



Andrea Strazzoni <andreastrazzoni@gmail.com>

BTSI 26

Ivo Romein <Ivo.Romein@brill.com>
A: Andrea Strazzoni <andreastrazzoni@gmail.com>

21 dicembre 2022 alle ore 15:58

Dear Andrea

I am happy to report that I received the green light.

Congratulations with the final acceptance of your work!

I am away on holiday now, but will move towards production in the second week of January.

Merry Christmas!

Ivo

@ BRILL

Brill, Academic Publishers since 1683

Ivo Romein, Associate Editor, History



BRILL | [Plantijnstraat 2 | 2321 JC Leiden | The Netherlands](#)
BRILL | P.O. Box 9000 | 2300 PA Leiden | The Netherlands



on Facebook, Art History <https://www.facebook.com/BrillPubArt>

on Facebook, History Dept: <https://www.facebook.com/BrillHistory>



Check our author welcome page: <https://brill.com/page/Authors/authors>



Visualized: meet the Brill staff and building on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V21uHFTLcSM>

Title

The Quarrel over Swammerdam's Posthumous Works

Author

Andrea Strazzoni

Author affiliation and public contact details

Andrea Strazzoni, andreastrazzoni@gmail.com, Università Ca' Foscari, Dipartimento di Filosofia e Beni Culturali, Malcanton Marcorà - Dorsoduro 3484/D, Calle Contarini, 30123 Venice, Italy.

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5552-2592>.

Acknowledgments and funding details

The research leading to this publication has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 892794 (*READESCARTES*) and, previously, from the Swiss National Science Foundation – SNF, Spark grant number CRSK-1_190670 (*Testing a Multi-Disciplinary Approach to an Unexplored Body of Literature: The Case of Cartesian Dictations*). Special thanks go to Eric Jorink, Gudula Metze, Leslie K. Overstreet, Mark Rogers, Ivo Romein, Leen Spruit, to two anonymous reviewers, and to the Forschungszentrum Gotha der Universität Erfurt.

Cover illustration

Swammerdam's drawing of the copulation of the dragonfly, for plate 12 of his *Biblia naturae*. Detail from BPL 126 B, 13r. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Creative Commons CC BY License.

Table of contents

List of figures

List of tables

Note on the use of ‘plate’, ‘figure’, and related terminology

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

1.2 Swammerdam’s life and the *Biblia naturae*

1.2.1 Swammerdam’s life

1.2.2 Swammerdam’s *Biblia naturae*

1.2.2.1 The Leiden manuscripts

1.2.2.1.1 The manuscripts (BPL 126 C I–III)

1.2.2.1.2 The plates (BPL 126 B)

1.2.2.1.2.1 Swammerdam’s *Specialia experimenta*

1.2.2.1.3 Some notes on the treatises

1.2.2.1.3.1 The treatises on the louse, the hermit crab and the mayfly

1.2.2.1.3.2 The treatise on bees

1.2.2.1.3.3 The treatises on the cheese mite and fern spores

1.2.2.2 The Göttingen manuscripts

1.2.2.2.1 Fascicle 1

1.2.2.2.2 Fascicle 2

1.2.2.2.3 Fascicle 3

1.2.2.2.4 Fascicle 4

1.2.2.2.5 Fascicle 5

1.2.2.2.6 Fascicles 6a–6c

1.2.2.2.7 Fascicle 7

1.2.2.2.8 Fascicle 8

1.2.2.2.9 Fascicle 9

1.2.2.2.10 Fascicle 10

1.2.2.2.11 Fascicle 11

1.2.2.2.12 Fascicle 12

1.2.2.2.13 Fascicle 13

1.2.2.2.14 Fascicle 14

1.2.2.2.15 Fascicle 15

1.2.2.2.16 Fascicle 16

1.2.2.2.17 Fascicles 17–24

1.2.2.2.18 Fascicle 24a

1.2.2.2.19 Fascicle 25

1.2.2.2.20 Fascicle 26

1.3 Other themes of the correspondence

1.3.1 Scientific cabinets and instruments

1.3.1.1 The Swammerdams' cabinets

1.3.1.2 Swammerdam's scientific instruments

1.3.2 The learned correspondence of Thévenot and De Volder

1.4. A summary of the affair

2. Commented edition of the letters (and related materials)

- Letter 1: Ortt to Thévenot, 29 March 1680 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 25, 40r–41v), and bilingual extract of Swammerdam’s testament, 25 January 1680 (fascicle 2, 1r–3v)
- Letter 2: Wingendorp to Thévenot, undated (before 23 January 1681), (fascicle 1, 3r–v)
- Letter 3: Guenellon to Thévenot, 23 January 1681 (fascicle 25, 3r–4v)
- Letter 4: De Hoest to Thévenot, 26 June 1681 (fascicle 25, 5r–6v)
- Letter 5: Le Moine to Thévenot, 12 August 1681 (fascicle 25, 38r–39v)
- Letter 6: De Hoest to Thévenot, 14 August 1681 – and copy of notarial acts of 6 and 9 August 1681 (fascicle 25, 7r–11v)
- Letter 7: Wingendorp to Ortt, 22 October 1681 (fascicle 25, 70r–71v)
- Letter 8: De Hoest to Thévenot, 23 October 1681, and copy of the *eijsch* of 22 October 1681 (fascicle 25, 12r–13v and 14r–15v)
- Letter 9: De Hoest to Thévenot, 19 November 1681 (fascicle 25, 16r–v)
- Letter 10: De Hoest to Thévenot, 21 December 1681, and a copy of an extract of the trial proceedings of 5 November–3 December 1681 (fascicle 25, 17r–20v)
- Letter 11: De Volder to Thévenot, 1 January 1682 (fascicle 25, 46r–47v)
- Letter 12: De Volder to Thévenot, undated (after 19 January and before 23 April 1682), (fascicle 25, 66r–67v)
- Letter 13: De Hoest to Thévenot, 11 February 1682 (fascicle 25, 21r–22v)
- Letter 14: De Hoest to Thévenot, undated (March 1682 or after 11 February and before 15 July 1682), (fascicle 25, 35r–36v)
- Letter 15: De Volder to Thévenot, 30 April 1682 (fascicle 25, 49r–50v)
- Letter 16: De Hoest to Thévenot, 3 May 1682 (fascicle 25, 23r–24v)
- Letter 17: Thévenot to De Hoest, undated (after 3 and circa before 28 May 1682), (fascicle 25,

72r–v)

- Letter 18: De Volder to Thévenot, 28 May 1682 (fascicle 25, 51r–52v)
- Letter 19: De Volder to Thévenot, 15 July 1682 (fascicle 25, 53r–54v)
- Letter 20: De Volder to Thévenot, 17 August 1682 (fascicle 25, 56–55 (sic))
- Letter 21: De Volder to Thévenot, 24 September 1682 (fascicle 25, 57r–58v)
- Letter 22: De Hoest to Thévenot, 4 October 1682 (fascicle 25, 25r–26v)
- Letter 23: Thévenot to De Volder, undated (after 4 and circa before 29 October 1682), (fascicle 25, 73r–74v)
- Letter 24: De Volder to Thévenot, 15 October 1682 (fascicle 25, 44r–45v)
- Letter 25: De Volder to Thévenot, 29 October 1682 (fascicle 25, 59r–60v)
- Letter 26: Thévenot to De Volder, undated (after 29 October and before 19 November 1682), (fascicle 25, 75r–76v)
- Letter 27: De Volder to Thévenot, 19 November 1682 (fascicle 25, 61r–62v)
- Letter 28: De Volder to Thévenot, undated (after 19 November 1682 and before 28 January 1683), (fascicle 25, 68r–69v)
- Letter 29: De Volder to Thévenot, 28 January 1683 (fascicle 25, 63r–v), and Wingendorp's *Memory* (fascicle 1, 5r–v)
- Letter 30: De Volder to Thévenot, 15 April 1683 (fascicle 25, 48r–v)
- Letter 31: De Hoest to Thévenot, 17 June 1683 (fascicle 25, 27r–28v and 31r–v)
- Letter 32: De Hoest to Thévenot, 12 August 1683 (fascicle 25, 29r–30v and 32r–v)
- Letter 33: De Volder to Thévenot, 27 August 1683 (fascicle 25, 64r–65v)
- Letter 34: De Hoest to Thévenot, 20 June 1684 (fascicle 25, 34r–v and 33r–v)
- Letter 35: Ortt to Thévenot, 5 November 1684 (fascicle 25, 42r–43v)

- Appendix: Guenellon to Thévenot, 22 June 1679 (fascicle 25, 1r–2v)

Table 1: Overview of the plates of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae*

Table 2: Overview of the additions to Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* as envisaged for his *Biblia naturae*

Bibliography

Handwritten sources

Printed sources

Index of manuscripts

Index of names

List of figures

Figure 1. Swammerdam 1667b, frontispiece. London, Wellcome Collection, signature: E. Bib. Walleriana 9385, Creative Commons CC BY 4.0 License.

Figure 2. BPL 126 C I, 54v–55r. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Creative Commons CC BY License.

Figure 3. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r. Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Public Domain Mark 1.0 (PDM).

Figure 4. BPL 126 C I, 97v.

Figure 5. BPL 126 C I, 67r.

Figure 6. BPL 126 C II, 45v–46r. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Creative Commons CC BY License.

Figure 7. L 00120 hs, 58r. Courtesy Teylers Museum, Haarlem.

Figure 8. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 3r.

Figure 9. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 18v (unnumbered).

Figure 10. Archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1243, aktenummer 112, unnumbered attached sheet. Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, Public Domain.

Figure 11. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 5r.

Figure 12. BPL 126 C I, 112r.

Figure 13. BPL 126 C I, 112v.

