the novel, which the author had augmented by two books). As Nihus informed Chigi, however, their presses were busy with other projects for the following seven months, so they would not be able to get started on it right away.⁵⁸ Since Joan Blaeu had more capacity to begin immediate production, on 19 July 1642 Nihus confirmed with Chigi that he had decided on Blaeu for the project, with a projected print run of thirty copies.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ 'Nam ab eo die [Naudaeus] magnam in spem venit posse contingere ut istic, ubi celebres officinas impressorias esse non ignorat, tua auctoritate et gratia imprimatur illud opus quod nuper de viris aliqua ingenii fama notis me vivo vita functis absolvi': *Epistolae ad Tyrrenum*, 1.II.

⁵⁶ Various sources state that Nihus was working for Blaeu at this time as his editor for Catholic books (e.g., Schubert, 'Kommunikation und Konkurrenz', p. 115; and Wolfgang Schmitz, 'Der Kölner Buchdruck und seine Beziehungen nach Amsterdam am Beispiel des Cornelius von Egmond, und der Blaeu. Ein Beitrag auch zur Druckeridentifizierung für das 17. Jahrhundert', *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* 24 [1997], pp. 356-357), an assertion that at least Schubert based on Nihus's entry in the *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1927, p. 910), where it states, 'Te Amsterdam was Nihusius geregeld werkzaam op de beroemde drukkerij van Blaeu, als corrector voor de vele katholieke boeken die van zijn pers kwamen' ('In Amsterdam, Nihusius was regularly employed in Blaeu's famous printing house as the editor for the many Catholic books that he printed'). Daniel Stolzenberg, however, who is currently researching this matter for a future publication, finds no evidence that Nihus was working for Blaeu before he began editing the *Pinacotheca* (email exchange, 11 November 2023).

⁵⁷ As Nihus wrote to Chigi in July of 1642: 'De *Pinacotheca* egi cum duobus bibliopolis Blawio et Elzevierio' ('I have negotiated with two publishers regarding *Pinacotheca*, Blaeu and Elzevier'): BAV Chig. I.V.170: fol. 31r; published in Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', p. 379.

⁵⁸ 'Et paratus tunc Elzevierius excudere quidem, sed non nisi mense abhinc septimo quod praela nunc aliis operibus occupata habeat. *Eudemiae* exemplaria divendita esse ait omnia; auctorem itaque sibi placere omnino et ab eodem ad se pervenisse *Eudemiam* auctiorem quam fuit ante' ('Elzevier is even prepared to publish it, but not for another seven months because his presses are currently occupied with other projects. He says that all the copies of *Eudemia* have sold out; therefore, that he is extremely pleased with the author, who has sent him a version of *Eudemia* that is longer than the original one'): BAV Chig. I.V.170: fol. 31r; published in Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', p. 379.

⁵⁹ Considering that an average print run (with variations by genre) was anywhere from 1,000 to 1,250 copies (Djoeke van Netten, *Koopman in kennis: De uitgever Willem Jansz Blaeu in de geleerde wereld (1571–1638)* [Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2014], p. 40), and considering that Hugo Grotius felt that the Blaeus' 500-copy print run of his *De Antichristo* was far too small (Henk J.M. Nellen, *Hugo Grotius: A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583–1645* [Leiden: Brill, 2015], p. 121), this exiguous run of 30 volumes is evidence of Blaeu's social rather than purely economic motivation to participate in this endeavor, at least initially. Nihus does inform Chigi that he could ask Blaeu to print more than 30 copies: 'Blawius *Pinacothecam* statim atque

Best known for its atlases and globes, the Blaeu publishing house was founded by Joan Blaeu's father, Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638), a mathematician and astronomer by training, who parlayed his education and skill into the book trade by printing terrestrial and celestial atlases, navigational instruments and maps. He first went into business in 1599 after moving his family to Amsterdam from his hometown of Alkmaar, relocating his shop in 1605 to its location *op het water* ('upon the water', known today as Damrak), where the booksellers and mapmakers were concentrated.⁶⁰ Having earned a reputation for high-quality imprints due to his investment in his craftsmen and equipment, the growth of his firm eventually necessitated, in 1637, a relocation to larger premises on the Bloemgracht, a canal in central Amsterdam.⁶¹

In addition to cartographic materials, Willem Blaeu published works on many other subjects such as poetry, literature, theology, philosophy and law.⁶² A particularly large and lucrative market for books (but a problematic one at this time for printers like himself in the Calvinist city of Amsterdam) was that of Catholic liturgical works, works by Jesuit authors and other titles of interest to a Catholic audience. Aside from the economic incentive to print such works, Cornelius Koeman describes Willem Blaeu as someone who personally was 'tolerant in religious matters and did not condone the repression of the Roman Catholic faith'.⁶³ Blaeu overcame obstacles to the international Catholic market by printing such books under the name of publishers based in the Catholic city of Cologne in Germany.⁶⁴ Dirk Imhof explains:

For Blaeu it was impossible to publish these Catholic books openly in Calvinist Amsterdam, but apparently the opportunities of this lucrative market were too irresistible to neglect. His solution to this dilemma was to print the books on his

acceperit imprimet. Promittit hactenus triginta solum exemplaria. Videbo postmodum an obtinere possim plura' ('As soon as Blaeu receives the *Pinacotheca*, he will print it. For now he is promising only thirty copies. Later on, I will see if I can get more'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 33rv. Chigi replied on 24 July that 30 copies would be fine ('Satis sunt XXX exemplaria'): BAV Chig. a.i.44, fol. 90v.

