Chapter 17

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Painted Friends: Political Interest and the Transformation of International Learned Sociability

Intimacy and Politics

In his best-seller, *De constantia* (*On Constancy*, 1584), the Flemish humanist Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) painted, as it were, an alluring portrait of intellectual friendship. A young Lipsius paced through a beautiful, enclosed garden in the company of his elder friend and mentor, Langius. Their learned companionship flourished in a secluded nook, shielded from the harsh winds and tempests of a world shaken by rebellion and religious wars. Lipsius suggested that through the rule of one's own mind and the support of like-minded friends, one might find shelter from the chaos of a wider world out of the individual's control. The painter Rubens lushly allegorized Lipsius's intimate neo-Stoic friendships in his *Four Philosophers* (Fig. 1) as a vase of precious tulips snugly lodged in a niche beneath a bust of Seneca and behind the fur-wrapped philosopher and his friends. Lipsian constancy has profoundly shaped our view of learned friendships at the turn of the seventeenth century.[1]

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[1] Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). Another exemplary friendship was that between Lipsius and Welser. Jan Papy, "Lipsius and Marcus Welser: the Antiquarian's Life as *via media*," *The World of Justus Lipsius: a Contribution Toward His Intellectual Biography*, ed. Marc Laureys with the assistance of Christoph Bräunl, Silvan Mertens, and Reimar Seibert-Kemp. *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 68 (1998): 173–90. The number of contributions to this volume focusing on small circles or relationships (Lipsius and Causabon, Lipsius and the Dousa family, Lipsius and Clusius, Lipsius and Pighius, Lipsius and Delrio) points to the importance of the idea of the small intellectual

Lipsius, however, did not intend this portrait of intellectual friendship to stand on its own. *De constantia* was but one wing of a triptych which eventually included Lipsius's *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (*Six Books on Politics or Civil Doctrine*, hereafter *Politica*) of 1589 and his *Monita et exempla politica* (Political advice and examples) of 1605 as well. While Lipsius aimed the Neo-Stoic *De constantia* at subjects, he composed the Tacitist *Politica* and *Monita* for rulers.[2] In sharp contrast to the warm, enveloping tones of the *De constantia*, the *Politica* and *Monita* were panels painted in the unforgiving grisaille of *realpolitik*. The cold world of politics necessitated the reason of state, that is, those calculations of interest over affection which could be learned from ancient historians, primarily Tacitus. Tacitists—those cutting-edge political commentators such as Lipsius who drew lessons in the reason of state from the annals of ancient history—revealed a world where honesty was not the best policy, and political interest, rather than justice, was served.[3]

In such a world, the prudent ruler could not trust in friendship. As Lipsius said in the *Politica*, quoting Pliny, "in the palace of the Prince, only the name of Friendship has survived, a worthless and empty shell."[4] The contrast between the false friendships portrayed in the *Politica* and the sheltering embrace of the learned friend in *De constantia* could not be greater. Such a contrast might serve a political design. Flinging open the triptych of *Constantia*, *Politica*, and *Monita*, we realize the artful composition of *De constantia*'s jewel-like scene. If private men embraced constancy in the face of hardship, they were less likely to rebel. While subjects responded to the troubles of the times through immersion in learning, intellectual companionship, and gardens, they left princes free rein to construct their courtly halls of mirrors. As Peter Burke has suggested, for Lipsius Neo-Stoicism and Tacitism functioned together as "complementary opposites" "like *yin* and *yang*," the former showing subjects how to obey through virtue and endurance, and the latter teaching princes how to rule through skill and dissimulation.[5]

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[2]   Justus Lipsius, *Politica: Six Books of Politics or Political Instruction*, trans., intro. and ed. Jan Waszink (Assen: Royal van Gorcum, 2004), Introduction, 28.

[3]   Ibid, Introduction, 88.

[4]   Ibid, Book IV, Chapter 14, 515.

[5]   Peter Burke, "*Tacitism*, Scepticism, and Reason of State," *The Cambridge History of Political Thought 1450–1700*, ed. James Henderson Burns with the assistance of Mark Goldie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 479–98; here 492.

Lipsius, like many others who attempted to harmonize religion and new theories of the reason of state, defended the morality of his political theory.[6] The application of the reason of state might violate moral norms, but it served a higher good by maintaining stability.[7] It was not merely the prerogative of power, but was grounded upon learning and skill, rather than military violence alone, or on *ars* (skill) together with *mars* (war). Such political calculations required both information and individuals skilled in collecting, analyzing, and organizing that information.

Thus, the two worlds of intellectual and political friendships represented respectively by "*De constantia* and the *Politica*," were not as separate as they might at first appear. In early modern Europe, information collection was performed through the institution of learned friendship. Pragmatic readers and international agents gathered the learning needed for a new information-based political practice through learned travel (the *ars apodemica*) across the international Republic of Letters.[8] Such information gatherers cast their "knowledge transactions" in the language of friendship, drawing upon the humanist ideal of *amicitia* based on Aristotle's and Cicero's teachings to gain information for political ends.[9] The beautifully rendered image of friendship in *De constantia* thus might be stripped away to reveal a design as cold as the *Politica.* Rising absolutism, which Lipsius's *Politica* and even (one might argue) his *Constantia* served, opened friendly intimacy up to the suspicions of politics.

Politically motivated methodical travel made the utilitarian nature of learned friendship manifest and precipitated a crisis for the ancient models of *amicitia* (friendship) central to practices of learning. Seventeenth-century learned friendship was not the sheltered refuge it appears to be in Rubens's painting.

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[6] Inter alia, Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), and Michel Senellart, *Machiavélisme et raison d'état: XIIe – XVIIIe siècle*. Philosophies, 21 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989).

[7] Lipsius, 102.

[8] On methodical travel, see Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1500–1800*. Studies in Anthropology and History, 13 (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995).

[9] Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, " 'Studied for Action': How Gabriel Harvey Read his Livy," *Past and Present* 129 (1990): 3–50;. Lisa Jardine and William Sherman, "Pragmatic Readers: Knowledge Transactions and Scholarly Services in Late Elizabethan England," *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in Honor of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 102–24. Hans Cools, Marika Keblusek, and Badeloch Noldus, *Your Humble Servant: Agents in Early Modern Europe* (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2006); David J. Baker, " 'Idiote': Politics and Friendship in Thomas Coryate," *Borders and Travellers in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Betteridge (Aldershot, England, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 129–46. Cf. Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Contemporary critics pointed to the ways statist thinking had invaded all of sociability.[10] Proponents of rival political views prepared guides to "civil conversation," finding in the minutiae of proper dinner table behavior an important grounding for an alternative politics.[11] Others recommended a prudent retreat into silence as a reaction to the Tacitist politics of the day.[12] Seemingly intimate sociability became a matter of great political moment, because learned friendships were bound by chains of political interest.

Historians have traced a net of *quid pro quo* exchanges fastened onto apparently secluded intellectual friendships. Disruptions in any one relationship, as the story of Lipsius's friendship with the political theorist and polemicist Kaspar Schoppe (1576–1649) attests, ignited a "chain reaction" amid all these contacts.[13] Such congeries of friendship not only accomplished the intellectual work of collecting, editing, translating, and publishing knowledge, but recruited participants in personal, confessional, and even national rivalries.[14]

The politicized historians who followed Lipsius in collecting information for the service of the state criticized the ways their own practices had transformed scholarship into learned statism. The critique of learned charlatans and Machiavellians operating secretly within a purported Republic of Letters has been seen as an attack launched by eighteenth-century enlightened men of *belles lettres*

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[10] Horst Dreitzel, "Reason of State and the Crisis of Political Aristotelianism: An Essay on the Development of 17th century Political Philosophy," *History of European Ideas* 28 (2002): 163–87; here 178, n. 32.

[11] Peter N. Miller, "Friendship and Conversation in Seventeenth-Century Venice," *The Journal of Modern History* 73 (2001): 1–31. Martin van Gelderen, "The State and its Rivals in Early Modern Europe," *States and Citizens: History, Theory, Prospects,* ed. Bo Strath and Quentin Skinner. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 79–97; here 87.

[12] Martin Mulsow, "Harpocratism: Gestures of Retreat in Early Modern Germany," Pamela E. Selwyn, trans. *Common Knowledge* 16.1 (2010): 110–27; here 116–17.

[13] Jan Papy, "Manus manum lavat: Die Briefkontakte zwischen Kaspar Schoppe und Justus Lipsius als Quelle für die Kenntnis der sozialen Verhältnisse in der Respublica litteraria," *Kaspar Schoppe (1576–1649): Philologe im Dienste der Gegenreformation: Beiträge zur Gelehrtenkultur des europäischen Späthumanismus,* ed. Herbert Jaumann. Zeitsprünge. Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit, 2.3.4 (Frankfurt a. M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1998), 276–97. For Schoppe's influential political writings, see inter alia his *Elementa Philosophiae Stoicae Moralis* (Maintz: Albinus, 1606), and *Paedia Politices,* ed. Hermann Conring (Helmstadt: Muller, 1663).

[14] Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), Francoise Waquet, "La République des Lettres: un univers de conflits," *Pouvoirs, contestations et comportements dans l'Europe moderne*, ed. Bernard Barbiche, Jean-Pierre Poussou, and Alain Tallon. (Paris: *Presses Universitaires* de l'Université Paris-*Sorbonne,* 2005), and Martin Mulsow, *Die Unanständige Gelehrtenrepublik: Wissen, Libertinage und Kommunikation in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 2007). For a more sympathetic view of intellectual friendships in the Republic, see Anthony Grafton, "A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters," *Worlds Made by Words: Scholarship and Community in the Modern West* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2009), 9–34.

upon antiquated and pedantic men of learning.[15] However, the Tacitist historian and master of information collection, Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1611–1672), made this criticism already in the mid-seventeenth century from deep within the ranks of learned men. What Boeckler criticized as a learned statist was not the outmoded pedant who could not evolve into a sociable and worldly *honnête homme*, but the all too politically savvy and innovative scholar.[16]

In this chapter, I will show that critiques of the new political nature of learning were made in the seventeenth century by scholars themselves, that such critiques were linked to the practices of methodical travel and its new apparatus, the *album amicorum* (book of friends), and that this seventeenth-century perception of the changed nature of friendship was so fundamental that it might inform our historical category of "late humanism." In 1931, Erich Trunz devised the term "late humanism" to refer to a perceived shift in learned culture around 1600, at a time when a new literary nobility advanced the status of humanists as a group.[17] The meaning of this term has been hotly debated since then.