Figure 14. BPL 126 C III, 54v. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Creative Commons CC BY License.

Figure 15. BPL 126 C I, 10r.

Figure 16. BPL 126 C I, 13r.

Figure 17. BPL 126 C I, 17r.

Figure 18. BPL 126 B, 3r. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Creative Commons CC BY License.

Figure 19. BPL 126 B, 13r.

Figure 20. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 26, 13r.

Figure 21. QL362 .S96c folio, 2r (unnumbered). Washington, Smithsonian Libraries and Archives,

Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History, Public Domain.

Figure 22. BPL 126 C II, 205r.

Figure 23. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6a, 2.

Figure 24. BPL 126 C II, 209r.

Figure 25. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 5, cover.

Figure 26. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, cover.

Figure 27. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 4r.

Figure 28. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 11r.

Figure 29. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, 2r.

Figure 30. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 3, 1r.

Figure 31. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 3, 18r.

Figure 32. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 4, 1r.

Figure 33. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 5, 1r.

Figure 34. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 1r.

Figure 35. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6c, 1r.

Figure 36. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6c, 32r.

Figure 37. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 7, 2r.

Figure 38. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 8, 1r.

Figure 39. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 10, 14r.

Figure 40. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 11, 2r.

Figure 41. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, 1v.

Figure 42. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, 9r.

Figure 43. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 1r.

Figure 44. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 15, 21r (unnumbered).

Figure 45. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 16, 1r (unnumbered).

Figure 46. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 16, 3r (unnumbered).

Figure 47. Detail from Hagen 1670 (1). Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, signature: PV_PV12512,

Public Domain.

Figure 48. Detail from Hagen 1670 (2). Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, signature: PV_PV362, Public Domain.

Figure 49. Detail from Hagen 1670 (3). Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, signature: PV_PV1722.22_1, Public Domain.

Figure 50. Detail from Van Leeuwen 1672, 63. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, signature: PV_PV12516, Public Domain.

Figure 51. Van der Aa 1712, plate 5. Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, signature: PV_PV12519, Public Domain.

Figure 52. Uffenbach 1753–1754, volume 3, plate 14. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, signature: NR 619, Public Domain.

Figure 53. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 25, 73r.

Figure 54. Gal. 280, doc. 51, c. 117r. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Public Domain.

List of tables

Table 1: Overview of the plates of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae*

Table 2: Overview of the additions to Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* as envisaged for his *Biblia naturae*

Note on the use of ‘plate’, ‘figure’, and related terminology

By ‘plate’ I mean the visual contents appearing in their final form in books as prints from single sheets of copper or other materials used for printing. In the course of the book, therefore, I will refer to plates intended as sheets of copper (in this case, when needed, I also more expressly mention them as ‘copperplates’, even at the cost of some redundancy, and, less frequently, ‘engravings’), or sheets of paper: in the latter case, plates will be intended in the form of hand drawings (after which copperplates were engraved), or of the prints from copperplates, or mixed materials (hand drawn and printed).

By ‘drawing’, in turn, I always mean hand drawn visual content.

By ‘figure’ I usually mean the visual representation of a single object (regardless of its being on paper or on copper, hand drawn or printed); plates usually contain more than one figure: in the case that a plate contains one figure only, ‘plate’ and ‘figure’ become synonymous, but the relevant context of discussion is expected to orient the reader on the correct way of understanding it: either as a piece of copper, paper, a drawing, a print, or a mix of both. Moreover, I use the term ‘Figure’, followed by a cardinal number and the indication of the source, to refer to the visual contents provided in the book itself.

In some cases, literal translations of non-English terms meaning visual contents which are slightly at odds with the aforementioned uses have been provided, for the sake of the adherence to the original sources – which in themselves are often not very specific. In the events I reconstruct, there was not always a clear grasp of the materials used: the people

involved just knew that there were ‘visual materials’ at stake. In such cases, the context of discussion is expected to make clear how to understand them.

The use of terms such as ‘illustration’, ‘image’, ‘picture’, and ‘diagram’ has been avoided (with the exception of the reference to the book cover).

1. Introduction

1.1 Overview

In this book I provide an edition and a discussion of the letters and documents testifying to the attempts of the French diplomat and polymath Melchisédech Thévenot (ca. 1620–1692) to obtain the manuscripts and drawings of the treatise on insects and other animals (in fact, an expanded edition of the *Historia insectorum generalis ofte Algemeene verhandeling van de bloedeloose dierkens*, 1669, and including several, let's say, sub-treatises) he had been bequeathed by Johannes or (as he is usually known today) Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680). At the time of his death (17 February 1680) these were in the possession of Hermann Wingendorp (ca. 1608–1689), a German-born, Leiden-based translator and editor who had already worked for Swammerdam, with whom he made an agreement to translate into Latin his manuscripts and to organize the engraving of the plates of the drawings. According to Swammerdam's testament such materials had to be transferred to Thévenot within one year after his death, yet Wingendorp ultimately refused to do so. The affair that followed (1681–1684) saw the intervention of a number of learned men, including Daniel de Hoest (ca. 1648–1698, apothecary at Leiden and Swammerdam's deputy executor), Pieter Guenellon (ca. 1650–1722), Burchard de Volder (1643–1709), Étienne Le Moine (1624–1689), and Johan Ortt (Lord of Nijenrode and Breukelen, 1642–1701), and did not end with the transfer of Swammerdam's legacy to Thévenot by De Volder in early 1683, but caused further altercations between the parties involved. In fact, Swammerdam's comprehensive treatise on insects and other animals was eventually published in two volumes only in 1737–1738 by Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738), with the title *Bybel der natuure of Historie der insecten/Biblia naturae sive Historia insectorum*, and was translated into Latin by Hieronymus David Gaubius (1705–1780), a colleague of his at Leiden.

It was Boerhaave himself who was the first, in 1733–1734, to inspect the letters he found in Swammerdam's *Nachlass* (which is now extant, as I detail below, at Leiden and Göttingen) and who provided, on their basis,¹ an account of the whole affair and of the history of the manuscripts

¹ Boerhaave included in the *Nachlass* of Swammerdam some handwritten Latin notes which he used for the preparation of Swammerdam's biography (Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2^o Cod. Ms. Hist. Nat. 102 (henceforth: Hist. Nat. 102), fascicle 1, 6r–13v; see section 1.2.2.2.1). In these notes Boerhaave refers, for a number of details, to some of the letters related to the affair (which he consulted between 22 July 1733 and 1 August 1734, as reported on the cover of fascicle 25 of Hist. Nat. 102) by using Hebraic letters as reference marks, which can be found in the headings of the letters edited and published in the present book. I transcribed Boerhaave's corresponding annotations in footnotes, in the transcriptions of these letters. In my transcriptions from the manuscripts I have adopted the following conventions: (1) the text deleted has been put between brackets []; (2) the text added in the margins or between the lines is put between the symbols \ /; (3) dubious text is put between brackets { } and, whenever possible, I have provided the deleted or dubious text, otherwise I have used the ellipsis

and drawings in his *Vita* of Swammerdam:

[Swammerdam] wrote a testament on 25 January 1680, in which he endowed Melchisédech Thévenot with [...] all his original manuscripts, which pertains to the natural and anatomical history of bees, butterflies, together with 52 plates [...]. All which were at that time at the house of Hermann Wingendorp, in Leiden. He stated that all these had to be transferred to the heir within a year after the death of the testator. [...] On 17 February of the same year he died. He designated as heiress Margarita Volckers, wife of Daniel de Hoest, doctor of medicine. He designated as executors of the testament Christopher van Wyland, and Margarita Volckers, who, Van Wyland having died [...] remained alone in this duty. Immediately after the funeral, Mr. Ortt, urged by the executors of the testament, wrote to Thévenot, on the following 29 March, about the inheritance left to Wingendorp. Swammerdam, little versed in Latin, willing however to communicate his work in the Latin language, gave everything [...] to Wingendorp, to translate it into Latin: this Wingendorp, indeed, had provided [his] work to Swammerdam himself, translating into the Roman language his book *De utero*.² Thévenot urged De Hoest to take care of the transfer of the inheritance to him. Wingendorp, a poor man, sustained his life by translating into different languages, and asked, with every stratagem, to retain by himself what was due, pretending a thousand of silly things, and eventually he overtly negated that he was going to return them, unless forced by the sentence of a judge. Therefore, he was brought to law. And not before May of the year 1682, after tedious quarrels, by a sentence of the judges, were all transferred at once to [...] Burchard de Volder [...], and, if not for the faithful wisdom of De Volder, they would hardly have come into the hands of Thévenot. As he now possessed them, he wanted to publish them in Dutch right away. However, he changed his mind, and he took care of having them delivered to himself in France. He tried somehow to publish them, as I saw from those things which his hand spread here and there. But he did not satisfy the will of his friend: perhaps it was too much for him. In any case, after the death of Thévenot, all these manuscripts of Swammerdam, together with all the plates, were sold to Joubert, the royal painter.³ From the heirs of this, [...] Joseph Duverney⁴ redeemed them all [them] [...] for the cheap price of 50 silver coins (*écus*). [...] I therefore asked of a foremost friend of mine, William Sherard,⁵ [...] to inform me about them. [...] He soon answered, that the works of Swammerdam were possessed by [...] Duverney, and sent me some prints of the copperplates, which, when I examined [them], I burned with the desire to recover such works for the fatherland [...]. Eventually, with the blessed help of the reverend Marc Guitton,⁶ and of [...]

... instead of each illegible word or part of word; (4) my interpolations or remarks are put between brackets []; (5) in the footnotes, new paragraphs are indicated by a slash / with two blank spaces either side of it; (6) the use of [...] indicates text which I purposely omitted. I have only slightly modernized the texts. Transcriptions from printed sources (not modern editions) have been more extensively modernized.