⁶⁰ Johannes Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu. A Biography and History of His Work as a Cartographer and Publisher* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1973), p. 10.

⁶¹ Keuning describes Janszoon Blaeu's high standards as follows: 'Blaeu employed the best pressmen, engravers, scribes and colorists. His types were clean and well-cut; his paper ... was heavy and of good quality': Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, p. 13. For the move to Bloemgracht, see Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 13; van Veen, 1989, pp. 839-840; Herman de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Dr. Joan Blaeu and his sons', *Quaerendo*, 11 (1981), p. 5.

⁶² Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, p. 28; Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 6. Keuning (pp. 122-128) includes in his appendix a facsimile imprint of Blaeu's 1633 Frankfurt book fair catalogue of the non-cartographic works he had for sale.

⁶³ Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 6; see also, Schmitz, 'Der Kölner Buchdruck', p. 358.

⁶⁴ Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 6; Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', pp. 20-21; Verwey, 'Dr. Joan Blaeu', p. 8;

own presses in Amsterdam but with the imprint of a printer in Catholic Cologne to guarantee the trustworthiness of their Catholic contents.⁶⁵

Blaeu's most long-lasting and well documented collaboration in this vein was with Cornelis van Egmond (Cornelius ab Egmond), a printer who was 'prepared to lend his name to this practice'.⁶⁶

Originally from Flanders, van Egmond first learned the trade by apprenticing at the Plantin Press in Antwerp with Jan Moretus II from 1608 until the latter's death in 1618, after which he set up his own business in Cologne, first as a bookseller (1619) and then as a printer (1622).⁶⁷ His collaboration with Blaeu began around 1621, as evidenced by correspondence between him and Balthasar Moretus (Jan Moretus's successor), in which the younger Moretus expresses concern about Van Egmond's plans to '[assist] other publishers in undermining Moretus's privileges for lucrative liturgical editions'.⁶⁸ The Plantin Press had apparently already suffered their works being reprinted by competitors in Antwerp, where Moretus had been able to take legal measures in the Southern Netherlands to stop it, but he had no standing to prevent such manoeuvres in other jurisdictions; and '[a]lthough van Egmond had not mentioned the name of the printer [he was collaborating with], Moretus was well aware that it was Willem Blaeu who intended to print Catholic books, incited by Moretus's Antwerp competitors'.⁶⁹ Two years later, when the practice had not ceased, he even wrote to Janszoon Blaeu himself, beseeching him to stop printing liturgical works in Amsterdam.⁷⁰ The earning potential was clearly too great a draw for Blaeu, however, since the collaboration with Van Egmond continued not only through the remainder of the Dutch printer's life, but into the next generation of the Blaeu publishing house under his eldest son, Joan Blaeu.⁷¹

Joan Blaeu took over his father's business at the age of thirty-nine or forty, upon the elder Blaeu's death in 1638, running it initially in partnership with his brother Cornelius, and then on his own upon Cornelius's death around 1644.⁷² With Joan at the helm, the Blaeu printing house experienced its greatest period of expansion and flourishing; in fact, according to Koeman, 'it is reasonable to conjecture that Joan Blaeu was the driving force behind [its] plans to expand', resulting in the aforementioned relocation to the Bloemgracht.⁷³ Indeed, the Blaeu printing house grew to be

⁶⁵ Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', pp. 20-21.

⁶⁶ Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', pp. 20-21; see also Schmitz, 'Der Kölner Buchdruck', pp. 354-361.

⁶⁷ Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', pp. 17-20; Schmitz, 'Der Kölner Buchdruck', pp. 343-344.

⁶⁸ Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', p. 20.

⁶⁹ Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', p. 21.

⁷⁰ Imhof, 'Three Future Cologne Publishers', p. 23.

⁷¹ Verwey, 'Dr. Joan Blaeu', p. 8.

⁷² Joan Blaeu's birth year is not precisely established; it was either 1598 or 1599. Both brothers had by that time been working with their father for years, with Joan having formally joined Willem Janszoon Blaeu in partnership around 1630: Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 7; Verwey, 'Dr. Joan Blaeu', p. 5.