For some, the stylistic and political changes introduced by Lipsius and other Tacitists forever changed the Republic of Letters.[18] Richard Tuck saw Tacitism as a "new humanism."[19] For Wilhelm Kühlmann, late humanism referred to a feeling of "lateness" expressed by humanists themselves, prodded by the complicated

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[15] Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters*. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, 3 (Tübingen:Max Niemeyer, 1982), 320–21. Cf. Joseph M. Levine, "Strife in the Republic of Letters," *Commercium Litterarium: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters, 1600–1750*, ed. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet. Studies van het Instituut voor intellectuele betrekkingen tussen de Westeuropese Landen in de zeventiende eeuw, 25 (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1994), 301–19; here 315–16. Levine casts J. B. Mencke among the men of letters mocking the learned.

[16] Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *C. Velleii Paterculi Libri Duo . . . cum annotatis Joannis Henrici Boecleri* (Strasbourg: Mülbe, 1642), 90–101, discussed further below. On Boeckler, see *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 2 (1955), 372–73; vol. 19 (1999), 404; vol. 24 (2010), 117..

[17] Erich Trunz, "Deutscher Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur," originally in *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 21(1931: 17–53, rpt. in *Deutsche Barockforschung: Dokumentation einer Epoche*, ed. Richard Alewyn. Neue wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 7 (Cologne and Berlin: Kiepenheuer and Witsch, 1965), 147–81; here 165.

[18] This point was debated in Ulrich Muhlack, "Der Tacitismus - ein Späthumanistisches Phänomen?" *Späthumanismus: Studien über das Ende einer kulturhistorischen Epoche*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), 160–82, and Conrad Wiedemann, "Fortifikation des Geistes: Lipsius, der *Cento* und die *prudentia civilis*," in ibid, 183–207.

[19] Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651*. Ideas in Context, 26 (Cambridge, and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

relations between an international republic of letters and competitive territories.[20] For others, religious polemics introduced by the Reformation changed the politics, tenor, and dynamics of learning.[21] Antje Stannek pointed to the importance of methodical travel and the way it transformed both the education of nobles and humanism by emphasizing an empirical, pragmatic politics and the collection of useful ideas and inventions while abroad for the benefit of a particular territory.[22]

Like most periodizations, the term "late humanism" is vague and contested. By referring to "humanists," it does not, for instance, account for the majority of learned men in the various professions of the period.[23] Johann Heinrich Boeckler had explicitly criticized the way political practices had affected not only humanists ("Philologi"), but also theologians, lawyers, doctors, and philosophers.[24] Despite such difficulties with the category of late humanism, it is clear that the term refers to a period of great expansion in the extent of learning and learned sociability.

Trunz pointed out that the number of the academically educated continually increased as new schools were founded, while the size of personal libraries mushroomed.[25] Correspondence and expressions of "friendship" exploded as well. New media, such as the *album amicorum* (book of friends) facilitated the practice of friendship. Trunz saw the cold, formulaic friendship of the period as a particularity of late humanism. "Als Gelehrter war man *amicus* und *amicissimus* einer Vielzahl anderer Gelehrter (As a learned man, one was *amicus* and *amicissimus* with many other learned men)," he wrote, and it was not unusual to list thirty or fifty individuals as one's friends. It was in letters, *alba amicorum*, poems, and printed collaborative works celebrating friendship circles that such relationships found expression. As Trunz said, ". . . mancher liebte schließlich

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[20]   Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik,* (1982) and *Martin Opitz: Deutsche Literatur und Deutsche Nation*, ed. Kühlmann (Heidelberg: Manutius, 2001), and Gerhard Oestreich, *Geist und Gestalt des frühmodernen Staates: ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt, 1969). See the discussion of Oestreich in Kühlmann (1982), 6–7.

[21]   Axel E. Walter, *Späthumanismus und Konfessionspolitik: Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik um 1600 im Spiegel der Korrespondenzen Georg Michael Lingelsheims*. Frühe Neuzeit, 95 (Tübingen: Max Neimeyer, 2004).

[22]   Antje Stannek, "*Peregrinemur non ut aranae sed ut apes:* Auslandserfahrungen im Kontext adeliger Standeserziehung an der Wende vom 16. zum 17. Jahrhundert," *Späthumanismus. Studien über das Ende einer kulturhistorischen Epoche*, ed. Notker Hammerstein and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2000), 208–26.

[23]   Anthony Grafton made this point in a talk, "What was Late about Late Humanism?" presented at the Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities Conference, Cambridge, UK, 10–11 July 2007. I would like to express my thanks to Anthony Grafton for sharing this piece with me before its publication.

[24]   Boeckler, *C. Velleii*, 97.

[25]   Trunz, "Deutscher Späthumanismus," 163 (see note 17).

diese Formen mehr als die Freunde und die Freundschaft selbst (many finally loved these forms more than friends and friendship itself)."[26]

The classical patronage network of *amicitia* had made friendship a utilitarian institution since ancient Rome. However, while historians describe twelfth-century *amicitia* as "very much a pragmatic activity founded on mutual self interest," the truth remains that in the twelfth century there was no discourse of self interest like the one which developed over the course of the seventeenth century.[27] The ambiguity of *amicitia* between affection and a *quid pro quo* relationship had allowed friendship to flourish for centuries as a central mechanism for interpersonal relationship in everything from international politics to church administration to learned exchange.[28] In the late sixteenth century an explicit discourse of reason of state and the "reason of state of the self" or self interest generated a crisis for the institution of *amicitia*.

The political usefulness of learned friendship generated at first an escalation in utilitarian friendships supported by relatively new media, such as the *album amicorum*. In the mid-seventeenth century, this escalation stimulated a critique of the state of learning which expanded through the eighteenth century. Simultaneously, the professional deployment of the *album* by men of learning and politicians declined. Taken at face value, the outpouring of expressions of friendship of the period, from the enormous popularity of Lipsian constancy to the expansion of the *album amicorum*, might point to a golden age of intellectual fellowship. Viewed in the context of political discussions of friendship and an emerging criticism of the links between learning and politics, such portrayals of learned friendship take on a different hue. Tracing the changing form of the *album amicorum* alongside political views of learned sociability and methodical travel will throw this context into relief. Such a study will help to show how new political theories transformed the long-lived institution of learned *amicitia* and thus learning itself, while learned friendship in turn contributed to the emergence of new political practices of information collection.

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[26]   Ibid, 167.

[27]   John McLoughlin, "*Amicitia* in Practice: John of Salisbury (c. 1120–1180) and His Circle," *England in the Twelfth Century*, ed. D. Williams. Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Wolfeboro, NH: Boydell Press, 1990), 165–81; here 167. The use of the term "interest" increased over the course of the century, replacing or complementing the term "reason of state," which had achieved currency earlier. See Burke (see note 5).

[28]   On *amicitia* as an expression of solidarity beyond both need and personal affection, see Julian Haseldine, "Understanding the Language of *Amicitia*: the Friendship Circle of Peter of Celle (1115–1183)," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 237–60. See also his contribution to the present volume.

An Honest Man Sent to Lie Abroad for his Country:
Politics in the Book of Friends

It was vital for a politician to recognize that the division between the intimate friendships of *De constantia* and the utilitarian calculations of the *Politica* was a mirage. The implosion of the career of Henry Wotton (1568–1639), the English ambassador to Venice, dramatized the dangers of turning a blind eye to the political nature of late humanist friendships. The seeds of scandal were planted on a journey in 1604, when Wotton paused at the home of his old friend Christoph Fleckhammer. There he inscribed in Fleckhammer's *album amicorum* the following *bon mot* concerning the political importance of international deception*: "Legatus est vir bonus, peregrè missus, ad mentiendum Reipublicae causa,"* that is, "A diplomat is an honest man sent to lie abroad for his country."[29]

The *album amicorum*, although ostensibly memorializing the relationship between just two people—the inscriber and the book's owner—in fact was read and used (both to establish contacts and to defame enemies) within far-flung networks. This meant that Wotton's joke was far from private. Years after Wotton wrote it, Kaspar Schoppe saw Wotton's joke in Fleckhammer's album and seized upon it to attack both Wotton and his master King James, in a work of political and religious polemic aimed at James, his *Ecclesiasticvs auctoritati serenissimi d. Iacobi Magnae Britanniae regis oppositvs* of 1611.

Schoppe made the most of the *Sitz-im-Leben* in which Wotton's gaffe had appeared. He cited Wotton's album inscription word for word. He even had the type laid out on the printed page in exactly the same form in which it would have appeared in the album, signed and dated, with the full title of both Wotton and King James. The typographically simulated album inscription transports the reader instantly from religious polemic to a social setting and back again. "Haec multi primarii viri Augustae non sine admiratione viderunt, quorum est Illustris Marcus Velserus, reipub. Augustanae Praefectus, vir acrimonia iudicii, literarum elegantia & morum suavitate nemini secundus (Many of the foremost men of Augsburg saw this inscription, not without amazement, and among them was the illustrious Marc Welser, mayor of Augsburg, a man second to none in the sharpness of his judgment, the elegance of his writing, and the charm of his manners)," wrote Schoppe.[30] Schoppe staged Wotton's inscription as a shocking blunder committed within a suave and well-connected social network which stretched, via Marc Welser (1558–1614), to Schoppe himself.

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[29]   The inscription was first reprinted by Kaspar Schoppe in *Ecclesiasticvs auctoritati serenissimi d. Iacobi Magnae Britanniae regis oppositvs* (Hartberg [in reality: Meitbingen]: n.p., 1611), 13.