2 Namely Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica* (1672).

3 Jean Joubert (ca. 1648–1706). On him, see Carteret and Hamonou-Mahieu 2013, chapter 1. See also the auction catalogue of the private library of Thévenot, reporting Swammerdam's manuscripts: Delaulne and Delaulne 1694, 239–240. No sale price could be retrieved. I deal in more detail with the other persons mentioned in this quotation in the course of the present book.

4 Guichard Joseph Duverney (1648–1730), anatomist, member of the Académie Royale des Sciences from 1676. On him, see Peltier 1984.

5 William Sherard (1659–1728) was an English botanist. On him, see Allen 2008.

6 Marc Guitton (1692–1767) was chaplain at the Dutch embassy in France. On him, see Gagnebin 1888, 25–64, 97–120, 209–240, and 313–346; Weiss 1916.

Willem Röell, professor of anatomy at Amsterdam,⁷ [...] I accomplished that these were prepared for me, for 1,500 French florins⁸ in ready cash on 26 March 1727, and in the same summer I received all of them.⁹

In fact, Boerhaave's report is not completely accurate. For instance, the ownership of the manuscripts (and figures) was acknowledged to Thévenot in April 1682,¹⁰ and they were materially transferred to De Volder only in October 1682, and not after sentence by the judges but rather by an

-
- 7 Willem Röell (1700–1775) was son of the Cartesian theologian Hermann Alexander Röell (1653–1718), and graduated under Boerhaave at Leiden in 1725. He was assistant to Frederik Ruysch (1638–1731), and succeeded him as *praelector* of anatomy at Amsterdam in 1731. On him, see Hulkenberg 1975, 101–112.
- 8 Probably 1,500 *louis d'or*: Paucton 1780, 676. Boerhaave declared that Swammerdam's *Nachlass* cost him almost 2,000 Dutch guilders: see *infra*, section 1, n. 28. 50 *écus*, paid, according to Boerhaave, by Duverney for the manuscripts (and related materials), amounted to circa 125 guilders in the late seventeenth century: I calculated the price in guilders using letter 13. Whenever I refer to a letter without its source being specified, I mean a letter published in the present book.
- 9 Unless taken from a translated edition, all translations into English are mine. The original text (viz. the Latin version, as the biography prepared by Boerhaave is bilingual, Latin and Dutch) reads as follows: “[...] testamentum scripsit XV Ianuarii, anno MDCLXXX, in quo legavit Melchisedeco Thevenoto, legato quondam Regis Galliarum ad Rempubicam Genuensium, omnia sua manuscripta originalia, quae pertinent ad historiam apum, papilionumque, naturalem, et anatomicam, una cum tabulis eo spectantibus LII. Quae omnia erant eo tempore in aedibus Hermanni Wingendorpi, Leydae. Iussit, tradenda haec omnia legatario intra annum a morte testatoris. Rogavitque serio, ut tractatus de Apibus ederetur etiam sermone Belgico: quia sapientia, et omnipotentia, Dei tam apodictice in eo demonstrantur. Pauculum superstitis porro vitae Deo adorando, et amando, unice dedit. XVII Februarii eodem anno moriebat. Haeredem scripsit Margaritam Volckers, uxorem Danielis de Hoest, doctoris medicinae. Exsecutores testamenti constituit Christophorum van Wyland, et Margaritam Volckers, quae, Wylando haud diu ab his mortuo, sola in hoc munere permansit. Statim ab exsequiis Dominus Ort, rogatus ab exsecutoribus testamenti, scripsit Thevenoto, XXIX Martii sequentis, de legato apud Wingendorpium recondito. Swammerdammius parum versatus in Latinis, volens tamen opera sua lingua Latina evulgare, dederat ea omnia huic Wingendorpio, ut Latine verteret: hic enim ipsi opem praestiterat hanc, in sermonem Romanum vertendo eius scripta De utero. Urgebat Thevenotus De Hoestium, ut curaret tradendum sibi legatum. Wingendorpius pauper, sustinebat vitam vertendo in varias linguas, et quaerebat, omni astu credita sibi retinere, frivola millena praetexens, tandem aperte negabat, se redditurum, nisi sententia iudicis coactus. Itum ergo in ius; neque ante maium anni MDCLXXXII, post taediosas lites, decreto iudicum, omnia simul tradita sunt viro longe celeberrimo, Burchero de Volder, mathesios, et philosophicae, professori clarissimo. Hunc Thevenotus rogaverat, ut ius suum tueretur amici amicus. Et, abfuisse fidelis sapientia Volderi, vix Thevenoti ad manus pervenissent. Postquam iam possidebat, voluit ea Belgico sermone edere ilico. Verum mutavit sententiam, sibi in Gallias mittenda curavit. Tentavit aliquantulum circa illa, ut ex iis, quae manu sua hinc, inde allevit, vidi. Sed non satisfecit amici votis: forte impar. Utique, post excessum Thevenoti, omnia haec manuscripta Swammerdamiana, una cum tabulis omnibus, vendita sunt Iouberto pictori regio. Ab huius deinde haeredibus sibi omnia simul redemit clarissimus vir, Josephus Du Verney, anatomicus summus. Ibi latuere diu, vili quinquaginta nummorum argenteorum (ecus) pretio emta. Rumor percrebuit, acerrime fervere studium, circa anatomica insectorum, et saepe audivi, proditura historiam super his Lutetiae, autore eximio Du Verneyo. Rogabam itaque amicum mihi summum, Gulielmum Sherardum, hospitem tunc meum, qui cogitabat Gallias, ut vellet me certiore de iis facere. Nobilissimus vir rescripsit ocyus, opera Swammerdamiana teneri a celeberrimo Du Verneyo, misitque mihi tabulas aliquot aere inpressas [*eenige afdruksels der kopere platen*], quas ubi examinavi, arsi cupidine opera illa patriae asserendi, neque destiti omni modo ultra inquirere. Tandem fortunato auxilio reverendi viri Marci Guittoni, et clarissimi viri, Gulielmi Röell, Professoris anatomes Amstelaedamensis celeberrimi, tum Parisiis degentium, effeci, ut ea mihi pararem, aere representato MD Florenorum Gallicorum xxvi Martii MDCCXXVII, eademque aestate recepi integra,” Boerhaave 1737, 34–37 (unnumbered). In his letter to Sherard of 1 August 1727, Boerhaave wrote to him that “j’ay acheté a Paris tous les oeuvres manuscrites, & toutes les planches du grand Swammerdam [...] qui estoient legatès a Monsr. Melchisedec de Thevenot,” Boerhaave 1962–1979, volume 1, 153–154 (letter 88).
- 10 See letters 15 and 16. In the present book I will variously refer to Swammerdam's manuscripts, drawings, papers, writings, works, and so on, given the fact that his *Nachlass* – as I will extensively discuss – is composed of a variety of different items, which I will identify at more or less specific levels depending on the context of the treatment.

agreement between De Volder and Wingendorp – albeit allowed by the judges.¹¹ Also, Thévenot started to organize the publication of the manuscripts in the Netherlands as early as January 1682, before being in his possession: even if at that time they had already been deposited at the court clerk's office.¹² Moreover, a number of events are omitted by Boerhaave, such as the quarrel between Thévenot and De Hoest, who, according to Thévenot, attempted to publish Swammerdam's manuscripts in the Netherlands behind his back, and in collusion with Wingendorp: being prevented from doing so, apparently, by the threat – from Thévenot and De Volder's side – of obtaining a printing privilege from the States of Holland and West Friesland,¹³ if not by having De Hoest declaring to the magistrates that he was not going to publish the manuscripts.¹⁴

Besides correcting and deepening Boerhaave's description of the intricate fates of Swammerdam's legacy, the present book is aimed at shedding light on a uniquely documented event in seventeenth-century Dutch intellectual history. Though not aimed at reconstructing the interrelations of scientific, editorial, legal and economic issues in seventeenth-century Netherlands, this book aims at offering a reconstruction of an exemplary case in which these aspects became entangled. As the 'bookshop of the world',¹⁵ the Netherlands saw a number of events and quarrels over book publication. In many cases, book publication had a complex genesis given their contents. In the case of the *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche intorno a due nuove scienze* (1638) of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), for instance, the printing took place in the Netherlands as printing the book in Italy might have created new problems for Galilei with the Inquisition, and after having failed in attempts to have it published in France, Germany, and Poland, with a change of title.¹⁶ Or, to stick to Swammerdam's more immediate philosophical and scientific background, this was the case of the self-censorship René Descartes (1596–1650) imposed on the publication of his *Traité du monde et de la lumière*, written in the Netherlands in 1629–1633 but never published by him, fearing a condemnation such as the one of Galilei, or of the refusal of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) to publish his *Ethica* – both of which initially circulated as manuscripts and were printed in 1664 and 1677 respectively, only after their authors' deaths.¹⁷ In other cases, the printing of books was delayed for decades for reasons more editorial in nature: such as in the case – again – of Descartes's *Traité de l'homme*, left incomplete i.e. without figures, circulating in a number of different