⁷³ Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 13.

the largest, most cutting-edge press in Europe at the time, ‘boast[ing] nine flat-bed presses for letter-press printing named after the nine Muses, six presses for copperplate printing, and a type foundry’.⁷⁴ Dubbed by Claude Sarrau as *typographorum princeps*, Blaeu had become a towering figure, much like Aldus Manutius and Christophe Plantin before him.⁷⁵

Besides the *Grand Atlas* and other milestones in printing, Joan Blaeu continued his father’s practice of printing Catholic books with a Cologne imprint, working with at least three different printers: Johann Kinckius, who, after completing a six-year apprenticeship with Jan II Moretus at the Plantin Press (leaving just when Van Egmondts arrived to begin his), went on to become a successful publisher in Cologne; Jost Kalchoven; and of course Cornelis van Egmondts, who had enjoyed the aforementioned long collaboration with Joan’s father.⁷⁶

The vast international Catholic book market continued to be an economic boon for Blaeu, so much so that Nihus wrote Chigi that Blaeu ‘prefers ... to publish Catholic books over all others, especially ones approved by a censor, since he’ll earn money off of them from all over the world’.⁷⁷ For his part, Barthold Nihus appeared to have had a good understanding of the financial pressures on publishers, both in terms of operational costs and of the international book market. It is clear from Nihus’s correspondence that one of the major headwinds in Europe for publishers like Blaeu was the difficulty of conducting cross-border commerce between Catholic and Protestant territories during the Thirty Years’ War. Nihus apparently found this topic interesting enough to share his thoughts about it with Fabio Chigi in letters regarding various printing projects at the Blaeu publishing house in the years following the initial publication of *Pinacotheca*. In a letter dated 4 January 1644, in which Nihus details to Chigi how much cost Blaeu incurs to run his press, he lamented how bad war was for business.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Koeman, *Joan Blaeu and his Grand Atlas*, p. 9; Keuning, *Willem Jansz. Blaeu*, p. 13.

⁷⁵ *Claudii Saravii [...] Epistolae* (Arausio: [s. n.], 1654) as cited in Verwey, ‘Dr. Joan Blaeu’, p. 13.

⁷⁶ Imhof, ‘Three Future Cologne Publishers’, pp. 10, 14-15.

⁷⁷ ‘[M]avult ... imprimere libros Catholicos, praesertim approbatos, quam ullos alios; quia lucrum inde reportaturus e partibus mundi omnibus’: BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 67r-v (30 July 1643); published in Hoogewerff, ‘Biblioteca chigiana’, p. 382.

⁷⁸ ‘Quod et Blawio forte necessarium, cum alat semper plusquam personas, ac sine dubio magnam pecuniarum partem ab aliis in deposito habens, annuum interesse pendere cogatur; praeterquam quod in victum ingente hic aere opus sit. Sunt ei chalcographica praela septem, occupata perpetuo in Atlante novo et similibus voluminibus maximis. Hinc eum puto lucrari majorem nummorum vim. Praelorum autem typographicorum numerat novem, quibus excudit iam praesertim libros catholicos illos, quorum opus est ubique’ (‘And this is especially necessary for Blaeu, as he is always supporting more and more people, and undoubtedly a large percentage of his money is invested by others, compelling him to pay annual dividends; not to mention the fact that a huge sum of money is needed to feed everyone here. He has seven presses for engraved plates dedicated exclusively to the new Atlas and similar large volumes, where I believe he derives most of his profits from. Furthermore, he has nine typographic presses, with which he mostly now prints Catholic books, which are in demand everywhere’): BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 109r-110r.

It is very difficult for any bookseller here to give away presentation copies (unless we are talking about a small amount); nor is the generosity generally associated with booksellers found here, especially these days, since these interminable wars are an obstacle to sales ... If business in Italy were easier for Amsterdam-based booksellers, you would not have to ask Blaeu twice; he would be more than ready to provide them ... If there were world peace, his presses here would be twice the size, and not even Plantin would be able to compete with him.⁷⁹

A year earlier, Nihus had even shared with Chigi his wish that Italian and Roman printers and booksellers could set up some sort of association in the North, whereby they could access a broader market than was available to them in Italy, thus enabling them to earn more money (perhaps just as Blaeu used his connections in Cologne to print Catholic books).⁸⁰ It is worth keeping in mind that these letters from Nihus to Chigi regarding the difficulty of conducting business during wartime were written within a year of Chigi's appointment as *mediator pacis* to the Peace of Westphalia (December 1643) and a month before he set out for the peace talks in Münster (February 1644), as it demonstrates Chigi's continued interest in book production and the book market, even when critical matters of international diplomacy were at stake.

Publishing the *Pinacotheca*

⁷⁹ 'In donandis exemplaribus (nisi paucula admodum sint) valde difficiles hic sunt omnes bibliopolae; neque liberalitas eorum illa hic usitata est; nunc praesertim, quum bella ubique diuturna venditionem impeditam reddunt ... Quod si facilius esset bibliopolarum, qui hic sunt, negotiatio in Italia, non opus forsan esset multum rogare Blawium, quia promptior foret ultro ... Qui, si pax universalis foret, duplo maiorem forsan officinam typographicam faceret, neque Plantinianis cederet': BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 109r-110r; published in Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', p. 385. Notwithstanding Nihus's explanation that the wars were squeezing bookseller profits, Dutch publishers in general were notorious for their stinginess in providing complimentary presentation copies to authors. Pettegree and der Weduwen recount the consternation of French scholars Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, Claude Saumaise and René Descartes at not being offered presentation copies by the Elzeviers that they felt were their due (*Bookshop of the World*, pp. 272-273).