[30]   Ibid.

Wotton attempted to defend himself in 1613 by printing an open letter to this same Marc Welser, a mutual friend of his and of Lipsius and Schoppe. In writing to Welser, he attacked Schoppe for dragging an intimate inscription into a political and religious polemic. He "had chanced to set down at my Friend's Mr. Christopher Fleckamor, in his Album of Friends, after the German custome, (a white Paper—Book used by the Dutch for such kind of Mottos)" his little pun on ambassadors. "Now, what, I pray, think you doth this Scioppius hereupon?" wrote an aggrieved Wotton. Schoppe threw "open the Cabinet of familiarity, after so many years" and dragged a private joke into a public battle.

Wotton distinguished sharply between public, political organs of communication and the intimate, manuscript culture of the *album amicorum*. While he had made a harmless joke in private about politics, Catholic polemicists like Schoppe routinely twisted the words of sacred Scripture itself, "not by the by, nor in jest, or in the Album of Friends, where idle things and truths us'd to be set down with equal security, but on set purpose, and from the Pulpit." There was a major difference, Wotton contended, between his own playful, amicable *album amicorum* inscription and what he cast as the printed, polemical, and above all pedantic *Ecclesiasticus* Schoppe had composed. This "new Ecclesiastick, not in the Album of Friends, but in the 485th Page of his fine Syntagma" pronounced words contrary to Scripture "with a blasphemous and shameless mouth." Wotton contrasted the unimpeachable *album* with Schoppe's flagrant Papist polemics, averring that he should not be faulted for words spoken in the privacy of friends.[31]

This was hardly persuasive. The *album amicorum*, although containing deceptively intimate inscriptions, had long served as a tool for international networking on a grand scale. By 1604, there was little that was intimate about it. The *album* was a tool young would-be politicians used to survey distant lands, as they systematically travelled with diaries, *itineraria*, maps, and *alba amicorum* in hand.[32] The methodization of travel made international friendship explicitly political. A central part of a new political practice was the collection of information both through the study of history (above all ancient Roman historians such as Tacitus) and methodical travel.

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[31]	Henry Wotton, "Letter to Welser," *Reliquiae Wottonianae* (London: Roycroft, 1672), e6v–f2r. Henry Wotton, *Epistola* (Amberg: Schönfeld, 1613). On this incident, see, inter alia, Winfried Schleiner, "Scioppius' Pen against the English King's Sword: The Political Function of Ambiguity and Anonymity in Early Seventeenth-Century Literature," *Renaissance and Reformation* 26 (1990): 271–84, and Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

[32]	Pietro Canoniero, for example, cited Meier and Rantzau's list at length in his *Dell'Introduzione all' Politica* (Antwerp: Trognesius, 1614), 142–43.

Methodical travel through the Republic of Letters was a different affair from travel to lands largely uninhabited by Europeans.[33] Learned contacts provided passports to the homes and dinner tables of foreign scholars, making methodical travel a series of social encounters. New genres such as the *album amicorum* were designed to foster, collect, and record such moments of intimacy in the course of methodical travel. However, travelers's re-enactments of the intense amicality exemplified by Lipsius and Langius in *De constantia* occurred in passing and between individuals who were largely strangers. Such facile friendships, however eloquently they were celebrated within the *album amicorum*, were not shelters from the world of politics, but points of encounter on a purposeful survey of foreign lands.[34]

Theodore Zwinger, who methodized travel as a way to import competitively information home just "Ut ergo è toto terrarum orbe preciosae merces in celeberrima convehuntur emporia" ("as precious goods are transported from the whole world to the most famous emporia"), broke the experience of travel down to that of collecting desirable objects, including people.[35] Zwinger published lists of men notable for letters, mechanical arts, arms, and so forth, and methodical travelers thereafter approached a foreign destination with a list of individuals in mind whom they wished to collect within a book of friends.[36] There was thus nothing at all unusual in the utilitarian collection of friends through travel. In fact, it was part of the definition of methodical travel. Only those who travelled with politically utilitarian motives could aspire to the title of "peregrinator."[37]

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[33] Françoise Waquet, "L'Espace de la République des Lettres," *Commercium Litterarium: Forms of Communication in the Republic of Letters, 1600–1750*, ed. Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet. Études de l'Institut Pierre Bayle, Nimègue, 25 (Amsterdam and Maarssen: APA-Holland University Press, 1994), 175–89.

[34] Paul Dibon et Françoise Waquet, *Johannes Fridericus Gronovius, Pèlerin de la République des Lettres: Recherches sur le Voyage Savant au XVIIe Siècle*. Hautes études médiévales et moderns, 53 (Geneva: Droz, 1984).

[35] Theodore Zwinger, *Methodus Apodemica* (Basle: Episcopius, 1577), preface, translated by Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 122.

[36] For Padua, for instance, Zwinger listed four theologians, twenty-five lawyers and judges, twenty-four philosophers and doctors, fifteen rhetoricians, five warriors, fifteen painters, sculptors, engravers and scribes (with the locations of their works), etc. Zwinger, 275–76.

[37] Georg Loysius, *Pervigilium Mercurii* (1598; Leiden: Verbiest, 1667), 220. "Est autem peregrinatio nihil aliud quam *studium perlustrandi terras exoticas, & insulas, ab homine idoneo suscipiendum, ad artem vel ea acquirenda, quae usui & emolumento patriae vel Rei esse publicae possunt*. Talem peregrinarum regionum perlustratorem & diligentem earum rerum observatorem, qui suam peregrinationem non temeritate, sed utilitate motus instituit, Peregrinantem appellare licebit (Peregrination is nothing other than the pursuit of surveying foreign lands and islands, to be taken up by a fit man, for the acquiring of art or those things which can be of use and profit to the fatherland or the republic. One may call the sort of diligent observer of those things and surveyor of foreign lands who set up his journey not moved by rashness, but by utility, a "Peregrinator") [italics original]."

Across large swathes of Northern, Central, and Eastern Europe, determined collectors of men and things prepared luxuriously bound blank volumes to take on their journey. When they succeeded in making the passing acquaintance of targeted individuals, they asked them to sign the usually hierarchically arranged book on the page which represented the perceived value of the inscriber. This value was determined relative to anyone else the book's owner was likely to meet. The owner of the *album* had to have a very lucid idea of his own social place in order to judge how many famous people he could persuade to sign his book and on what page in that book he should ask them to sign. Books with many blank pages to the fore and the inscriptions clustered at the end give away highly ambitious album owners who anticipated, but did not succeed, in collecting many very valuable protestations of friendship.

The encounter with people of diverse ranks and the practice of album inscription helped to clarify social hierarchies in culturally, politically, and geographically complex regions of Europe and beyond. From the beginning, therefore, the inscription was not the same as a letter written from one person to another, as public as letters were in the period. Rather, the page of the inscription represented a carefully defended and eagerly observed status defined, like prices in the emporium, not only between buyer and seller but in relation to all the other available goods. The resulting inscriptions, as saccharine as they often are, should certainly not be read at face value as a refuge from the otherwise competitive nature of learned friendships.[38]

This was Henry Wotton's mistake. Wotton's flimsy defense of friendly intimacy as sacred ground not to be troubled by politics only succeeded in making him an object lesson in imprudence back home.[39] Anything uttered within the garden of *De constantia* would be instantly reported back to the court of the *Politica*, especially when the stroll in the garden was but a stop on an information-gathering tour. For his part, Schoppe highlighted his awareness of the political nature of friendship by entitling the narrative of his career as a statist and polemicist the *Philotheca*, or "treasury of friends" (another term for the *album amicorum*).[40]

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[38] Cf. Jason Harris, "The Practice of Community: Humanist Friendship during the Dutch Revolt," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 47.4 (2005): 299–325.

[39] On Wotton as an example of imprudence, see David Lloyd, *The States-Men and Favourites of England* (London: Speed, 1665), 1032, and Nathaniel Wanley, *The Wonders of the Little World, or, A General History of Man in Six Books* (London: Basset, 1673), Chapter XX, "Of the oversights of some Persons of great abilities: and their imprudence in their speeches, or affairs," 398.

[40] Kaspar Schoppe, *Philotheca Scioppiana sive Gasparis Scioppi, Comites a Claravalle, narratio annis distincta de benefactoribus, amicis et familiaribus suis, quos in omni vita habuit: quidque apud illos, per illos, ac propter illos in Dei gloriam et utilitatem publicam inter annos quinquaginta molitus et emolitus fuerit.* Bibliotheca Medicea-Laurenziana, Cod. S.N. 243. Reproduced in Mario d'Addio, *Il Pensiero*

The story of Wotton and Schoppe reveals the way the book of friends was linked to vast, combative networks with an electric intensity which at any moment might turn and strike back at a hapless inscriber out of a seemingly blue sky. This energy sprang from the crackling religious and political tensions invading practices of learned sociability in the early seventeenth century, even during a period of relative peace following the bloody religious wars of the previous century. Schoppe himself had converted to Catholicism, as did Justus Lipsius. As linchpins of learned networks turned to Rome, their former co-religionists often correctly surmised that intellectual and social networks had guided them to their new faiths.[41]

When smoldering hostilities erupted again into the full-blown Thirty Years War, the many sudden defections to Catholicism seemed to strike staggering blows to the Protestant cause.[42] These converts were not only important nodes of learned correspondence. They were also key political experts at a time when the knowledge of ancient and modern history was believed to confer distinct advantages in theaters of both war and peace. Their conversions represented a surrender of massive intellectual firepower to Catholic armories.

Tacitism, or the erudite study of reason of state, needed learned men to feed the growing information state. Humanists now were not only valuable as orators who could fulfill diplomatic missions, compose elegant occasional poetry, or gently admonish rulers as to the ideal state. They were sophisticated operatives who scoured the pages of history as well as domestic and foreign lands in search of information useful as precious "secrets of state."[43] A new political culture heightened the value of international networks, at once expanding and methodizing the construction of such networks within the Republic of Letters and opening up such relationships to suspicions of political utilitarianism. The tactic of using international networks to gain the upper hand in bloody political and confessional conflicts by winning converts offered evidence in support of such suspicions.

politico di Gaspare Scioppio e il Machiavellismo del Seicento. Istituto di studi storico-politici, Università di Roma, Facoltà di scienze politiche, Pubblicazioni, 4 (Milan: Giuffrè, 1962), 609–725.