11 Letter 25.

12 Letters 10 and 11.

13 Letters 25 and 30.

14 Letters 32 and 33.

15 Pettegree and Der Weduwen 2019.

16 Benucci 2008.

17 Spruit and Totaro 2011, Introduction; Van de Ven 2022.

manuscripts and even plagiarized before its publication in 1662 and 1664.¹⁸

Moreover, problems were created by the appearance of pirated editions, usually addressed by publishers asking for printing privileges from the States of Holland and West Friesland or the States General, the authorities generally granting them. This measure had not only economic reasons, at least between 1581 (when the Dutch Provinces declared their independence) and 1668 (as I explain in a moment). In fact, a very small percentage of the books published around this period, ca. 1%, was covered by printing privileges, and these included both expensive editions the pirating of which could damage their publishers (as pirated editions were of course less expensive), as well as more cheap products. As reconstructed by Marius Buning, asking for such privileges “was a matter of honor and profit,” i.e. it served in granting to the book a certain publicity, “distinguishing it from similar publications,” as its contents were sanctioned by a higher authority, but not at preventing other publishers from providing other editions of it and making money from them. However, after 1669 printing privileges served mostly economic reasons, as the States of Holland started to distance themselves from the contents of books published under privilege, thanks to the polemics arising after the publication of the highly controversial *Aanwysing der heilsame politike gronden en maximen van de Republike van Holland en West-Vriesland* (1669) of Pieter de la Court (1618–1685) under a privilege issued by the Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625–1672).¹⁹

In the case of Swammerdam’s *Biblia naturae*, we do find various concurring reasons behind the quarrel over its publication. An overall scientific interest motivated Le Moine and De Volder, who certainly had no economic advantages in this enterprise, and who, in any case, had no legal or economic obligations towards it (and in fact De Volder refused to pay the attorney and the lawyer working for De Hoest and Thévenot when they approached him).²⁰ In turn, the printing costs had certainly to be paid by Thévenot,²¹ who at some point asked for an estimation of them,²² as well as for the engraving of the plates (which implied additional costs – so that at some point he asked De Hoest, who saw in having them an occasion for saving money, to get them from Wingendorp).²³ In return, at some point Thévenot asked for himself only 30 complimentary copies, to be negotiated with the publisher together with the costs of printing.²⁴ Thus far, Thévenot did not see in publication an occasion for profit: besides, to fulfil Swammerdam’s last will (in fact, in 1681 he was to publish other works by Swammerdam, as I detail below), for him it was at most a way to recover some of

18 Antoine-Mahut 2016.

19 Buning 2019.

20 Letter 27.

21 Letters 13 and 23.

22 Letter 12. See also letters 18 and 19.

23 Letters 13, 14, 15, 18, and 22.

24 Letter 14.

the legal expenses, as he also asked De Volder whether Wingendorp could be pardoned these and, instead, recover them from a publisher.²⁵ In any case, De Volder suggested he buy a printing privilege in order to secure the publication of the manuscripts not only against Wingendorp and De Hoest (who were both asked, at different stages of the affair, to swear not to publish the manuscripts),²⁶ but also against all the other Dutch publishers, who used to re-print anything published abroad, such as the prospective edition by Thévenot: a measure with an evident economic aim.²⁷ Not surprisingly, Boerhaave eventually chose to publish his edition of the manuscripts (printed by Isaak Severinus, 1697–1742, and Boudewyn, ca. 1692–1750, and Pieter Jansoon van der Aa, ca. 1694–1751 at Leiden) by financing it with a subscription – i.e. selling the edition before publication – fearing the appearance of pirated editions which could economically damage him.²⁸ In turn, De Hoest, who repeatedly claimed that Thévenot was going to have an advantage (*voordeel*) from publication (being of course interested in recovering the legal expenses on the basis of this claim),²⁹ most probably attempted himself to publish the manuscripts fearing to lose money in his acting on Thévenot’s behalf, as he repeatedly asked the latter to be refunded such expenses, and to benefit with fewer (apparently 2 or 3) complimentary copies. In other words, De Hoest deemed Thévenot’s *voordeel* as economic in nature, though more as a means of recovering the legal expenses rather than as actual profit.³⁰ As to Wingendorp, who according to Thévenot was acting in

25 Letter 25.

26 Letters 16, 20, 32, and 33.

27 Letter 30.

28 “Edendum curassem ex-templo: sed obstitit typographorum effraenis audacia, et insatiabilis avaritia, qui evulgata bona ilico, inconsulto editore, ipsi excudunt, summo sane damno eorum, qui primi, suo periculo, id egerant: hinc distuli. Et iam reipublicae litterarum laetus exhibeo, gratiasque ago omnibus, qui generosa liberalitate caverunt, ne, cum damno editorum, opus in publicum prodiret,” Boerhaave 1737, 36 (unnumbered). The list of subscribers is at pages 57–60 (unnumbered). See, moreover, Boerhaave’s letter to Jean-Baptiste Bassand (1680–1742) of 9 September 1735: “Totus fui ab aliquo tempore in recensendis Swammerdamianis, quae fugitiva dudum per Gallias patriae asserui e latebris redempta aere non exiguo: quum bis mille florenis fere constiterint mihi. [...] Inter ea, quae usque exstant in libris historiae naturalis huic quidem operi nil usquam laudatur simile, ac secundum. Dedi librariis, ut evulgent ocyus omnia a me ipso digesta. Facient illi, si prius nacti fuerint idoneum numerum, qui nomina subscribunt. Et Tibi leges. Si probas, & inter Vestros harum rerum studiosos incitare poteris, ut olim in Vesaliano opere promovendo opem tulisti, efficies ea re, ut citius prodeat opus, in quo anatomica omnium pulcherrima, nec audita prius,” Boerhaave 1962–1979, volume 2, 340 and 342 (letter 279). Boerhaave had edited, together with Bernhard Siegfried Albinus (1697–1770), the *Opera omnia anatomica et chirurgica* (1725) of Andrea Vesalio (1514–1564); moreover, he edited and published the *Botanicon Parisiense* (1727) of Sébastien Vaillant (1669–1722; see *infra*, section 1, n. 65). On Boerhaave as an editor, see Lindeboom 1974; on his life and works, see Knoeff 2002. See also Boerhaave’s letter to Bassand of 27 November 1737: “Operum Swammerdamianorum primus in folio Tomus jam evulgatus est Januario hujus anni. Remisi ad te syngraphas, quae ad Eos pertinent, qui subscribere pro editione. Debent igitur mittere illas syngraphas ad quendam Bataviae incolam, qui exempla petat a Typographis. Tomus alter etiam brevi evulgabitur, sicque finitum erit opus, sane pulcherrimum,” Boerhaave 1962–1979, volume 2, 360 (letter 285). A further mention is in Boerhaave’s letter to Bassand of 10 January 1738: Boerhaave 1962–1979, volume 2, 363 (letter 286).

29 Letters 6, 8, and 22. In any case, at some point De Hoest suggested Thévenot not publish the manuscripts at his expense, as this would just lead to his (economic) disadvantage, and claimed that there were alternative ways to benefit from it, though without specifying them: letter 13.

30 Letters 16, 22, and 31.

collusion with De Hoest, his delaying delivery of the manuscripts to Thévenot and his supposed attempt to publish them were noticeably economically motivated: according to De Volder (repeatedly remarking on Wingendorp's poor financial conditions in the correspondence), he even had to pawn Swammerdam's drawings, and lamented to Thévenot to have spent, apparently, 1,800 guilders besides the sum already paid him by Swammerdam for his editorial work (which included the engraving of the plates by his son Gerhard Wingendorp, d. ca. 1681).³¹

To sum up, the whole affair was scientific, editorial, legal and economic in nature, and the survival of a whole correspondence related to it (as certainly Thévenot wanted a record of his efforts to obtain the manuscripts and of the problems related to their publication), as well as that of many of the working papers resulting from the attempts to edit and publish Swammerdam's manuscripts makes it an opportunity to offer evidence, at a broad level, on how these aspects became entangled. At a more particular level, this book aims at shedding light on the editorial history of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae* and, by extension, on his intellectual biography (I reconstruct both in section 1.2), on the vicissitudes of the instruments of Swammerdam and those of his and his father's cabinet (section 1.3.1), and on the exchange of scientific information and instruments between Thévenot and De Volder (section 1.3.2) – all detailed in the correspondence. Before moving to the edition of the letters, moreover, I will provide an extended summary of the affair itself, given its intricacy (section 1.4). In section 2, in turn, I provide an edition of and commentary on all the letters and documents related to the affair, while in Appendix I provide the text of and commentary on a letter of Guenellon to Thévenot prior to the affair itself (22 June 1679), which Thévenot included in Swammerdam's *Nachlass* probably because it testifies to his relations with him.

1.2 Swammerdam's life and the *Biblia naturae*

The letters related to the affair concerned the manuscripts and drawings of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae*, conceived by Swammerdam as the *opus magnum* crowning his life-long researches and including most of his already published materials. Therefore, in what follows I reconstruct his life and intellectual efforts, and shed light on the development of his *Biblia naturae*, in particular by detailing the contents of his manuscripts – and the working materials related to their editing.