⁸⁰ 'If only there were some cooperative of Italian or Roman booksellers, based here [in Amsterdam] that had some people who could, at their expense, primarily print books written by Italians and sell them to other maritime trading locales. Such a cooperative would surely make a lot of money. And it perhaps wouldn't be hard to develop and organize everything to make it a reality' ('Utinam bibliopolarum Italorum aut Romanorum societas aliqua sit, collocatum hic loci habens nonneminem, qui praecipuos Italorum libros hic sumtu istorum excudi et in emporiis maritimis aliisque divendi facerent. Multum equidem lucrari posset. Nec forsan difficile foret excogitare et constituere omnia ad eam rem necessaria'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 109r-110r (7 January 1643).

Six months before Barthold Nihus confirmed with Chigi (in July 1642) that Blaeu would publish *Pinacotheca*, Rossi wrote to the bishop expressing his gratitude and committing to sending portions of the manuscript to him every week:

You wrote to me that you would see to having my *Pinacotheca* published either there [in Germany] or in the Low Countries, and I could imagine nothing more delightful or pleasing befalling me. But I would expect nothing less from someone who has been so benevolent and kind-hearted towards me; and for that, I give you my greatest thanks, as is fitting. I am sending you, as per your request, four *folia* of the work, whereafter I will send you the rest on a weekly basis.⁸¹

A close examination of the pre-print manuscript of the *Pinacotheca* against the *editio princeps* produced by Blaeu validates Cavarzere's addition of the censor to the other actors within the framework of Darnton's 'communications circuit', because it allows us to see the key role Barthold Nihus ultimately played in the publication of the work. The editorial interventions by Nihus (in consultation with the work's patron, Fabio Chigi), were clearly made with the express purpose of achieving a final text that could obtain the imprimatur of an official Church censor, without which it could not have been received into the coveted Roman book market and the hands of Roman readers, who were Rossi's peers and target audience.

Nihus's interventions animate Daniel Stolzenberg's description of censors as 'cultural mediators' between authors and the Congregation of the Index, facilitating rather than obstructing the circulation of books in Europe. With Protestantism firmly established in Northern Europe, the censorial mission of the papacy shifted in the seventeenth century from its earlier outward focus on preventing the spread of heresy throughout Europe to an inward focus on protecting Catholics within the Italian peninsula from doctrinal threats and immoral ideas.⁸³ As Stolzenberg explains, this shift paradoxically served to bring Catholic and Protestant Europe closer together. Rome's 'centralized, bureaucratic censorship system ensured booksellers a relatively reliable and uniform policy over a large geographic range', resulting in a mutually beneficial relationship, whereby Northern publishers knew what was required to produce works that were acceptable to the Catholic

⁸¹ 'Tum etiam quia scriptum in illis [litteris tuis] erat te daturum operam, ut *Pinacotheca* mea vel istic vel in Belgio typis imprimeretur; quo nihil mihi gratius nec iucundius accidere potuit. Sed a tam propensa humanissimi in me hominis voluptate aliter expectari non poterat; ac de utraque re immortales tibi gratias ago habeoque, ut debeo. Mitto, ut iubes, quatuor eius operis folia; reliqua deinceps, octavo quoque die missurus': *Epistolae ad Tyrrhenum*, 1.III.

⁸³ Stolzenberg, 'The Holy Office in the Republic of Letters', pp. 22-23; Cavarzere, 'La prassi della censura', p. XI.

market, and Catholic readers in Italy could access a greater number of books from a greater number of authors and publishers.⁸⁴ The net imbalance of power between the Catholic Church and individual authors, however, compels us to keep the notion of ‘compromise’ in perspective.⁸⁵ Authors ultimately had little say within the repressive censorship regime, but the alternative to having their work published (albeit with content changed or removed) was having none of it see the light of day at all.

Nihus’s pre-publication interventions on Rossi’s manuscript perfectly illuminate his responsibility as an editor to vet a work destined for a Catholic audience and the Roman marketplace. His interventions fall into a few different categories that regard religious propriety, illegal activity and general morality: heterosexual sex that is extramarital, with prostitutes, or lewd in nature (e.g., removing the word ‘mistress’ or ‘prostitute’ [*concubina, scortum*]); mentioning a specific religious order, Church office, or person within an immoral context (e.g., replacing *Dominicani* with *Religiosi*); paedophilia (e.g., removing the word ‘boy’ [*puerum, adolescentulum*] in a sexual context or replacing it with ‘young man’ or ‘man’ [*adolescens, vir*]); references to a scandalous crime (e.g., replacing the word *flagitium* [a libidinous or lustful act] with the more generic *crimen* or *erratum* [‘crime’, ‘offence’]); mentioning a specific location such as Rome within an immoral context (e.g., substituting a reference to Rome as a pernicious city [*maledica civitas*] with a vague reference to unidentified pernicious individuals [*maledici aliqui*]); and making fun of religious rituals and practices. Excised text ranges from a single word or phrase to entire paragraphs to an entire biography.⁸⁶