[41] Silvia de Renzi, "Courts and Conversions: Intellectual and Natural Knowledge in Counter-Reformation Rome," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 21.4 (1996): 429–49; here 432.

[42] Robert John Weston Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy, 1550–1700: an Interpretation* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press, 1979), 41–116.

[43] Jessica Wolfe drew elegant links between the sophisticated needs of international diplomacy and espionage and the literary artifice deployed to meet such needs in *Humanism, Machinery and Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

The Constant Traveler, or How to use Friends
to Collect Information

Through the seventeenth century, methodizers of travel and historico-political writers offered explicit advice on the utilitarian cultivation of friendship. They recommended to travelers how they might use the institution of scholarly exchange—learned friendship—to collect materials for a new information-based political practice. The cosmopolitan mores of international learned friendship were encouraged and exploited as means of acquiring advantages for the benefit of a particular territory.[44] As Johann Heinrich Boeckler advised, friends granted travelers information which was otherwise carefully guarded in archives.[45] They offered access to the *arcana* (secrets of state) and *notitia* (information) which methodical travelers with a political agenda sought.

After the return home, international friends continued to remain a crucial source of information for the politician. The body of knowledge gathered in travel could continue to produce fruits useful for the state only if it was constantly updated. Travelers were advised to "plot to have dayly intelligence" about domestic and foreign affairs. By these means, "the observations made in travaile, shal be kept in continuall tilthe."[46] The traveler ought to find friends who could accurately inform the traveler about political secrets (*arcana Reipublicae ac aulae*) from abroad. The best way to keep information flowing through the fields of knowledge was to cultivate carefully those friends made while travelling abroad, even after the return home.[47] This must be done, stressed the Tacitist Johann Andreas Bose (1626–1674), not only with empty words and greetings, but through the exchange of favors and benefices. Without this it would be impossible for the traveler to

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[44] There was thus not only a conflict between the internationality of the Republic of Letters and the chauvinism of patriotism. On patriotism and the Republic of Letters, see Waquet (1994), 176 and 188 (see note 34).

[45] Johann Heinrich Boeckler, "De Peregrinatione Germanici Caesaris," *Dissertationes Academicae* (Strasbourg: Bockenhofer, 1658), 42–43. "Non pacebunt [sic, read as "patebunt'] tibi durae, sed praesertim peregrinis Archivi fores . . . . Sed reperiuntur fortasse ubique viri, omnem suae reipublicae aulaeue conditionem ingenio usuque complexi: qui nefas non putabunt, cum Peregrinatore digno & capace, conciliandisque illustribus amicitiis per virtutis indolem apto, sermones de republica accuratiores & secretiore sapientia plenos caedere (The unyielding doors of the Archive will not open for you, especially as a foreigner . . . . But perchance somewhere men who have skillfully grasped the entire condition of their republic or court are found who will not think it wrong to converse about the republic in a very accurate and informed way with a Traveler who is worthy and competent and apt by nature at acquiring distinguished friendships)."

[46] Thomas Palmer, *An Essay of the Meanes How to Make Our Travailes, into Forraine Countries, the More Profitable and Honourable* (London: Lownes, 1606), 131.

[47] Johann Andreas Bose, *Introductio Generalis in Notitiam Rerumpublicarum Orbis Universi* (Jena: Krebs, 1676), 75.

maintain his knowledge of foreign affairs, since political matters were always changing.[48]

Travel was essential to a new information-based political practice, and the gathering of political knowledge through travel was done in the company of friends. The form of the resulting political works reflected the importance of sociability to empirical politics. Writers who advocated travel as the basis of gathering information cast their political treatises as intimate conversations. Such writers mixed the affective register of Lipsius's *Constantia* with the political lessons of his *Politica*. Jakob Bornitz, for instance, who introduced a discussion of the reason of state to German-speaking lands in his *Discursus politicus de prudentia politica comparanda* (*On Acquiring Political Prudence*, 1602), stressed that his work was not a strictly theoretical treatise, but an informal "discourse among friends."[49] Writers on the reason of state stressed that they did not compose closed, systematic treatises, but informal *discorsi* and conversations developed in amicable company.[50]

The intertwining of intellectual intimacy and vast information gathering tours explains such seemingly contradictions as the works of the Catholic convert Hieronymous Elver (1584–1624), agent to Habsburg Emperors Matthias and Ferdinand II. Elver could publish, on the one hand, a collection of political discourses gathered from his travels to Italy, France, the Netherlands, Britain, Germany, and Poland, and on the other hand, his *Spring Walks*, praising intimate gardens and Lipsian constancy. These two worlds converged in a third work, his *Consualia, Hoc est: de Conciliis, Consiliariis et Consiliis, Doctrina Politica* (*Feast of Consus, or the Political Doctrine of Councils, Counsellors and Counsels*), set at a cozy dinner party in the house of a friend, where Elver paused on his way home from

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[48]   Ibid, 76. "Reverso e Peregrinatione amicitia cum exteris sacita [sic] sollicite & studiose observanda alendaque est, crebris non litteris tantum, & salutationibus, sed etiam officiis & beneficiis, si maxime id interdum cum aliquo facultatum, temporis, negotiorumque impendio fieri necesse sit. Nam absque hoc adiumento res Imperiorum, quae saepe intra exiguum tempus magnam mutationem subeunt, recte pleneque cognosci non possunt (Upon the return from a journey, friendship with foreigners should be assiduously cultivated and maintained, not only through frequent letters and greetings, but also through services and favors, even if it requires now and then the expenditure of many resources and much time and trouble. For without this, the affairs of empires, which often undergo a great change in an extremely short time, cannot be known properly)."

[49]   Jakob Bornitz, *Discursus Politicus de Prudentia Politica Comparanda* (Erfurt: Birnstilius, 1602). On Bornitz, see Michael Stolleis, *Pecunia Nervus Rerum: zur Staatsfinanzierung in der frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt a. M.: Klostermann, 1983); and Michel Senellart, "La Critique allemande de la raison d'état machiavélienne dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle: Jacob Bornitz," *Corpus: revue de philosophie* 31 (1997): 175–87.

[50]   Merio Scattola, *Dalla virtù alla scienza: la fondazione e la trasformatione della disciplina politica nell'età moderna*. Per la storia della filosofia politica, 11 (Milan: Angeli, 2003), 427–28.

his English voyage.[51] Viewed from the perspective of the methodical traveler and political writer, even the most friendly dinner party, walled garden, or sheltered study was but one stop in an information-gathering tour.

Ars and *Mars* in the Book of Friends

The *album amicorum* held an important place in the Northern European politician's information-collecting tool kit. The *album* began in the last decades of the first half of the sixteenth century as an aid to Reformed sociability in Wittenberg but soon spread across several confessions and countries from Hungary to Scotland.[52] Despite its popularity in early modern Europe, only in the past few decades has this largely overlooked genre begun to be analyzed as a source for social, educational, and intellectual history.[53]

In the four and a half centuries of its existence, the *album* has evolved in dramatic ways, pointing to critical changes in the institution it served–friendship. The learned *album* of refined classical, Biblical and patristic inscriptions originally co-existed alongside a quite distinct genre of the nobleman's heraldic *Stammbuch*. In the late sixteenth century, these two genres merged, pointing to the rise of the nobility of the robe and the integration of *ars* and *mars*.[54] Over the course of the eighteenth century, the album split away from politics again, morphing into the poetry album associated with women and eventually girls. Distinct women's

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[51]   Hieronymus Elver, *Deliciae Apodemicae: Hoc est, Selectiorum discursuum Ethico-Politicorum Sylloge Epistolica: Nata In peregrinatione Italica, Gallica, Belgico-Britannica, Germanica, Polonica* (Leipzig: Apelius, 1611), *Deambulationes Vernae* (Frankfurt a. M.: Jennis, 1620), and *Consualia, Hoc est: de Conciliis, Consiliariis et Consiliis, Doctrina Politica* (Frankfurt a. M.: Schönwetter, 1620). On Elver, see Oswald von Gschliesser, *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. 4 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1959), 471.

[52]   But not including, oddly, England. For Scottish albums, see James Fowler Kellas Johnstone, *The Alba amicorum of George Strachan, George Craig, Thomas Cumming*. Aberdeen University Studies, 95 (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 1924), and Jan Papy, "The Scottish Doctor William Barclay, his Album Amicorum, and His Correspondence with Justus Lipsius," *Myricae: Essays on neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef Ijsewijn*, ed. Dirk Sacré and Gilbert Tournoy. Supplementa humanistica Lovaniensia, 16 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), 333–96. The album of the Scot Thomas Seghetus is now Codex vaticanus latinus 9385. See Baumgarten, "Ein schottisches Stammbuch," *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte* (1892): 88–95.

[53]   Walther Ludwig, *Das Stammbuch als Bestandteil humanistischer Kultur: Das Album des Heinrich Carlhack Hermeling (1587–1592)*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 274 (Göttingen: Vanedenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

[54]   See the *album* of notable agents and diplomats such as Philip Hainhofer (Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 210 Extrav), and Axel Oxenstierna. Lotte Kurras, and Werner Taegert, *Axel Oxenstiernas album amicorum und seine eigenen Stammbucheinträge* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2004).

albums had existed throughout the history of the *album amicorum*, but as the political and learned versions of the album declined, women's albums emerged as the dominant form at the end of the eighteenth and through the nineteenth centuries.[55] The evolving *album* offers a means to interrogate the intersection of sociability and politics in the early modern period.