31 Letters 7 and 19. I reconstruct Wingendorps' biographies in commenting on letter 1.

1.2.1 Swammerdam's life

After Boerhaave's *Vita*, Swammerdam's life and bibliography have been reconstructed in a number of studies: in particular, those by Rinse Sinia, Abraham Schierbeek, Gerrit Arie Lindeboom, and more recently by Eric Jorink.³² To stick to the more relevant facts, Johannes Swammerdam was born at Amsterdam on 12 February 1637 of Johannes Jacobsz (1606–1678), apothecary and owner of a famous cabinet of curiosities. After having been privately educated and having performed his first observations on insects in the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, and Holland,³³ in 1661 he enrolled as a student of medicine at Leiden, where he studied under Franciscus Sylvius (1614–1672) and Johannes van Horne (1621–1670), befriended Nicolaus Steno (1638–1686) and Regnier de Graaf (1641–1673), and in 1663 performed anatomical observations on respiration and on the thoracic duct of the dog, as well as on insects and frogs.³⁴ In the same year he moved to the University of Saumur, where he conducted observations on insects (especially mosquitoes, dragonflies and mayflies) and, in 1664, on the valves in the lymphatic vessels.³⁵ In 1664–1665 he stayed at Paris, where he came in contact with Thévenot and his circle, which included Constantijn (1696–1687) and Christiaan Huygens (1629–1696) and Nicholas Malebranche (1638–1715), with whom he remained in contact after his departure from France.³⁶ Moreover, he was a guest of Thévenot, together with Steno, at Issy (close to Paris), where they conducted observations on flies, butterflies and bees.³⁷

Upon his return to Amsterdam in September 1665, Swammerdam became part of the *Collegium privatum Amstelodamense* and conducted anatomical dissections and observations related to the topic of his graduation disputation in medicine, namely respiration. In 1667 he enrolled again at Leiden, graduating with a *Disputatio medica inauguralis continens selectas de*

32 Sinia 1878; Schierbeek 1967; Swammerdam 1975, part 1; Lindeboom 1982; Jorink 2013, chapter 4. Lindeboom's biography of Swammerdam serves as the introduction to the edition of a key source on Swammerdam's life, namely his correspondence with Thévenot, which became part of Swammerdam's *Nachlass* and had already been used by Boerhaave for his biography of Swammerdam. On Swammerdam's family, life and works see also Weiss 1927; Engel 1950; Nordström 1954–1955; Van Berkel, Van Helden, and Palm 1999, 570–573; Cobb 2000; Sleight 2012.

33 Boerhaave 1737, 10–13 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 10v). No other source as to Swammerdam's first years could be retrieved.

34 Sylvius 1674, 121–126; Boerhaave 1737, 12–13 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 8r, 10r, and 10v); Steno to Thomas Bartholin, 5 March 1663, and Ole Borch to Bartholin, 12 May 1663, in Bartholin 1740, volume 4, 297 (letter 55) and 391–393 (letter 76) respectively; Du Rieu 1875, 493; Borch 1983, volume 2, 241.

35 Vesling and Blasius 1666, 552; Swammerdam 1667b, 90–91; Boerhaave 1737, 12–15 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7v, 10r and 10v); Swammerdam 1737–1738, 226, 269, and 349; Swammerdam 1975, letter 1 (24 September 1665) (references to the letters of Swammerdam to Thévenot have been simplified to letter numbers only, unless the reference is to other contents of this edition).

36 On the life of Thévenot and on his intellectual circle, see McClaughlin 1975; Dew 2006; Dew 2009, chapter 2.

37 Boerhaave 1737, 14–15 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 10v); Swammerdam 1737–1738, 149, 180, 227, 526, 554, and 695; Swammerdam 1975, letters 2 (15 October 1665), 6 (30 October 1670), 25 (11 August 1678), 29 (1678), 31 (autumn 1678), 34 (30 March 1679), and 38 (autumn 1679) (as to the Huygens), and letters 27 (autumn 1678), 28 (end of November 1678), 29 (1678), 35 (1 June 1679), and 37 (September 1679) (as to Malebranche).

respiratione propositiones (22 February 1667), which was the basis for the publication in the same year of his far more comprehensive *Tractatus physico-anatomico-medicus de respiratione usuque pulmonum*, the frontispiece of which was engraved by Gerhard Wingendorp (as in Figure 1 (Swammerdam 1667b, frontispiece)).³⁸ In 1668 he again met Thévenot at Amsterdam, who was accompanying the future Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici (1642–1723). The latter visited the cabinets of Swammerdam and his father, and offered 12,000 florins to buy the one belonging to Johannes, who should have moved to Florence to stay at the Grand Duke's court: the offer was declined by Swammerdam.³⁹ In the meantime he was continuing his activities on dissections, especially on insects, and in 1669 published his first, main work on the topic, which later became the basis of his *Biblia naturae* (as I detail below): namely his *Historia insectorum generalis*. In January 1670 he was allowed to conduct dissections at the Amsterdam town hospital, through the intercession of the Amsterdam burgomaster Coenraad van Beuningen (1622–1693, an associate of Thévenot), while in 1671 he planned to publish his observations on the chameleon and the mayfly (publication was, however, postponed).⁴⁰ In turn, in 1672 he sent to the Royal Society three plates on the human female reproductive organs (on which he had carried out observations at Leiden with Van Horne between 1667 and 1671), published in the same year in his *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica*, and becoming involved in a quarrel with De Graaf over his discoveries on the topic.⁴¹ In 1673 he performed anatomical observations on fish and pancreatic juice; moreover, he prepared some drawings of fern spores, which he showed to the Leiden professor of botanics Arnold Syen (1640–1678) in the same year (and resuming such observations

38 Boerhaave 1737, 16–19 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 8r and 10v); Du Rieu 1875, 533; Swammerdam 1975, letters 1 (24 September 1665), 2 (15 October 1665) and 3 (1 April 1666). Swammerdam's activities dating to this period are reported in the first volume of the proceedings of the *Collegium privatum Amstelodamense* (Commelin 1667, where, however, no observations are specifically attributed to him), as well as in his *Tractatus de respiratione*. On the *Collegium*, see Lindeboom 1975. See also *infra*, section 1, n. 300. Notably, the anatomy of insects is also dealt with in the last two corollaries of his *Disputatio de respiratione*: Swammerdam 1667a, 5–6 (unnumbered).

39 Boerhaave 1737, 18–19 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7v and 10v); Swammerdam 1737–1738, 506, 555, and 595; Swammerdam 1975, letters 11 (4 November 1677) and 15 (20 January 1678). See section 1.3.1.1.

40 Boerhaave 1737, 20–23 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r, 7v, 10r, and 10v); Swammerdam 1975, letters 7 (16 April 1671), 8 (1671), and 18 (30 March 1678); Engel 1950, 145. On Van Beuningen, see Roldanus 1931. See also the Appendix of the present book (i.e. the letter of Guenellon to Thévenot of 22 June 1679). Swammerdam was to publish *Ephemeris vitae of Afbeelding van 's menschen leven* in 1675, while his observations on the chameleon and on several other animals appeared only in 1681: Blasius 1681, 8, 25, 72, 79, 262, 282, 284, 291–295, 297, 298, 327–329, 330–331, 346, 374, 390, 404, 424, 468, 480–481, and 488 (see *infra*, section 2, n. 207).

41 Boerhaave 1737, 16–17 and 22–23 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7v, 8r and 10v); Swammerdam 1672; Swammerdam 1975, letter 8 (1671); Steno to Swammerdam, 18 March 1668, in Steno 1952, 205–206 (letter 35). The third plate had been separately published in 1671, as discussed in Jorink 2016a. Schierbeek mentions two editions of Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae* appeared in 1672; I could not retrieve the second one: Schierbeek 1967, 185.

around 1678).⁴² Also, he completed a first draft of his treatise on bees around September 1673 (even if the text published in his *Biblia naturae* was in fact finished probably not before the period late September–early November 1677),⁴³ and the treatises on sea-stones and corals in the same year.⁴⁴

In the meantime (from March 1673) Swammerdam had started a correspondence with Antoinette Bourignon (1616–1680), whom he joined in her community in Schleswig-Holstein in September 1675, after having published in the same year his treatise on the mayfly, namely his *Ephemeris vita of Afbeeldingh van 's menschen leven*; eventually, he returned to Amsterdam in June 1676.⁴⁵ In need of money (as his father allowed him only 200 guilders a year, whereas he needed at least 400), Swammerdam attempted in vain to sell his own cabinet, a catalogue of which he sent for publication to Thévenot on 4 November 1677, who had it printed only in 1679 as *Le cabinet de Mr. Swammerdam, docteur en medecine, ou catalogue de toutes sortes d'insectes*,⁴⁶ and later included it as an appendix to his *Recueil de voyages* (1681) together with French abridgements of Swammerdam's treatises on the mayfly and the hermit crab (treatises which Swammerdam had asked him to publish in 1678).⁴⁷ In any case, after his father's death in April 1678 Swammerdam's financial preoccupations were somehow resolved, even if his father's cabinet had to be sold for a price much lower than expected only in May 1680 (after Johannes's death).⁴⁸ Plagued by recurrent malaria fevers,⁴⁹ Swammerdam died on 17 February 1680, after having, in his testamentary will, disposed of the fate of the manuscripts of his *Biblia naturae*, which kept him busy during his last years.

42 Boerhaave 1737, 24–27 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 9r and 10v). The results of Swammerdam's anatomical observations on fish and pancreatic juice are extant in the second volume of the proceedings of the *Collegium privatum Amstelodamense*: Commelin 1673, where, however, no observations are specifically attributed to him. See, moreover, Swammerdam 1737–1738, 128; Swammerdam 1975, letters 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679), 36 (21 June 1679), 37 (September 1679), 39 (30 November 1679), and 40 (December 1679 or January 1680). See also section 1.2.2.1.3.3. Moreover, in 1673 the *Philosophical Transactions* published extracts of Swammerdam's observations on frogs and the rhinoceros beetle: Swammerdam 1673; see also Blasius 1681, 297. Later, Swammerdam's discovery of the cause of hernia in the human body was reported by Justus Schrader (1646–1720), and he communicated to the Royal Society observations on a volvulus: Schrader 1674, 207–209; Huygens, Swammerdam, and Lister 1675; Swammerdam 1975, letter 10 (12 October 1674).

43 As I discuss in section 1.2.2.1.3.2.

44 Boerhaave 1737, 28–29 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 10r and 10v); Boccone 1674, letters 19 and 20.

45 Boerhaave 1737, 24–25 and 28–31 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 11r–13r); De Baar 2004, chapter 11. See section 1.2.2.2.1.