That these interventions render the work less titillating, and arguably less interesting, speak to what Cavarzere describes as the hidden, and thus insidious, nature of pre-print censorship: it obscured the author’s voice and made it seem like the text in its final published form was what he intended.⁸⁷ That said, soon after the book’s publication, Chigi shared with Rossi his fear that the editorial interventions might not have been severe enough, potentially putting the success of the book at risk by leaving in too much suggestive language or biting humour in the eyes of the Italian censors.⁸⁸ Stolzenberg explains that the cooperative practice of voluntary pre-print censorship

⁸⁴ Stolzenberg, ‘The Holy Office in the Republic of Letters’, pp. 22-23.

⁸⁵ Cavarzere, *La prassi della censura*, p. XIII. Our translation and commentary of the *Pinacotheca*, based on the preprint manuscript, will restore, as far as possible, the *intentio auctoris*.

⁸⁶ This was the fate of Jean-Jacques Bouchard, whose biography was removed entirely at the urging of Cassiano dal Pozzo, who intervened on his (posthumous) behalf directly with Fabio Chigi to have it taken out. A detailed account is given in Herklotz, ‘Ianus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard’. A comprehensive analysis of these pre-publication censorship interventions will be included in the introduction to our translation of and commentary on *Pinacotheca*.

⁸⁷ Cavarzere, *La prassi della censura*, p. XIII.

⁸⁸ ‘Gaudeo summopere et gratulor *Pinacothecam* principibus placuisse viris, quod non exiguo metu liberavit me nam, ut ingenue fateor, dubitavi primum ne censor rigidus nimium fuisset in delendo seu in ommitendo. Tum

between Protestant publishers and Catholic censors reflected a de facto state of religious pluralism and toleration that had established itself between the Peace of Westphalia and the Enlightenment.⁸⁹ This acceptance of the reality of the world as it was, and the tacit acknowledgement that cooperation between Catholics and Protestants could render mutual benefits, would inform Pope Alexander VII's policy towards Northern Europe, including the Northern Missions.⁹⁰ What we see in the correspondence among Chigi, Nihus and Rossi regarding the text of the *Pinacotheca* is evidence of Chigi's wrestling with finding a balance between an author's self-expression, a reader's desire for enjoyment and the strictures of the Church six years before the Peace of Westphalia and thirteen years before he ascended to the papacy.

In August 1642, Nihus informed Chigi that he was in possession of the entire manuscript and that Blaeu was ready to start setting it in type.⁹¹ By the beginning of September 1642, Blaeu had the first nine octavo proof sheets (*octerniones*) ready to send to Chigi (by courier from Amsterdam to Cologne) for final approval, and the swift pace continued from there: between mid-September and the end of October, Blaeu sent press proofs of the entire book to Chigi, a few octavo sheets at a time.⁹² Though the entire text of the *Pinacotheca* had been printed by the end of October 1642, Blaeu could not print the front matter until he had confirmation from one of his partners in Cologne that the *Pinacotheca* could bear that person's imprint, so the book would not be seen to have been issued in Amsterdam.

Blaeu, via Nihus, had originally made an agreement with Johann Kinckius for the *Pinacotheca* to be printed under his name, and they had also arranged for Leonardus Marius to supply the

vero decumbens, nec eam lustrare valens, cum audirem ab amico multa superesse acute dicta quae mores aliquorum carperent, timui ne a censoribus Italis prohiberetur, quippe qui non patiantur atramento acetum misceri, sed aquam tantummodo rosarum, horrentque nedum spinas verum et earum umbras' ('I am exceedingly pleased, and I congratulate you that *Pinacotheca* has been received positively by dignitaries, which has greatly allayed my concerns because, frankly, I questioned at first whether the censor had been harsh enough with his deletions and omissions. Indeed, I had been unwell and not able to look [the text] over, and when my friend [Nihus] informed me that he had left in many pointed phrases that could offend the sensibilities of some, I was afraid it would be banned by the censors in Italy, since they do not allow ink to be mixed with vinegar, but only with rose water (not to mention their fear of a rose's thorns and even the specter of thorns'): BAV Chig. I.VII.244, fol. 51r (23 May 1643) (also cited in Herklotz, 'Ianus Nicius Erythraeus und Jean-Jacques Bouchard', p. 168, n. 67).

⁸⁹ Stolzenberg, 'The Holy Office and the Republic of Letters', p. 4.

⁹⁰ Stolzenberg, 'The Holy Office and the Republic of Letters', pp. 20-22.