In its very structure and genre, the *album amicorum* fits a political culture encouraging cleverness through the collection of sharply pointed observations, clever emblems, and sophisticated *argutiae* (jests or verbal cunning). Several scholars have pointed to the nexus of new political cultures and the *album* genre. Walther Ludwig suggested the use of Lipsius's *Politica* in the album as a topic worthy of study. The *Politica*, as a loose patchwork of politically useful sentences gathered out of ancient historians, served as a particularly popular source for *album* inscriptions. Werner Wilhelm Schnabel too has suggested that the character of the album as a gathering of *sententiae* and epigrams might be seen in a Lipsian context, particularly among the many students of the Tacitist at the University of Strasbourg and authority on methodical travel, Matthias Bernegger (1582–1640).[56] Like epigrams, emblems too were considered excellent exercises in political cleverness.[57] Emblem books were popular supports for albums, and several collections of political emblems in particular were printed for use as albums, pointing to the *album*'s role in the training of politicians.[58]

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[55]   Johan Oosterman, "Women's Albums: Mirrors of International Lyrical Poetry," *I Have Heard About You: Foreign Women's Writing Crossing the Dutch Border: From Sappho to Selma Lagerlöf,* ed. Suzan van Dijk, Petra Broomans, Janet F. van der Meulen, and Pim van Oostrum, trans. Jo Nesbitt (Hilversum: Uitgeverij Verloren, 2004), 94–99, Alfred Fiedler, *Vom Stammbuch zum Poesiealbum: eine volkskundliche Studie*. Kleine Beiträge zur Volkskunstforschung, 7 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1960), and Kees Thomassen, *Alba Amicorum: Vijf Eeuwen Vriendschap op Papier gezet: Het Album Amicorum en het Poeziealbum in de Nederlanden* (s'Gravenhage: Maarssen, 1990), and Gertrude Angermann, *Stammbücher und Poesiealben als Spiegel ihrer Zeit: Nach Quellen des 18.–20. Jahrhunderts aus Minden-Ravensberg*. Schriften der Volkskundlichen Kommission des Landschaftsverbandes Westfalen-Lippe, 20 (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1971).

[56]   Ludwig, *Das Stammbuch, 70*. Werner Wilhelm Schnabel, *Das Stammbuch: Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Frühe Neuzeit, 78 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 514. On Bernegger, see Wilhelm Kühlmann, "Paradigmenwechsel: Matthias Bernegger (1582–1640) als Vertreter der politisch-historischen Philologie des Frühbarock," *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1982), 44–63, and Wilhelm Kühlmann and Walter E. Schäfer, *Frühbarocke Stadtkultur am Oberrhein: Studien zum literarischen Werdegang J. M. Moscheroschs (1601–1669)*. Philologische Studien und Quellen, 109 (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1983).

[57]   Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Salomo, oder Regenten-Spiegel* (Hamburg: Pfeiffern, 1657), Gii – Giii.

[58]   Georgette de Montenay, *Monumenta Emblematum Christianorum Virtutum, Tum Politicarum, tum Oeconomicarum chorum Centura Una. . . ad instar Albi Amicorum exhibita* (Frankfurt: Unckel, 1619). Daniel Meisner, *Thesaurus Philo-Politicus, Hoc est, Emblemata sive Moralia Politica Figuris Aeneis Incisa et ad Instar Albi Amicorum exhibita* (Frankfurt a. M.: Kieser, 1623). The Meisner emblem book

The collision within the *album* between a new politics of cunning and the celebration of friendship, however, raised serious queries concerning the honesty of affection. In the seventeenth century, rulers and politicians did not hide the fact that dissimulation had become the new foundation of politics. Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Lüneburg even selected the aphorism of Louis XI, "*qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare* (He who cannot dissimulate, cannot rule)" as his inscription within the *album amicorum*, in other words, within a volume dedicated to memorializing and dilating upon friendship.[59] Such odd juxtapositions between deceit and affection posed an immense problem for early modern friendship. Who could be called a true friend in a world where friendship was a political matter and dissimulation a matter of course? This was a question raised by many in their writings within and about books of friends.

Explicit views of the album are difficult to trace, since the album was not a heavily theorized or codified genre. The first systematic treatment of the genre, a dissertation entitled *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu* (*A critico-literary Account of Albums and their Use and Abuse*) was defended by Michael Lilienthal at Königsberg only in 1711 and printed in 1712.[60] Some album owners did, however, preface their volumes with their own preferences for their album, and such prescriptive prefaces might also be printed separately.

One such writer was Peter Ailber, who printed several pages of directions for his album within a collection of his poetry.[61] Ailber emphasized the popular theme of *ars et mars*, a new political ideal merging skill and war. Since *mars* was the *de facto* requirement for political leadership, discussions of this ideal often served as defences of the newer virtue of *ars* and its equality with or even superiority to *mars*.[62] This was a debate illustrating the rise of the nobility of the robe and the new emphasis on political knowledge rather feudal hierarchy alone, two phenomena which broke down the distinctions between the noble *Stammbuch* and the learned *album*. "*Ars et mars*" justified the political use of the learned *album* as the fulfillment of an ideal.

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appeared in more than five versions until 1631.

[59] Christiane Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis der Frühen Neuzeit: Gestaltung und Nutzung des Album amicorum am Beispiel eines Hofbeamten und Dichters, eines Politikers und eines Goldschmieds (etwa 1550 bis 1650)*. Mikrokosmos, 66 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1999), 106.

[60] Michael Lilienthal, *Schediasma critico-literarium de philothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu, vulgo von Stamm-Büchern* (Königsberg and Leipzig: Hallervordius; Königsberg: Zäncker, 1712).

[61] Peter Ailber, *Centuria anagrammatum prima cum genio mensae, gratiarum theculis, & carminuc ac epigrammatum primitiis; additae sunt orationes solennes de deo & intelligentiis: Item de eloquentia cum praescriptiones philothecae & trophaeo* (Leipzig: Lantzenberger, 1611), 537– 44.

[62] As was the case in a dissertation on the topic, Jacob von Bruck-Angermundt, *Ars et Mars, sive discurus politicus de literis et armis* (Brieg: Sigfried, 1612).

Ailber was an imperial poet laureate, a Lutheran preacher, a client of the Saxon court, and a teacher in the newly founded Lutheran school in the old city of Prague.[63] He stressed that his volume welcomed "Magni, minuti, maximi, medioximi, / Verae pietatis sanctitate nobiles, / Virtutis altae claritate nobiles, / Avita vel patrita sit, Sudore multo vel labore parta sit, / Armata vel togata sit (The great, the least, the greatest, and the middling sort, nobles through the sanctity of true piety, nobles through the lofty renown of virtue, whether ancestral or from one's father, whether born from much sweat or labor, whether armed or wearing the toga)."[64] This endorsement of all sorts, including the learned who gained nobility through the trials of scholarship rather than the fields of war permitted Ailber shameless references to his own careerist aspirations and potential *quid pro quo* exchanges. He unabashedly requested inscriptions which would commend him and commanded his inscribers, "Manu Clientem auxilii / Sublevate, promovete (Lift and promote [your] client with a helping hand)."[65] Such favors would oblige him to serve them in return, "nodoque stricto me vobis sic obligo (and thus I bind myself to you with a tight knot)."[66]

Many other album owners and inscribers echoed Ailber's stress on the political usefulness of both *ars* and *mars*. Christiane Schwarz has studied the album of the politician Nicolaus von Vicken, who prefaced his volume with extensive remarks preferring *ars* to *mars*, a preference reflected thereafter in many of the inscriptions in the album. "Sunt duo quae faciunt ut quis sit nobilis, Ars, Mars: / Maior ab arte venit gloria, Marte minor (There are two qualities which ennoble an individual, *ars* and *mars*, yet more glory comes from *ars* and less from *mars*)," wrote Vicken.[67] *Ars*, especially the *ars apodemica* (the art of methodical travel), offered a surer path to political fortune than *mars*; "Homo verò in multis regionibus versatus, astutiam acquirit (a man who travels in many lands acquires cleverness)."[68]

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[63]   Christian Adolph Pescheck, *The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia*, trans. Daniel Benham (1844; London: Houlston and Stoneman, 1845), 238.

[64]   Ailber, *Centuria anagrammatum*, 1611, 538 (see note 61)

[65]   Ibid, 539.

[66]   Ibid, 539–40.

[67]   Schwarz, *Studien zur Stammbuchpraxis*, 79 (see note 59). Nicholas Reusner and Albert Friedrich Mellemann had said the same in a poem on the motto of Heinrich Rantzau one of the chief proponents of methodical travel, and the couplet appeared in other *album* inscriptions. Albert Friedrich Mellemann, "In arma Ranzoviorum equitum Cimbrorum," *Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum*, Vol. 4 (Frankfurt a. M.: Jacob Fischer, 1612), 500. Walther Ludwig, "'Non cedit umbra soli': Joachim Graf zu Ortenburg als Humanist und Leser von Justus Lipsius," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 51 (2002): 207–43; here 224. The phrase appeared in the album of Eberhard Avercamp. J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, "Het Album Amicorum van Dr. Everhardus Avercamp, 1619," *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van Overijssel* 6 (1880): 219–64; here 258.

[68]   Schwartz, 80.

Von Vicken's remarks on the greater glory accruing to *ars* than to *mars*, could, like Wotton's inscription in the album of Fleckhammer, be understood in an innocent and a less than innocent fashion. What precisely did *ars* mean in these verses? Learning? Skill? Art? Or cleverness? Tricks? Deception? The emphasis upon cleverness, dissimulation, and networking within politics raised questions about the often overwrought declarations of undying love filling many an album page. A popular album illustration of the ideal of "*ars et mars*" showed a man split down the middle, half arrayed for battle and half dressed in scholarly robes fit for the library.[69] While heralded as a new political ideal, such a split between scholar and soldier could also be interpreted as a form of hypocrisy. The same, very striking image was deployed in a book of political emblems by Jakob Bornitz not to symbolize *ars* and *mars*, but to convey the idea that learning or theology might serve to justify political or military ends. The man divided between soldier and scholar held an open book upon which were written the words "Re(li)gionis Amor" ("Love of Re(li)gion") to show that "Der Soldat list Religion / Und doch nur meint die Region" ("The soldier reads religion / and yet means only the region").[70] Men divided between *ars* and *mars* might say one thing and mean another.