46 Discussed in Swammerdam 1975, letters 11 (4 November 1677) and 20 (28 April 1678). See section 1.3.1.1.

47 Swammerdam 1975, letters 18 (30 March 1678) and 23 (7 July 1678). See *infra*, section 1, n. 139.

48 Boerhaave 1737, 30–35 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r, 7v, and 8r); Swammerdam 1975, letters 11 (4 November 1677), 20 (28 April 1678), and 37 (September 1679). See section 1.3.1.1.

49 See, for instance, Swammerdam 1975, letters 35 (1 June 1679) and 39 (30 November 1679).

1.2.2 Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae*

In fact, Swammerdam's *opus magnum* is mentioned in no less than 13 letters of his correspondence with Thévenot, which allows rough reconstruction of its genesis. In his letter of 4 November 1677, Swammerdam announces to have begun a “great” or “whole work” concerning bees and other insects, as well as snails (including the river snail or *cochlea vivipara*), the mayfly (*hemerobius*), the caterpillar (*cossus*), the rhinoceros beetle (*scarabeus nasicornis*), the butterfly (*papilio diurnus*), the horsefly (*musca asilus*), and other unspecified animals.⁵⁰ Hence, it recurs in a number of other letters, as Swammerdam announced to Thévenot that he has finished his treatise on bees (11 November),⁵¹ rejected his proposal to publish a section of his work before the rest (20 January 1678),⁵² and informed him (20 March) he had reached a deal with Hermann Wingendorp for the editing of the book (and Latin translation, as evident from the contents of the correspondence presented here): in particular, his son Gerhard was in charge of engraving the plates. At that point, Swammerdam aimed at including in it a treatise on the hermit crab – which he also wanted to have separately published, as mentioned above – and foresaw that most of the drawings would be ready the same week, and the rest in three weeks.⁵³ In any case, on 28 April the completion of his work

50 “[D]e impressie van de cochlea vivipara, sal nog in geen ses maanden gedaan syn, alsoo ik een groot werk onder handen heb, als dat van de byen, een anatomie van de wurm, van de nymph, van de apis operaria, de foemina of rex en de fucus of het manneneken en voorts van alle de wonderen daar ontrent, met veele observatien in andere insecten. dan ook een anatomie van alle de slakken of limaces in hollant, en daar onder de cochlea vivipara, dit selve baart een levendig slakken, met een concha, dat een periostim en hayrkens daar op heeft, seer curieus; en nog syn daar veele andere wonderen in. ik oordeel, hier voor een opdracht aan uE te maaken, dat UE niet onaangenaam moet syn, om dat ik UE seer beminne. Alle de figuren heb ik selve getekent. daar sal nog bykomen, een anatomie van de Hemerobius. EEn Anatomie van de cossus, syn nympa, en de scarabeus nasicornis, die daar uyt groeit, voorts een anatomie van dit papilio diurnus, en dan de heele metamorphosis van de musca asilus, die door syn start respireert, en welkers voeten in maxillis geplaats syn. etc. [...] Ik staa in twyfel, wie ik myn gansche werk sal opdraagen, maar daar is tyts genug toe, om daar over te denken,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 11 (4 November 1677). The English text is by Lindeboom. The letter also deals with the possible dedicatee of the book.

51 Swammerdam 1975, letter 12 (11 November 1677); see also letter 14 (between late September and early November 1677), according to which the treatise on bees was not finished and not yet in the press, the drawings of the other treatises were not finished, and he was expecting to have them all finished in March. This letter 14 was dated to January 1678 by Lindeboom, as it contains a reference to the fact that Steno was appointed bishop and apostolic vicar by the Duke of Hanover (John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Calenberg). In fact, Steno started his activities at Hanover in November 1677; however, in the letter there is also reported, as an addition, the indication “Florence,” (which Steno left not before 29 September 1677, on his way from Rome to Hanover) as if he was still there; moreover, in the letter there is mentioned an imminent war with England, and that Swammerdam had not yet finished his work on bees. This leads to a new dating of the letter, to a period between late September and early November 1677: indeed, Steno was appointed apostolic vicar on 2 August, and became bishop on 19 September 1677, this being the *terminus post quem* of the letter (Steno to John Frederick, 7 August 1677, to Cosimo de’ Medici, 14 September 1677, and to John Frederick, 28 September 1677, in Steno 1952, 345–346 (letter 129), 358–359 (letter 137), and 360–361 (letter 139) respectively). Moreover, in his letter to Thévenot of 11 November Swammerdam was to report to have finished his treatise on bees, and at the same time he reports that his last letter to him was the one of 4 November 1677 (Swammerdam 1975, letter 13): being this the *terminus ante quem* of the letter at stake (and Swammerdam might have written it when Steno had already left Florence). Also, on 4 November 1677 William of Orange (1650–1702) married Princess Mary (1662–1694), so that a war with England could probably not have been perceived by Swammerdam as imminent: for a discussion, see Grose 1924.

52 Swammerdam 1975, letter 15 (20 January 1678).

53 Swammerdam 1975, letter 18 (30 March 1678). See also my commentary on the bilingual extract of Swammerdam’s

was anticipated in six weeks,⁵⁴ while on 20 June it was to include 40 plates, of which three were of cuttlefish (as in fact would be the case in the final edition), and some others of frogs. The publication format was to be folio and in Latin. Thévenot at this point was interested in receiving some of the plates (apparently, the prints rather than the copperplates), while French booksellers would acquire copies of the *opus magnum*.⁵⁵ In August 1678 Swammerdam was still very busy with his work, for which he was foreseeing 50 plates,⁵⁶ while in November he was aiming at completing it in 5 weeks.⁵⁷ Around the same period, the completion of the work was expected before the winter, and the plates were to be engraved afterwards.⁵⁸ Eventually, the book was finished between the end of 1678 and the beginning of 1679,⁵⁹ while two plates were engraved around November 1679, most probably by Gerhard Wingendorp, when Swammerdam could not, however, make an agreement with him to have the rest engraved.⁶⁰

Afterwards, Swammerdam stated in his testament that his manuscripts and drawings – i.e. not a translation or the engraved copperplates – had to be transferred to Thévenot; he granted Wingendorp only one year to deliver these materials, adding moreover to deliver them as soon as possible. On Swammerdam's side, it seems that he just put a halt to his publication project in the Netherlands, bestowing everything on Thévenot. As to Wingendorp, he interpreted his initial agreement with Swammerdam as still valid after his death: in fact, Swammerdam's executors pressed him to finish his work, and Thévenot apparently allowed him to continue to work even after the deadline.⁶¹ Moreover, Swammerdam had seemingly paid Wingendorp in advance.⁶² It was this state of uncertainty – or, rather, the different interpretations given to Swammerdam's moves – that ultimately led to the quarrel. Before turning to this (and to the other contents of the correspondence), however, it is worth considering the contents of the manuscripts at stake.

Nowadays, the materials related to Swammerdam's posthumous works are extant at the

testament (in letter 1).

54 Swammerdam 1975, letter 20 (28 April 1678). In the letter Swammerdam also reports that no plate had been engraved yet, though he might refer to the plates of his *Miraculum naturae*, as I discuss *infra*, section 2, n. 26.

55 Swammerdam 1975, letter 22 (20 June 1678).

56 Swammerdam 1975, letters 25 and 26 (both of 11 August 1678).

57 Swammerdam 1975, letter 28 (end of November 1678).

58 Swammerdam 1975, letter 31 (autumn 1678).

59 Swammerdam 1975, letter 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679). In his last letter to Thévenot (December 1679 or January 1680) Swammerdam declared to be near the end of his labours, which he hoped to finish in January, being however unclear if this refers to a further completion of the manuscript of his book, or to the organization of its printing, or, more generally, to his affairs in the Netherlands, which he was aiming at leaving for France. Also in his previous letter (30 November 1679) Swammerdam alluded to the fact that no progress had been made on his book: apparently, on its editing rather than on additions or corrections (of which the Leiden manuscripts have plenty). See Swammerdam 1975, letters 39 (30 November 1679) and 40 (December 1679 or January 1680).

60 Swammerdam 1975, letters 38 (autumn 1679) and 39 (30 November 1679).

61 Letters 2, 3, and 4.

62 Letter 7.

Leiden University Library (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden), as manuscripts BPL 126 B and BPL 126 C I–III (now fully digitized),⁶³ and at the Göttingen State and University Library (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen), as 2° Cod. Ms. Hist. Nat. 102 (henceforth: Hist. Nat. 102). Roughly speaking, at Leiden one can find the manuscripts and figures given by Swammerdam to Wingendorp and used by Boerhaave for his 1737–1738 edition (in fact, a mix of printed and handwritten materials). At Göttingen, in turn, are extant all the materials related to these manuscripts and figures: such as Swammerdam’s letters to Thévenot published by Lindeboom in 1975,⁶⁴ the letters and materials concerning the affair (published here), the materials used by Thévenot in his attempts to publish the manuscripts (e.g. French translations), the preparatory materials used by Boerhaave for his edition (as notes), and some additional autographs by Swammerdam. All these related materials remained in possession of Boerhaave once he had completed his edition – which happened around 1735 – and left Swammerdam’s manuscripts and figures to the Leiden University Library, bound by him in four volumes.⁶⁵ After having come into the possession of Wouter van Doeveren (1730–1783), professor of medicine at Leiden, who might have bought them at the auction of Boerhaave’s private library in 1739 (though this is doubtful),⁶⁶ the manuscripts were acquired by the University of Göttingen, which got them probably with the intermediation of the bookseller and publisher of periodicals Christoffel Frederik König (1756–1796), active at Leiden in the 1780s, who bought them at the auction of Van Doeveren’s private library (1784).⁶⁷

63 Fully available, respectively, at the following links: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:878032> and <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:3273787> (accessed 4 March 2022).