⁹¹ 'Tota *Pinacotheca*, laus Deo, recte huc perlata est ... mecum adfuit Blawio, qui paratus praelo subicere librum statim' ('Praise God, the complete manuscript of *Pinacotheca* has arrived ... Blaeu was with me, and he is ready to put it on the press immediately'): BAV Chig. I.V.170; published in Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', p. 380.

⁹² The first nine octavo sheets (quires A-E) comprised the biographies of Martín de Azpilcueta Navarro to the first part of Giulio Cesare Bagnoli; quires F-I: end of Bagnoli to the first part of Jean du Bois; quires K-L: end of du Bois to the first part of Cristoforo Clavio; quires M-N: end of Clavio to the first part of Antonio da Girona; quires O-P: end of da Girona to the first part of Ferrante Carli; quires Q-R: end of Carli to the first part of Niccolò Masini; quires S-T: end of Masini to Raffaele Menicucci, plus the index.

imprimatur under the name of the Cologne-based censor, Henricus Francken Sierstorpff, which he had the authority to do.⁹³ Even though Blaeu was going to print the book at his shop in Amsterdam using Kinckius's printer's device, Kinckius was supposed to supply the dedicatory letter, addressed to Maximilian Henry of Bavaria, but Kinckius's tardiness in providing this letter was preventing Blaeu from setting it to type.⁹⁴ Eventually Blaeu gave up on Kinckius, approaching instead his long-time collaborator Cornelis van Egmond for permission to use his name. Van Egmond was also expected to provide a dedicatory letter to Maximilian Henry of Bavaria, which he did, albeit also not as quickly as Blaeu would have liked.⁹⁵

Pinacotheca was finally printed and ready for distribution in early 1643, and by March of that year it was widely available for sale, at least in Germany.⁹⁶ Chigi was clearly quite proud of the book, writing to Rossi at the end of March that '*Pinacotheca* has already appeared here to everyone's delight and admiration', and that he had 'given a copy to many learned friends'.⁹⁷ In May he told Rossi how thoroughly pleased he was, congratulating him for how well received *Pinacotheca* had been, even among Rome's nobility (*principibus viris*). Rossi himself was understandably pleased by the name he was making for himself in Rome on account of the popularity of *Pinacotheca*, which, by June of 1643, had circulated widely in the Eternal City. He was moved to express his appreciation to Chigi:

Thanks to you, my name has become better known to a great many in the City than it was before. Indeed, there is nobody prominent in terms of honor or dignity, no learned man, or at least none familiar with letters, who has not acquired, read, and praised my *Pinacotheca*, which, thinking me worthy, you gave your heart and soul to. Even the Pope himself expressed being filled with delight at reading it.

⁹³ 'Quod si nominandus tanquam editor Kinckius, et necessaria adprobatio censoris librorum, D. Marius potestatem habet adponendi nomen D. Sierstorfii; et Kinckium ego conscius reddam' ('If Kinckius is to print it, and we need the censor's approval. Marius has the authority to use the name of Sierstorpff; I will let Kinckius know'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, fol. 33rv (also published in Hoogewerff, 'Biblioteca chigiana', p. 380).

⁹⁴ A letter from Nihus to Chigi dated 19 September 1642 expresses frustration with Kinckius: 'Dedicatoriam utinam Kinckius mittat quamprimum' ('I wish Kinckius would send the dedicatory letter as soon as possible'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 40r-v.

⁹⁵ 'Pinacotheca totum reliquum haberet nunc MDV, nisi typographus expectaret adhuc Dedicatoriam Egmondi' ('You would have the rest of the *Pinacotheca* in your possession if the typesetter was not still waiting on the dedicatory letter from Egmond'): BAV Chig. I.V.170, fol. 45r, 7 October 1642.

⁹⁶ It had not arrived in Rome yet, but only because, as Rossi reports, the copies were being shipped by sea, and Hermann Scheus told him that the boat was stuck in Livorno due to inclement weather (*Epistolae ad Tyrrenum*, 1.XXIII).

⁹⁷ BAV Chig. a.i.44: (Chigi to Rossi) 12 April 1643.

Nicana omnia

Chigi's and Rossi's satisfaction with regard to *Pinacotheca's* positive reception among elite readership circles is evidence of successful 'social conjecture', the more ephemeral of the incentives in Darnton's framing. In terms of the more material incentive ('economic conjecture'), *Pinacotheca* did not disappoint, much to the satisfaction of Joan Blaeu. In July 1643, Nihus reports to Chigi that *Pinacotheca* had almost sold out in the Netherlands, Poland, France and Italy, with Chigi replying that it was now selling three times as fast as it had when it first came out, and that it had actually sold out in Italy.⁹⁸ Later that same month, Nihus informed Chigi that Blaeu was more than happy to proceed with publishing Rossi's collections of dialogues and his books containing examples of virtues and vices, because he was certain they would sell.⁹⁹ The following year, Rossi wrote to Blaeu on two occasions with the happy news that *Pinacotheca* had been attracting numerous buyers in Rome, and that the bookseller Hermann Scheus had told him that his copies had flown off the shelves.¹⁰⁰