The massive expansion of the album also encouraged doubts about the sincerity and motivations of album owners. Those who valued the intimacy of humanist sodalities criticized this escalation in learned friendship. As early as 1613, the rector of the Herborn academy and encyclopedist Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) deplored the rapid mushrooming of books of friends. In a dissertation on the ethics of friendship, Alstead argued that true friendship took time and care to cultivate. He criticized those who collected too many names within their *alba amicorum*, for he who was at the beck and call of too many friends must constantly either dissimulate his true intentions or conform himself to their wills. With so many friends, it would be practically impossible to be true to everyone. Such advice, however, did not prevent Alsted from signing the shockingly enormous *album amicorum* of Joachim Morsius (on page 774!) as a token of his "sincere friendship" in 1619.[71] Alstead's treatment of friendship as a topic in ethics was a far cry both from his own practice of *album* inscriptions and from the instrumental view of friendships found among political writers.

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[69] Marie Ryantová selected this image for the cover of her book, *Památníky aneb štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum: kulturně historický fenomén raného* (České Budějovice: Historický Ústav Filozofické Fakulty Jihočeské Univerzity., 2007). Waszink included another version of it in his edition of Lipsius's *Politica*.

[70] Jakob Bornitz, *Emblematum sacrorum et civilium miscellaneorum sylloge I miscellanea* (Frankfurt a. M. and Hamburg: Zetter, 1638), 30.

[71] Johann Heinrich Alsted, *Disputatio ethica de amicitia* (Herborn: Johannes Portmann, 1613), 36–37 and the Album of Joachim Morsius, Staatsbibliothek Lübeck Ms. 4a 25, 774.

Those who signed such massive books of friends were transparently not generally on intimate terms with the book's owner and curator. Rather, they sought to join a broad network of contacts collected in the album. This is clear from a story one Bernegger student, the poet Daniel Czepko, recounted to another, the poet Christoph Coler, in 1626:

> Adiit me Praestantissimus iste Vir Iuvenis, et una manu album porrigebat, alterâ commendatitias petebat. Persuadebat ille sibi amicos ibi vivere non de vulgo, quibuscum necessitudo et familiaritas mihi intercederet maxima, et officium amicitiae tantum, ut, quod peterem, facilè consequar . . . .

> [An outstanding young man came to me, holding out in one hand an album and begging with the other a letter of recommendation. He was convinced that in a certain place I had friends, with whom I was connected with such a strong bond, intimacy, and obligations of friendship that whatever I asked, I would easily obtain . . . .][72]

Through the album inscription, one sought to ally one's self to a network of well-connected people through a public letter of recommendation, rather than to develop an intimate friendship between the album inscriber and owner alone.

Many read albums seeking to trace networks and uncover connections. Knowing who had befriended whom fell among the "arcana Notitiae Authorum" ("secrets of information about writers"), and, pointed out Michael Lilienthal, *album* inscriptions were often a means to discover this useful information. Those who wished to demonstrate (or perhaps claim) a particularly close friendship with an individual would inscribe an album on the page following, or even on the same page as the inscription of their friend.[73] The *album* was not the intimate, secluded genre which Wotton claimed it to be, but a node connecting far-flung networks often composed of near or total strangers seeking information, contacts, and favors.

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[72]   30 December 1626, Daniel Czepko to Christoph Coler in Daniel Czepko, *Sämtliche Werke: Briefwechsel und Dokumente zu Leben und Werk*, vol. VI, ed. Lothar Mundt and Ulrich Seelbach. Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts, 146 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 10–11.

[73]   Lilienthal, S*chediasma critico-literarium,* 6 (see note 60): "Inter arcana Notitiae Authorum merito refertur, nosse quinquam ex Viris doctis arcto amicitiae & familiaritatis vinculo invicem fuerint conjuncit . . . . Facile vero ista e Philothecis cognoscere possumus utpote in quibus observare licet, Doctorum quosdam, ad testandam suam animorum & sententiarum harmoniam, vel in una eademque libri pagina nomina sua scripsisse, vel certe in vincino folio" (Among the secrets of information concerning authors rightly belongs knowing which learned men are joined by a tight bond of friendship and familiarity . . . .We can learn this easily from friendship books in which one may observe that certain learned men have written their names either on the same page or on the next . . .).

Ars and *Mars* in a Time of War

The theater of war raised the stakes for the machinations of politics within the world of learning. Matthias Bernegger, in his 1620 *Proaulium tubae pacis, occentae Scioppiano belli sacri* (*Clarion of Peace Sounded against the Schoppean Trumpet of Holy War*), warned against the Tacitean arts threatening mankind. Bernegger accused not only Schoppe but also the Jesuits of fomenting inter-confessional strife for political ends. Their political arts hid beneath a sanctimonious façade. Such duplicity threatened the bonds of human society which were woven of trust.[74] The Jesuits, experts in the study of reason of state and the *arcana imperii*, were suspected of infiltrating and manipulating international learned networks through their superior coffers, organization, and collections of books and curiosities.[75]

While Jacob Soll has argued that the reason of state served to "master the passions of the religious wars," many in the seventeenth century held such calculations of interest accountable for the Thirty Years War, as did the eirenic Bohemian Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670).[76] For other like-minded Protestants such as John Dury (1596–1680) and Samuel Hartlib (1600–1662), the dissensions of the Thirty Year War were a sign of the impending apocalypse brought on by the reason of state. According to Dury and Hartlib, the reason of state spilled out of the second vial of *Revelations* as it poured destruction and mayhem over the fourth monarchy (the Holy Roman Empire).[77] For them, the reason of state triggered a massive shift in human relations, sending shockwaves across Central Europe, and initiating the final downward slide of civilization.

The reason of state distilled, as it were, the essence of discord. According to Dury and Hartlib, the self-serving statists who poured the acid of interest upon

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[74] Matthias Bernegger [published under the pseudonym, Theodosius Berenicus], *Proaulium Tubae Pacis, Occentae Scioppiano Belli Sacri* (Strasbourg: Wyriot, 1620), A3v.

[75] On Jesuit reason of state, see Robert Bireley, *The Counter-Reformation Prince* (see note 6), and Harro Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c. 1540–1630*. Ideas in Context, 70 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[76] Jacob Soll, *Publishing the Prince: History, Reading, and the Birth of Political Criticism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 27. Jan Amos Comenius, *Historia Persecutionum Ecclesiae Bohemicae. . . in qua inaudita hactenus Arcana Politica, consilia, artes, praesentium bellorum verae causae & judicia horrenda exhibentur* (S.l.: n.p., 1648). Comenius identified the reason of state as one of the greatest threats to mankind at the end of days. J. A. Comenius, *Unum Necessarium* (Amsterdam: n.p., 1668), 51. See, as a particularly fine example of the "Raison d'estat" as the cause of the imbalance in the Holy Roman Empire, the "Grosse Weldt Uhr," in Peter Schmidt, *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder 'teutsche Libertet': das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreissigjährigen Krieges*. Studien zur modernen Geschichte, 54 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2001), 367.

[77] Samuel Hartlib and John Dury, *The Revelation Revealed* (London: William Du-Gard, 1651), 101. Compare Hartlib and Dury to the pamphlet in Hartlib's papers, *Erkäntnüsz Der Zergehung oder undergangs dieser vierdten Monarchie* (s.l.: n.p., 1641), 5, on the "Teuffelslarven Ratio status."

mankind dissolved the ties that bound society and unleashed the end of days. "Politique reasonings of men" formed "the beast" which the false church "rideth upon," they wrote in their political interpretation of Revelations.[78] Dury blamed the difficulties of making peace among Christians in part upon the "reason of state as some Politicans [sic] who find out and foment differences betwixt parties that they may rise or stand in the midst of their divisions."[79]

Reason of state threatened the foundations of Christian fellowship and thus the world. The paranoia the reason of state induced in such writers can be linked to the very real violence wreaking havoc in their lives and hometowns. Lipsius and other political writers often advocated pursuing a military prudence in times of war and a learned, civil prudence in times of peace.[80] With the increasing political urgency accorded to men of letters, however, *prudentia togata* (toga-wearing, or civil) and *sagata* (cloak-wearing, or military) merged, with destabilizing consequences for international scholarly networks, especially when intellectual friendships were the means by which opposing sides sought converts in a politico-religious war.

Johann Balthasar Schupp (1610–1661), a preacher, satirist, University of Marburg professor and agent of the Swedish crown, framed a book of political advice as a guidebook intended for a young man about to set off on his methodical travels.[81] He advised *Philanderson* that one can sometimes serve the state more with a quill than with a sword, even in a time of war. He gave the example of a member of the Swedish army who said,

> Der Raub den ich in Teutsch-land gethan habe / ist ein Briefe Raub. Wann wir mit der Armee an einen Ort / sonderlich in ein Kloster oder Jesuiter-Colleg kamen / habe ich alsobald geeilet nach dem Archive zu / und habe alle Brief eingepacket. Wann ich dann Zeit gehabt / habe ich sie durch gelesen /dadurch bin ich hinter so viel *arcana*, hinter so viel Stücklein kommen / dass ihr es nicht wol glauben könnet.
>
> [The pillage I practice in Germany is a pillage of letters. Whenever the army reaches a town with a cloister or a Jesuit college, I go immediately to their archive and take all their letters. When I have time, I read them through, and I find so many secrets there, that you would not believe it]. [82]

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[78]   Copy of a Letter on "Mercy and Truth," Samuel Hartlib and the University of Sheffield, *The Hartlib Papers CD*. 2nd ed. (1995; Sheffield, 2002), 4 November 1637, 26/19/4B.

[79]   Ibid, Dury, 31 March, 1634, 1/9/1B.

[80]   Lipsius, *Politica*, 387 and Hippolytus à Collibus, *Princeps* (Frankfurt a. M.: Corner, 1658), 370.