64 Swammerdam 1975. On Swammerdam’s overall correspondence, see Jorink 2016b.

65 On 9 September 1735 he wrote to Bassand that he had edited Swammerdam’s writings and gave them to the book printers (probably a copy prepared for printing): see *supra*, n. 28. He had completed his work on Swammerdam’s and Guenellon’s letters to Thévenot and on the other letters published in the present edition around 1734: see *infra*, section 1, nn. 194 and 245. According to the Leiden University Library’s register compiled by Pieter Burman (1668–1741), as quoted by Lindeboom, Boerhaave left the autographs to the Library on 1 June 1738, in the same form as they appear today. Boerhaave had also left to the Library the manuscript of Vaillant’s *Botanicon Parisiense*, which he had edited and published. See Boerhaave 1737, 42–43 (unnumbered); Lindeboom 1974; Swammerdam 1975, 27, n. 87.

66 In its catalogue one can find the item “522. Icones Swammerdamianae una cum quibusdam descriptionibus,” Luchtman 1739, 27, consulted in a copy held at Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, signature: $\pi^2A-L^4a-h^4i^2A-B^4$. The description and the sale price (3 guilders and 45 stuivers) which is reported in this copy, on an additional sheet bound in after the title-page indicates, which that this might have been just a separate print of the plates and the descriptions, part of the *Biblia naturae* (see *infra*, section 1, n. 103): nonetheless, it is listed in the section *Manuscripta et icones*, where only handwritten items are mentioned. In any case, no mention of manuscripts or drawings is made in Boerhaave’s testament, transcribed in Lindeboom 1956. See *infra*, section 1, n. 67. On Van Doeveren, see Van der Zwaag 1970.

67 Van Doeveren’s private library auction catalogue mentions the following item: “281. Collection des lettres a Swammerdam mss. et plusieurs mss. et planches de cet auteur pour servir de supplement a son ouvrage,” Luchtman and Luchtman 1784, 24. A certain C. F. König is mentioned as the buyer of item 281, for 21 guilders and 15 stuivers, in an unnumbered sheet added to the copy I could consult, held at Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, call number: OTM: O 61-7314. The same price, as well as a reference to Van Doeveren’s private library is given on the cover of fascicle 1 of the Göttingen part of the *Nachlass*: “(21 fl. 15 st.) Collection des lettres a Swammerdam et

1.2.2.1 The Leiden manuscripts

1.2.2.1.1 The manuscripts (BPL 126 C I–III)

The materials extant at Leiden show how complex and lengthy were the editing and translating of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae* – a title probably suggested by Swammerdam to Wingendorp and later adopted by Boerhaave, rather than having been devised by the latter on the basis of a phrase used by Swammerdam in a letter of his to Thévenot, as is usually presumed.⁶⁸ Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae* is in fact “an enormously expanded exemplar of the *Historia [insectorum]*,”⁶⁹ including a large number of scattered additions and 23 new complete treatises to be added to the original text of the *Historia*. At Leiden one can find a copy of this book, provided with an apparatus of textual additions (some of which are new complete treatises), changes, deletions and annotations by Swammerdam (both in new sheets, as in Figure 2 (BPL 126 C I, 54v–55r), and on the original pages), and catalogued as item BPL 126 C I. In turn, items BPL 126 C II and C III contain further manuscripts of complete new treatises. Notably, the additional texts are in themselves often provided with a further apparatus of additions, changes or deletions by Swammerdam and the editors.

As far as the book exemplar is concerned (BPL 126 C I), new sheets and complete treatises were included in the exemplar by Swammerdam himself or in any case when they were in possession of Wingendorp, who indicated, in an inventory (*Memory*) he attached to the manuscripts and figures when he let them be delivered to Thévenot in 1683 (now extant at Göttingen),⁷⁰ that some of the treatises were to be found within the book: namely the treatises on water scorpions,⁷¹ the dragonfly,⁷² the ant,⁷³ the moth,⁷⁴ and the fly (while the other ones were separate, and not bound

plusieurs mss. et planches de cet auteur pour servir de supplement a son ouvrage. Ex biblioth. van Doeveren, Prof. Med. in Acad. Lugd. Bat. 1784.” This price seems to be incompatible with the one given in the sale catalogue of Boerhaave's private library, i.e. 3 guilders and 45 stuivers (mentioned *supra*, n. 66). On König, see Van Goinga 1993.

68 Letter 2.

69 Jorink 2010, 226.

70 Transcribed in letter 29.

71 BPL 126 C I, 77v–83v (including the explanation of the figures).

72 BPL 126 C I, 71r–77r; the explanation of the figures could not be retrieved; in the *Biblia naturae* this explanation appears to be an abridgement of the very text of the treatise, which is in fact a detailed explanation of plate 12: cf. Swammerdam 1737–1738, 220–228 and, in the section on the explanation of the plates, 28–29.

73 BPL 126 C I, 103r–112v; as in the case of the treatise on the dragonfly, the explanation of the figures (in plate 16) seems to be an abridgement of the treatise itself: cf. Swammerdam 1737–1738, 287–299 and, in the section on the explanation of the plates, 34–36.

74 BPL 126 C I, 114r–121v; as in the previous cases: cf. Swammerdam 1737–1738, 560–570 and, in the section on the explanation of the plates, 77–79 (plate 33).

together).⁷⁵ With the exception of the last (now bound before the treatise on the horsefly, certainly for their thematic continuity),⁷⁶ such treatises are still within the copy of the *Historia insectorum*. When Boerhaave received all the papers in 1727 in form of 26 fascicles, in fact, he had an inventory of the materials compiled for him at Paris by Duverney and Guitton, according to which the copy of the *Historia insectorum* contained circa 50 additional “pages” (more probably sheets, given the fact that such treatises consist of 78 pages i.e. 39 sheets) by Swammerdam’s hand, and without mentioning such treatises as extant in separate fascicles.⁷⁷

Furthermore, as mentioned above, both in the exemplar of the *Historia insectorum*, in the additional sheets and in the separate manuscripts one can note the recurring presence of additions and corrections, some of which were included by Boerhaave in his edition. These are by different hands (whose differentiation is any case tentative), and can be categorized as follows:

- additions to additions, as in Figure 2 (BPL 126 C I, 54v–55r), on the left, “onder de naam van getakte watervloij” (“under the name of branched water flea”), which seems to be by a hand (Dutch hand A) different from Swammerdam’s and Boerhaave’s, which can be appreciated, respectively, in Figure 2 (BPL 126 C I, 54v–55r), viz. the remaining text on the pages, and in Figure 3 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r), from Boerhaave’s preparatory notes for his biography of Swammerdam.

- Additions to the printed text, as in Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v)), in the title, “op de tweede wijze” (“in the second mode”), by, apparently, a further, different hand (Dutch hand B) and kept in Boerhaave’s edition in italics, so he apparently knew that it was not added by Swammerdam. Moreover, the first paragraph of the following text of the chapter – dealing with such modes – was certainly added by Boerhaave, as it cannot be found in the manuscripts.⁷⁸

- Changes more editorial in nature, as in Figure 5 (BPL 126 C I, 67r), in which Latin terms used by Swammerdam (ex. ‘cicada’) are changed into Dutch ones (‘kreekel’), or in Figure 6 (BPL 126 C II, 45v–46r), where the same hand (Dutch hand C) reported, on the left, the Dutch translation (*Verhandeling van de wyngaart-slak, door keurlyke afbeeldingen opgeheldert*) of the Latin title (*Historia naturalis cochleae opercularis, iconibus accuratissimis illustrata*) of the treatise on the

⁷⁵ Letter 28.

⁷⁶ BPL 126 C III, 55r–62v; as in the previous cases: cf. Swammerdam 1737–1738, 637–648 and, in the section on the explanation of the plates, 87–89 (plate 38).

⁷⁷ Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r–v. Discussed in section 1.2.2.2.1; see *infra*, section 1, n. 183. The other sheets present in the book in 1727 were certainly scattered ones, of which the book copy has plenty, and amounting today to much more than 50. Given the fact that the 1727 catalogue also reports the existence of unspecified additions to the *Historia insectorum* extant in fascicle 20, now not identifiable (see section 1.2.2.2.17), Boerhaave certainly bound such additional sheets in the book before leaving it to the Leiden University Library.

⁷⁸ Cf. Swammerdam 1669, 128, BPL 126 C I, 97v, and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 551.

common snail (as Swammerdam used only a Latin title for his Dutch treatise).⁷⁹ Such changes and additions were certainly aimed at the preparation of a bilingual text, in order to avoid redundancies between the two versions, and traced to someone involved in Boerhaave's edition, in which they were kept.⁸⁰ However, they are neither by Boerhaave, nor by Gaubius, whose hand can be appreciated in Figure 7 (L 00120 hs, 58r). Moreover, the hand is not that of Wingendorp (as in Figure 8 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 3r)),⁸¹ while Thévenot tried to publish only a French edition of Swammerdam's texts, as there are no preparatory materials in Latin or Dutch, in the Göttingen papers, traceable to his editorial work.

- Purely editorial annotations, which do not appear in the final text, by Swammerdam or by other hands, indicating the series of the treatises (such as, by Swammerdam, in Figure 12 (BPL 126 C I, 112r) and Figure 13 (BPL 126 C I, 112v), partially erased, as the order of the treatises was changed by Boerhaave, as I discuss below), indicating the order of the treatises on bees, the rhinoceros beetle and the mosquito. Or, in Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v), at the top, “dit volgd immediat agter de Bijen” (“this [text] follows immediately after the [treatise on] bees”) by a hand (Dutch hand D) certainly tracing to Boerhaave's editorial team, given Boerhaave's postponing the treatise on bees after the one on the mosquito.

Last but not least, one can note the presence of:

- Wingendorp's editorial annotations, as in Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v), on the left, indicating the number of plates belonging to different treatises, and the Latin translation of ‘gulde popken’, i.e. ‘chrysalides’, or pupas).