Indeed, in the spring of 1644, Nihus let Chigi know that Blaeu was prepared to publish everything Rossi had written: 'Blavius paratissimus est excudere Nicana omnia' ('Blaeu is more than ready to publish everything by Nicus').¹⁰¹ It is unlikely that Blaeu would have made the sort of profit on these books that he did with liturgical works, but the fact that he was eager to keep going indicates that it must have been worth his while to dedicate resources to them. The question of monetary profit aside, Blaeu writes flatteringly to Rossi that he is the true beneficiary in this

⁹⁸ BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 61rv: 9 July 1643 (Nihus to Chigi). '*Pinacotheca* triplo quam ab initio venditur. In Italia desunt iam exemplaria' ('*Pinacotheca* is selling three times as fast as it did initially. It has already sold out in Italy') [BAV Chig. a.I.44: fol. 164rv] 21 July 1643 (Chigi to Nihus). These expressions of satisfaction as to how well *Pinacotheca* was selling in various countries could suggest that the original print run ended up being more than the originally promised thirty copies, but there is no way to say for sure. In any case, a second printing was forthcoming in 1645.

⁹⁹ 'Certus iam de emptoribus': BAV Chig. I.V.170, f. 67rv. The works are *Dialogi septendecim* (Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645) [USTC 1515192]; *Exempla virtutum et vitiorum* (Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iohannem Kinckium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1644) [USTC 2102361]; *Exempla virtutum et vitiorum. Editio secunda* (Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1645) [USTC 2076492]; and *Dialogorum volumen alterum* (Coloniae Ubiorum [i.e., Amsterdam]: Apud Iodocum Kalcovium [i.e., Joan Blaeu], 1649) [USTC 1513774].

¹⁰⁰ *Epistolae ad diversos*, 1.I.XXV (23 April 1644): 'Quod tuum erga me studium tametsi notum mihi fuit atque perfectum cum mea opera, Pinacothecam praesertim (nam ea tantum hic Romae comparuit) elegantissimis typis imprimendam curasti (quorum virtute magis quam aliqua eius elegantia Pinacotheca nostra magnum emptorum ad se numerum traxit'; and *Epistolae ad diversos* 1.I.XXVI (27 October 1644): 'Pinacotheca ... cuius exempla non parum multa ad Hermannum, celebrem hic Romae bibliopolam, transmissa fuerunt ab illo quanti voluit sine mora divendita'.

¹⁰¹ BAV Chig. I.V.170, fol. 122r-v (9 April 1644). Even in this letter Nihus shares with Chigi how war is hampering Blaeu's sales in certain places in Europe: 'Bella ista suspensum subinde tenant; neque enim Danis iam amplius et Polonis vendere quidquam potest; ad quas potissimum fere librorum vim trans mittebat. Cum Italis vero bibliopolis negotiari Belgae non possunt commodè' ('At the moment the wars are proving to be an obstacle, for he can no longer do business with the Danes or Poles, to whom he used to send the majority of his books. Moreover, Netherlandish booksellers can no longer easily do business with the Italians').

collaboration.¹⁰² By the end of that year, Blaeu had nine of Rossi's works in production: the first and second edition of *Exempla virtutum et vitiorum*; another press run of *Pinacotheca*, as well as a second edition titled *Pinacotheca altera*; a religious work titled *Documenta sacra ex Evangeliiis*; an expanded collection of dialogues titled *Dialogi septendecim*; a collection of letters from Rossi to his friends and acquaintances titled *Epistolae ad diversos*; a collection of Rossi's letters to Fabio Chigi titled *Epistolae ad Tyrrenum*; and the second, augmented edition of his novel, *Eudemiae libri decem*.¹⁰³

Conclusion

All told, this collaboration among Rossi, Chigi, Nihus and Blaeu lasted seven years (1642–1649) and resulted in the publication of more than eighteen of Rossi's works (fifteen distinct titles with a few yielding a second edition), seven of which were posthumous.¹⁰⁴ Rossi died in 1647 at the age of seventy, but he got to experience a certain level of fame in his twilight years, thanks to *Pinacotheca*, published when he was sixty-six years old. Besides the three volumes of biographies Blaeu published over five years (*Pinacotheca*, *Pinacotheca altera* and *Pinacotheca tertia*), new editions of these works continued to be published into the eighteenth century, the final one in 1729.