[81]   On Schupp see Hildegarde E. Wichert, *Johann Balthasar Schupp and the Baroque Satire in Germany.* Columbia University Germanic Studies, 22 (New York: King's Crown Press, 1952), and Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat* (1982), passim (see note 56).

[82]   Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Salomo* (Hamburg: Pfeiffern, 1657), Ev-Evi. For the Swedish takeover of the postal system and thus the control of political information during the Thirty Years War, see Paul Ries, "The Politics of Information in Seventeenth-century Scandinavia," *The Politics of*

Whether or not statists, Jesuits, or other secret manipulators were in fact abusing learned networks to the extent feared is beside the point. The distrust alone of international learned friendship generated by a political practice founded upon scholarly dissimulation would have profound consequences for the future of learning.

Scholars Behaving Badly: the Critique of Learned Statism

Johann Balthasar Schupp continued to trace the adventures of his young would-be politician in his 1657 *Der Freund in der Not* (*A Friend in Need*). Set against the backdrop of war between Denmark and Sweden, the work began as Philander sent his son Ascanius off on his travels. Before he departed, Ascanius visited the friends of his father and asked them to sign his *album amicorum*. They filled the volume with bombastic expressions of friendship, claiming to be his friends and patrons "amore, more, ore, re, ad ultumim aeternitatis punctum, und noch 25 Jahr drüber (in love, in behavior, in speech, and in fact, until the end of time, and for 25 years after that)." Ascanius was very pleased to be enriched with so many promises and thought he was now supplied with a great deal of "Capital." "Sohn, du bist nicht klug (You are not clever, my son)," said his father, shaking his head. "Du weist noch nicht, was für ein Unterscheid sey, zwischen einem Freund, und einem Auffschneider, oder Complement-macher (You do not yet know the difference between a friend and a fibber or a brown-noser)." Philander went on to recount to Ascanius stories of the many false friendships in the world, citing to him the principle, "Ratio Status, non agnoscit patrem aut matrem, non fratres aut sorores" (reason of state does not recognize mothers or fathers, sisters or brothers).[83] The calculation of interest had rendered the bonds of affection not only negligible but downright detrimental to the new politics.[84]

The back-stabbing deceptions of a new political culture infiltrated ancient learned practices and called into question protestations of friendships. The recommendation letter, for instance, was and remains the omnipotent voice of authority within the Republic of Letters.[85] Within the *album*, such letters were not

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Information in Early Modern Europe, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron. Routledge Studies in Cultural History, 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 237–72.

[83] Johann Schupp, *Der Freund in der Not*. Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, 9 (1657; Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1878), 3–4, and 20.

[84] See also the discussion of the fourteenth-century Spanish writer Don Juan Manuel by Albrecht van Classen in the introduction to this volume.

[85] On the ancient letter of recommendation, see Roger Rees, "Letters of Recommendation and the Rhetoric of Praise," *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography*, ed. Ruth Morello and A. D. Morrison (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 149–68.

signed and sealed, but appeared in the form of an open claim to friendship. However, as Christian Georg Bessel, the writer of a political guidebook, warned, false friendship and deception flourished in this genre. Many could cleverly compose a letter that at first glance appeared to be a recommendation, but was in fact a condemnation. Bessel devoted an entire chapter of his *Schmiede des polititschen Glücks* (*Smith of Political Fortune*) to the false recommendation and proffered several unsavory examples. [86]

Such cleverly damning protestations of friendship generated many criticisms of the learned Machiavellism infesting the world of learning. The most famous of these critiques is Johann Burckhard Mencke's *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (*Two Orations on the Charlatanry of the Learned*) of 1713 and 1715, yet the theme was by no means original to Mencke. Satires upon political charlatans had abounded since Traiano Boccalini's De'Raggaugli di Parnaso (*Advertisements from Parnassus*) of 1612, considered the apotheosis of reason of state literature.[87] Boccalini cast his novel work as a series of journalistic reports from a mythical state of the learned. There "*Letterati*" and "*Vertuosi*" such as Tacitus and Lipsius stood trial in the court of Apollo for their various faults, deceptions, and trespasses. The *Advertisements* attacked reason of state and the world of learning as one of a kind. Subsequent critics of learned *moeurs* would continue to bring a political perspective to their satires.

Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1611–1672), a student and the successor of Matthias Bernegger at Strasbourg, wrote on this theme long before the more famous eighteenth-century critiques of learned *moeurs.* Boeckler himself would suggest that the traveler should attempt to wheedle secrets of state from their influential, foreign friends (discussed above). No doubt his own intimacy with practices of information collection through friendship informed his account of learned statism. Boeckler's critique of learned sociability may have evaded modern scholarly attention due to its location; Boeckler embedded his ten page diatribe upon "learned statists" ("litterarios statistas") deep within his 1642 commentary on Velleius Paterculus's Roman history. The seemingly obscure location of this very

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[86]   Christian Georg Bessel, *Schmiede des politischen Glücks* (Hamburg: Naumann, 1669), 91–98.

[87]   Traiano Boccalini, *De'Raggaugli di Parnaso* (Venice: Farri, 1612). Maurizio Viroli, *From Politics to Reason of State: The Acquisition and Transformation of the Language of Politics, 1250–1600*. Ideas in Context, 22 (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 258. Cf. István Gombocz, who argues for Mencke's stylistic novelty in "De Charlataneria eruditorum: Johann Burckhard Mencke as a Forerunner of the Enlightened Satire," *Daphnis* 28.1 (1999): 187–200. For Boccalini and the skepticism concerning information which the reason of state unleashed, see Brendan Dooley, "News and Doubt in Early Modern Culture, or, Are we having a Public Sphere Yet?" *The Politics of Information in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Brendan Dooley and Sabrina A. Baron. Routledge Studies in Cultural History, 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 275–90; here 281–83.

topical digression, however, was no accident. The practices of information collection fostered by Bernegger through both travel and commentaries upon ancient history trained the would-be politician to dig through the particulars of experience and history in order to learn lessons of political prudence. Tacitists routinely incorporated discussions of politically pertinent contemporary phenomena in their fine-print commentaries upon the classics of Roman history, and well-trained readers knew to look to the commentary for engaging discussions of the topics of the day.[88]

Writing during the on-going hostilities of the Thirty Years War, Boeckler blamed self-love in the republic of letters upon the new statist politics wreaking havoc across Europe in all arenas. His digression was triggered by the Roman historian's suggestion that sometimes the envy of scholars can advance learning by promoting competition. It was true, Boeckler conceded, that learning had progressed to its acme throughout Europe. He reviewed the state of learning in Spain, Italy, France, England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Poland, the Netherlands, and Germany, where in particular learning had miraculously sprung forth from the ashes of war. Libraries had flourished everywhere.

Despite the advancement of learning, hidden political maneuvering had dissolved the bonds of friendship between learned men of different nations and professions, as party politics invaded the Republic of Letters. "Theologi, Jurisconsulti, Medici, Philosophi, Philologi, nomina sunt non tam artis & scientiae, quam saluberrimae societatis & amicae pro rep. conjunctionis: sed *ratio illa status*, quae cum ambitione in studia irrepsit, factionum & partium titulos facit (Theologians, Doctors, Philosophers, and Philologists are not so much the names of different arts and sciences as of a benevolent joint pursuit and a friendly association on behalf of the *res publica*, but that *ratio status*, which has insinuated itself into studies, has made them into the names of factions and parties)."[89]

By fighting with each other, these factions weakened the whole, degenerating the natural links and friendship between parts of study. "Studia in mutuas operas nexu naturali deuincta, in amicitiam proprio instituto ordinata; in consensum salutis publicae Christiana religione consecrata, tantum à se ipsis degenerare, ut in diffidiorum, aemulationum, caussas & artificia non raro valeant (Studies bound to each other's care through a natural tie, arranged for friendship according to its own principle, and consecrated for the harmony of the public good by the Christian religion, have degenerated so much from those very things, that not

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[88]   For Boeckler's views on travel, including the importance of learned sociability in travel, see his *de Peregrinatione*, cited above.

[89]   Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *C. Velleii Paterculi Libri Duo . . . cum annotatis Joannis Henrici Boecleri* (Strasbourg: Mülbe, 1642), 97.

infrequently they serve as the origins and tools of suspicions and rivalries)."[90] A new spirit of self-serving ambition splintered the Republic of all learned men into jealous cliques and antagonistic specialties. Boeckler wanted to see less courtly politicking and more republicanism return to the governance of the Republic of Letters.[91]

To Boeckler, the threat to knowledge lay not in the actions of military men, but in the undermining of German learning by scholars themselves. Despite the ravages of the Thirty Years War, Boeckler believed that learning had reached previously unscaled heights. He did not observe that scholarship had been decimated by the violence, as one might expect, but rather that social relationships among the learned had become hopelessly politicized.

Boeckler was far from alone in this ambivalent view. In 1639 Johann Balthasar Schupp had delivered an oration "On the happiness of the age" at the University of Marburg, although his view of seventeenth-century felicity was notably equivocal.[92] Two decades later in a "melancolischer Discurs" on reason of state within the church in 1662, Schupp admitted that learning had never progressed as far as at the present time, especially in theology. The universities were teeming with young *Magistri*. And yet, despite the intellectual boom, being an excellent scholar was no longer sufficient. One had to learn a "ratio status" in order to achieve a position in the church.[93]

Scholarship might well have become more sophisticated and clever over the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, yet such sophistication might also be a sign of moral decline, as a virtuous simplicity gave way to new techniques of information collection. Tacitists such as Matthias Bernegger, and his students Boeckler and Bose were notable in their time as indexers, bibliographers and collectors of *notitia* (information) concerning learning, as well as experts on methodical travel and critics of character.[94] We have already heard the advice of Boeckler and Bose on how to use friends to gain information. These students of Matthias Bernegger turned their critical gaze, honed by the utilitarian study of

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[90]   Ibid, 98.

[91]   Ibid, 101.