One can only speculate why Fabio Chigi took on the patronage of Gian Vittorio Rossi and involved himself in the publication of eighteen books over a seven-year period that precisely coincided, as was noted earlier, almost entirely with his mediation of the Peace of Westphalia. Perhaps seeing himself appear in *Eudemia* as 'Tyrrenus' sparked nostalgia for his youthful sojourn in Rome spent in intellectual and artistic pursuits, and immersing himself in what he considered a worthwhile publishing project may have provided a welcome distraction from his current, onerous responsibilities.¹⁰⁵ Whatever Chigi's reasons, Rossi certainly credited his novel *Eudemia* as being the

¹⁰² 'Tuum erga me studium satis superque ex illis [laudibus] notum ac perspectum, praesertim cum tantopere typos quibus *Pinacotheca* tua ex mea typographia prodiit extolas, quasi illorum virtute magis quam eius elegantia emptores traxerit. Ego vero sic sentio maiorem typis meis splendorem a scriptis tuis quam his a typis meis accepisse' ('Your regard for me is well known and evident in your abundant praise, especially since you speak so highly of my typefaces that my press used to print your *Pinacotheca*, as if it were the excellence of the type that attracted buyers, not the eloquence of the work. But my feeling is this, that my press has received more honor from your writing than your writing from my press'): BAV Chig. I.VII.244, fol. 332.

¹⁰³ After the 1643 *Pinacotheca*, Blaeu printed the remainder of Rossi's works with the imprint of the Cologne printer Jost Kalchoven. As was stated earlier, *Eudemiae libri decem* was supposed to have been published by the Elzeviers, but they never seem to have got around to it. By October of 1644 *Eudemia* was on Blaeu's press, but not without editorial intervention by Nihus to remove a few questionable passages. Similar to his preprint interventions on the *Pinacotheca*, the edits to *Eudemia* removed references to sex with boys (see Nelson, *Eudemiae libri decem*, e.g., pp. 328, n. 365; and 386, n. 431).

¹⁰⁴ For a complete list of Rossi's published works, see Nelson, *Eudemiae libri decem*, appendix B.

¹⁰⁵ Though it is outside the scope of this contribution, it is interesting to contemplate why he selected as his act of artistic patronage a work that satirized, sometimes quite viciously, those in the orbit of Urban VIII Barberini,

true reason behind his late-in-life success, because it was that *liber curiosus* that first brought him to Chigi's attention and subsequently into the network that made possible the publication of his highly popular *Pinacotheca*. As he wrote to Chigi in December of 1643,

If *Eudemia*, the product of my leisure, had not existed, I would never have been blessed and distinguished with such favor; I place such a premium on that favor that I would like it to last unchanged and untouched until the end of my life; but I would also like it to be known to posterity and attested that I had you as my friend and patron.¹⁰⁶

An ironic postscript to Rossi's story is that, after so much time, effort and logistics on the part of Chigi, Nihus and Blaeu to produce a work that would pass muster with the Roman authorities, and which Chigi had praised as being, like Horace's *Odes*, *aere perennius* ('more long-lasting than bronze'), Rossi fell into obscurity rather quickly, remaining popular primarily in Germany for only about a century after his death.¹⁰⁷ Though the name Gian Vittorio Rossi (and the pseudonym Ianus Nicius Erythraeus) are unknown to many, his *Pinacotheca imaginum illustrium virorum* (1643, 1645), *Pinacotheca altera imaginum illustrium virorum* (1645) and *Pinacotheca tertia imaginum virorum* (1648) have remained the works of his most cited in scholarship, because they contain information (albeit much that is purely anecdotal) on so many sixteenth-century figures. Indeed, for some of the more obscure figures like the Greek-born eccentric Dichaeus Dichaeaeus, Rossi's *Pinacotheca* is the only extant source.

For scholars of the Early Modern period, the *Pinacotheca* provides a wealth of information thanks to both its content and context. The existence of the pre-print manuscript allows us to glimpse the *intentio auctoris* as well as the anxieties of the editor, and the correspondence among

for whom he was serving as representative. Laura Alemanno notes that, already in the 1630s, the papal court began to be characterized as a place replete with jealousy and duplicity instead of one of serene, cordial relationships, and the decade between 1630 and 1640 saw a higher tolerance for satirical works that reflected poorly on the pontiff and his court (Alemanno, 'L'accademia Degli Umoristi', pp. 114, 116). That this was manifest among artists and intellectuals is one thing, but it is quite suggestive to see an open embrace of this biting, satirical turn by someone with Chigi's status within the Holy See.

¹⁰⁶ *Epistolae ad Tyrrenum* 1.XLVIII.

¹⁰⁷ Luigi Gerboni lamented that this Roman author had all but been ignored even by Italian scholars (*Un umanista nel seicento*, p. 2), and Benedetto Croce remarked that no Italian scholars showed any interest in him (Benedetto Croce and Angelo Fabrizi, *Nuovi saggi sulla letteratura italiana del Seicento* [Napoli: Bibliopolis, 2003], p. 136). Likely factors that contributed to Rossi's near obscurity include the fact that he was writing in Latin at a time when vernacular languages were ascending in Europe as the principal vehicle for literary expression and exchange of ideas, and none of his work had, until very recently, ever been translated for a broader reading public. For a fuller discussion of Rossi's legacy, see Nelson, *Eudemiae libri decem*, pp. 50-53.

the network of actors that brought Rossi's book into being animate the concerns, relationships and strategies employed to navigate the interconfessional book trade of seventeenth-century Europe.