[92]   Johann Balthasar Schupp, *De Felicitate Huius Seculi XVII* (Marburg: Chemlin, 1639). See Kühlmann (1982), 150–51 (see note 56).

[93]   Johann Balthasar Schupp, *Ratio Status in Promotione Ministrorum Ecclesiae Lutheranae* (s.l.: n.p., 1662), 3.

[94]   Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *Bibliographia Historico-Politico-Philologica Curiosa* (Frankfurt a. M.: Schrey and Hamm, 1677) and *Characteres Politici Velleiani sive Notitia ingeniorum* (Strasbourg: Mulbius, 1642). Johann Andreas Bose, *Notitia Scriptorum Historiae Universalis* (Jena: Nisius, 1699), and *Characteres Beatae Reipublicae, e prooemio vitae Agricolae a Cornelio Tacito scriptae* (Jena: Krebs, 1658). On Matthias Bernegger and Johann Heinrich Boecler as indexers, see *Noel Malcolm*, "*Thomas Harrison and his 'Ark of Studies'*: An Episode in the History of the Organization of Knowledge," *The Seventeenth Century* 19.2 (October 2004): 196–232; here 215.

human nature, onto *historia literaria* (the history of learning) as well as onto the world of politics. Pragmatic information collection, born out of Tacitism, went hand in hand with a critical, politicized view of learning. This was why the late seventeenth-century bibliographers discussed by Martin Gierl cast their new manuals of learned sociability as guides to political and courtly behavior.[95] Such writers simultaneously suggested how to act politically and decried the politicization of learning.

The critique of learned mores was not an Enlightment, *belles-lettres* riposte to an outmoded world of learning, but a part of the very erudite, yet also very politically informed genre of *historia literaria*. It was in this context that the political role of the *album amicorum* first attracted a systematic, critical treatment. We have already encountered Michael Lilienthal's *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu* of 1711. This work had followed close on the heels of a work on the history of learning of 1710, and Lilienthal placed his critical survey of the *album amicorum* squarely in the discipline of *historia literaria* in his introduction.[96] He also looked forward to his next work. When describing how inscribers of albums write in many foreign languages, which they themselves do not even understand, he commented that "Sed haec & similia ad Machiavellismum Literarium. . . pertinent, quod de forte alio tempore scribendi dabitur occasio (but these and similar things belong to the Machiavellism of the Learned. . . and an opportunity for writing about this will arise perhaps at another time)."[97]

The year after publishing his critical survey of the album, Lilienthal indeed found occasion to print his *De Machiavellismo literario* (*On Learned Machiavellism*) of 1713. Lilienthal pointed out in his introduction that he had turned to his systematic study of learned tricks after finishing his study on the *album amicorum* in 1711, and his study of the abuses of the *album* contributed to his critique of learned behavior. One of the "secrets of state" deployed by the learned was the advertisement of false friendship. As Lilienthal wrote, those who wished to glorify themselves would rattle on about their friendships with famous men whom they had in truth barely met once. These boasters of friendship would publish (without permission) their letters with famous men as a way to publicize their relationship

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[95] Christoph August Heumann, *Der politische Philosophus* (Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig, Renger, 1724) and Christian Thomasius, *Introductio ad Philosophiam Aulicam, seu Lineae Primae Libri de Prudentia Cogitandi et Ratiocinandi* (Leipzig: Thomasius, 1688). Martin Gierl, *Pietismus und Aufklärung: Theologische Polemik und die Kommunikationsreform der Wissenschaft am Emde des 17. Jahrhunderts*. Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 129 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 559. I would like to express my thanks to Anthony Grafton for this reference.

[96] Michael Lilienthal, *De Historia Literaria certae cujusdam gentis scribenda consultatio* (Leipzig and Rostock: Johann Heinrich Russworm, 1710). See *Schediasma critico-literarium de philiothecis varioque earundum usu et abusu, vulgo von Stamm-Büchern* (Königsberg: Zäncker, 1712), "Prodromus," A.

[97] Ibid, 23.

to the entire world. This was a topic, Lilienthal pointed out, with which he had already dealt in his book on the *album*.[98] Lilienthals's *De Machiavellismo literario*, which grew from his critical survey of all learning and the *album amicorum* in particular, was the immediate precursor to Johann Burckhard Mencke's more famous *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (*Two Orations on the Charlatanry of the* Learned) delivered in 1713 and 1715, as Mencke himself acknowledged.[99]

The *album* continued as a theme in the continuing criticism of academic *moeurs*. In 1728, Johann Christoph Koechner quoted Lilienthal on abuses of the album in his *On Learned Superstition.*[100] From Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach's perspective in 1713, the venerable practice of album inscription, although still useful, had mostly degenerated to collections of scurrilous sayings and obscene pictures. In a pastoral golden age, the ancients had simply carved the names of friends in the barks of trees; the sophistication of modern times had debauched even the memory of friends.[101] Scholarly critics of learning saw themselves as degenerates who advanced themselves and learning at the expense of social mores.

Conclusion

Despite the rise of scholarship and the expansion of friendship in the seventeenth century, learned men compared their own age unfavorably with an earlier generation. This was the obverse of early humanists' flattering comparisons between themselves and the generations preceding them. Learned men of the seventeenth century often expressed the idea that theirs was a time of degeneration, rather than renaissance.[102]

The decline was not perceived to be in learning, but in mores. It was clear to Boeckler, for instance, that during the period of "learned statists," learning of all kinds (not only philological, or humanist) had reached its acme. While modern learning had achieved a level of sophistication as never before, the degeneration of morals threatened to be the first sign of the downward swing of knowledge

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[98]   Michael Lilienthal, *De Machiavellismo literario, sive de perversis quorundam in Republica Literaria inclarescendi artibus Dissertatio historico-moralis* (Leipzig: Heinrich Boye, 1713), 45.

[99]   Johann Burckhardt Mencke, *De charlataneria eruditorum declamationes duae* (Amsterdam: n.p.,[1715] 1725), preface (n.p.).

[100] Johann Christoph Koecher (Gratianus Aschpanius), *De superstitione erudita seu litteraria libellus* (Cologne: n.p., 1728), 30–33.

[101] Zacharias Conrad Uffenbach, *Commercii Epistolaris Uffenbachiani* (Ulm and Memmingen: Gaum, 1753), 280–81. The letter to Johann C. Langius was dated 7 Dec., 1713.

[102] Kühlmann (1982), 17 (see note 56).

too.[103] Tacitists tackled the idea that "non fidem, non amicitiam inter homines, non rebus integritatem esse (there is no faith, no friendship between men, no integrity in affairs)" as one of the major arguments for the decline of man.[104] They often argued that social life among the ancient Romans had been just as corrupt, making Tacitus a particularly useful guide to their own times. Modern man had succeeded in reviving ancient culture, and it was not a pretty sight.

Scholarly writers on learned Machiavellism suggested that the rise of learning and the decline of mores were connected. A new emphasis on information collection in politics encouraged the expansion of learned friendship, thus thinning the strength of affective bonds and suggesting a coldly utilitarian view of all relationships. As good policy encouraged the collection of archives and libraries, political writers discussed how to curry favors with learned friends as sources of information. Deception was not only condoned but to some extent recommended by many political writers, including Lipsius.[105] Bloody religious war, sudden defections and conversions, and a shockingly overt defense of deception and dissimulation in politics made the politicization of friendship a matter of the utmost concern. Watching in horror as they themselves capitulated to the politicization of learning, seventeenth-century observers blamed the reason of state for an irrevocable break with the past.

As learned and political networks intersected, political practices challenged the idea of friendship. It was not, of course, the case that false friends had never existed, that the Republic of Learning had been previously undisturbed by strife, or that learned men did not toady to patrons before the reason of state. Rather, a political practice grounded upon both deception and the systematic capture of information raised new concerns about the relationship between sociability and politics. This tension explains the expansion of the language of love precisely in the period when the sheer numbers of contacts collected through methodical travel undermined the affectiveness of such relationships. Sometimes considerations of the reason of state, rather than the pure pursuit of neo-Stoic right reason, motivated the maintenance of learned friendships.

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[103] Such critics of modern times did not necessarily champion ancient over modern learning. They opposed the entire practice of taking a party line, and the debate of the ancients and moderns was but one more example of the party politics invading the world of learning. Lilienthal (1713), 18–35.

[104] Pietro Canoniero, *Dissertationes Politicae, ac Discursus varii in C. Cornelii Taciti Annalium libros* (Frankfurt a.M.: Becker, 1610), 114, "Utrum secula nostra antiquis sint peiora," which is quoted and discussed further in Mathias Bernegger, *Ex C. Cornelii Taciti Germania et Agricola, Quaestiones miscellaneae* (Strasbourg: n.p., 1640), *Quaestio* 108.

[105] See Johann Heinrich Boeckler's criticism of Lipsius for supporting within the *Politica* a "perverse" reason of state, while claiming to oppose it. Johann Heinrich Boeckler, *De Politicis Justi Lipsii* (Strasbourg: n.p., 1642), 62.

The popularity of Lipsian constancy through the seventeenth century is undeniable. Yet what did constancy really mean?[106] If we take the beautiful portrait of friendship painted by Lipsius in *On Constancy* at face value, then we will believe that the rich, intimate friendships of late humanists protected them from the violence and strife of politics in the world outside. We might think, as Henry Wotton did, that what was written in an *album amicorum* stays in the *album amicorum*. In reality, the language of affection often concealed and mediated literary and political espionage within the painted world of seventeenth-century intellectual life.

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[106] David G. Halsted in *Poetry and Politics in the Silesian Baroque: Neo-Stoicism in the Work of Christophorus Colerus and his Circle.* Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996) argues that constancy was flexible enough to refer to almost any social and political dynamic, including the far-flung networks of exchange operating in Central and Eastern Europe. Both Bernegger and Schoppe promoted Stoic constancy, for instance. See also Harris, "The Practice of Community," 316.

Fig. 1: Peter Paul Rubens, "Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius
and Johannes Woverius"("The Four Philosophers"),no. 117, Florence Palazzo Pitti.