- Fragments of Wingendorp's translation, as in Figure 14 (BPL 126 C III, 54v) (reporting different translations of the same text), which Gaubius did not use.⁸² Moreover, Wingendorp's annotations or additions were often deleted or removed i.e. cut away from the manuscripts themselves (as in Figure 15 (BPL 126 C I, 10r) and Figure 16 (BPL 126 C I, 13r)).

79 Cf. BPL 126 C I, 45r and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 97.

80 Boerhaave claimed to have himself edited the writings (see his letter to Bassand of 9 September 1735, quoted *supra*, n. 28), though certainly other people – besides him and Gaubius – had been involved in the editorial work, as testified to by the different Dutch hands on the manuscripts and drawings. See Lindeboom 1974. On Gaubius, see Snelders 2019.

81 Figure 8 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 3r) represents letter 2. Samples of Wingendorp's hand are scattered across the materials extant at Leiden, diffusely annotated by him (as in Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v)), and Göttingen (as in Figure 9 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 18v (unnumbered))). One can compare such specimens with a handwritten *duplique* or counter-reply given by Wingendorp to the notary Engel van Haastenraadt on 9 August 1681 (see letter 6): the original act, extant at Leiden, includes a separate sheet reporting such a *duplique*: it is reproduced in Figure 10 (Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1243, aktenummer 112, unnumbered attached sheet). Moreover, cf. Figure 11 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 5r), representing Wingendorp's *Memory*.

82 The corresponding text is in Swammerdam 1737–1738, 617–618. Also, Gaubius did not use the Latin translation, by Heinrich Christian de Hennin, of Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* (1685).

- Wingendorp’s own additions, as in Figure 17 (BPL 126 C I, 17r), “sc. mieren, vliegen, bijen” (“sc. ants, flies, bees”): in this case, this addition can be found in the Latin translation of the *Biblia naturae* published in 1737–1738, but not in the Dutch text.⁸³

1.2.2.1.2 The plates (BPL 126 B)

Also, at Leiden one can find, as item BPL 126 B, 53 plates of the figures for the *Biblia naturae*, namely 52 plates for the treatises meant by Swammerdam to be included in the book, plus (as plate 53) the plate for the treatise on fern spores, added by Thévenot (who had received it from Swammerdam, though with no extant recommendation for publication, between the end of 1678 and the beginning of 1679)⁸⁴ to the *Nachlass*, with the aim of publishing it, if not in the *Biblia naturae*, at least separately,⁸⁵ and published by Boerhaave as the last treatise of the book. As summarized in Table 1, Boerhaave left to the Leiden University Library:

- the original drawings by Swammerdam (some with Wingendorp’s annotations), either in the form of pure drawings (as in Figure 18 (BPL 126 B, 3r)), or of collages of handwritten and printed materials (as in Figure 19 (BPL 126 B, 13r) – namely printed figures from Swammerdam’s previously published treatises, viz. his *Historia insectorum* and *Ephemeris vitae*): i.e. plates 1–3, 6, 12, 14, 16–21, and 23–45, and 47–53.

- Some prints of now lost drawings (viz. plates 4–5, 7–10, and 22), belonging to treatises not published before the *Biblia naturae*.

In fact, we know that in late 1679 at least two of the 52 plates had been engraved by Gerhard Wingendorp,⁸⁶ while around June–November 1683 De Hoest (who also claimed that Thévenot bought from Wingendorp Swammerdam’s plates) had to deliver to Thévenot further, unspecified copperplates,⁸⁷ as in fact Boerhaave received 36 engraved copperplates from France, together with the other materials of Swammerdam’s legacy,⁸⁸ and had just some of the plates he used in his 1737–1738 edition, engraved by Johannes van der Spyck (ca. 1716–1761) – as reported on the plates themselves, extant in this edition.⁸⁹ As evident from Table 1, the 36 plates not engraved by Van der

⁸³ Swammerdam 1737–1738, 11.

⁸⁴ Swammerdam 1975, letters 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679), 33 (February or March 1679), and 37 (September 1679).

⁸⁵ See section 1.2.2.2.16.

⁸⁶ Swammerdam 1975, letter 38 (autumn 1679). See my commentary to the bilingual extract of Swammerdam’s testament (in letter 1).

⁸⁷ Letters 14 and 22; see also my commentary to letter 31, and section 1.2.2.1.2.1.

⁸⁸ See sections 1.2.2.2.1 and 1.2.2.2.20.

⁸⁹ On Van der Spyck, see Henkel 1937; it is unclear whether he was a relative of Hendrik van der Spyck, painter and

Spyck were those whose contents were not already used in previously published treatises by Swammerdam: in other words, whoever was the engraver of these 36 plates, precedence in engraving was given to the completely new ones, even in those cases in which previously published plates, as those of the *Historia insectorum*,⁹⁰ were to be heavily modified and the copperplates for which were not retrievable by Swammerdam during his lifetime. Certainly, such already engraved plates were expected to be retrieved, at some point, and in fact they circulated and were used by publishers for posthumous editions of Swammerdam's works as late as in 1730s.⁹¹ In any case, given the fact that the proof of printing of one of these 36 plates (i.e. plate 8), extant at Göttingen, contains handwritten annotations by Thévenot's hand (as in Figure 20 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 26, 13r)), we might presume that all these 36 plates – most probably, also their copperplates – were in possession of Thévenot.

Moreover, Boerhaave did not receive from France and had to order the re-engraving of those copperplates used by Thévenot for the treatises he published in 1681. Namely, (1) the copperplates belonging to the treatise on the mayfly (whose figures correspond to plates 13–15) already used for the 1675 edition, which were engraved by Dirk Bosboom (1641–1682) and were re-used in the 1681 edition.⁹² Most probably, these were sold by the French publisher (Étienne Michallet, ca. 1630–1699) to Edward Tyson (1651–1708), who published in 1681 an English edition of the treatise on the mayfly, for which the same copperplates were re-used.⁹³ Moreover, (2) Boerhaave did not receive the copperplates of the figures for the treatise on the hermit crab, which were either engraved in Holland by Romeijn de Hooghe (1645–1708), or, more probably, in France under Thévenot's supervision before Swammerdam's death,⁹⁴ and which were probably kept in the possession of Michallet. Also, (3) Boerhaave did not receive from France those plates i.e. copperplates ordered to be engraved, most probably by Thévenot, for other treatises that Thévenot received from Swammerdam around late 1678 and early 1679, namely the treatises on the cheese mite (which Swammerdam sent him during or before autumn 1678, and asked Thévenot to publish) and on fern spores (sent to Thévenot at the end of 1678 or at the beginning of 1679),⁹⁵ of which he

decorator, landlord of Spinoza.

90 See *infra*, section 2, n. 25.

91 As in the cases of the 1682, 1685, 1693, and 1733 editions of Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* (see *infra*, section 2, n. 25).

92 See *infra*, section 2, n. 207.

93 See *infra*, section 2, n. 207.

94 See *infra*, section 2, n. 242.

95 Swammerdam 1975, letters 27 (autumn 1678) and 28 (end of November 1678) (on the cheese mite), and 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679), 33 (February or March 1679), and 37 (September 1679) (on fern spores). See *supra*, n. 84, and *infra*, section 1, nn. 177 and 202, as well as sections 1.2.2.2.4 and 1.2.2.2.16.

was organizing the publication.⁹⁶ An exception is a plate belonging to the treatise on the louse (plate 2 of the *Biblia naturae*), a treatise which Swammerdam sent Thévenot for publication before the *Biblia naturae*, in April 1678, and which was planned for publication together with the catalogue of Swammerdam's cabinet and the treatise on the hermit crab.⁹⁷ This plate, not engraved by Van der Spyck, is certainly one of the 36 plates – as implied also by an annotation of Boerhaave himself on the cover of the original fascicle of the treatise, noting that the first plate of it (plate 1) was still to be engraved.⁹⁸ In fact, in 1678 Swammerdam did not send him the figures for this treatise, which he planned to have engraved in the Netherlands,⁹⁹ though they were present in the 52 plates for figures delivered to Thévenot along with the manuscripts of the *Biblia naturae*. To sum up, all this suggests that the 36 plates had, let's say, a different origin from those used or ordered to be engraved by Thévenot for the separate publications: probably, they were engraved by Gerhard Wingendorp no later than 1681, and were delivered by De Hoest to Thévenot after November 1684, before passing to Joubert, Duverney and Boerhaave.¹⁰⁰

In the case of plates 13, 15, and 46, already included in the *Historia insectorum* (plate 46) and *Ephemeris vitae* (plates 13 and 15), Boerhaave left to the Leiden University Library the prints of the plates re-engraved by Van der Spyck probably because Swammerdam did not plan any change with respect to their contents, and included them in the materials given to Wingendorp and later delivered to Thévenot only used prints from the older editions. In fact, at Göttingen one cannot find any prints of plates 13 and 15 (so that the prints given to Wingendorp were lost in France or during the preparation of Boerhaave's edition), and one can find a print of plate 46 only from the 1669 edition.¹⁰¹ In the case of the treatise on the hermit crab (plate 11), however, Boerhaave left at Leiden a collage of prints from the 1681 edition – which were probably engraved at Paris and sent to Swammerdam around 1678 –¹⁰² though this plate was also re-engraved by Van der Spyck. Probably, Boerhaave left at Leiden this collage as he found it belonged to a manuscript rather than a printed book, while the three other plates (13, 15 and 46) belong to books published during Swammerdam's lifetime, while plate 11 belonged to a treatise published only after Swammerdam's death and, moreover, in an abridged form: in other words, we can consider that of 1737–1738 the first edition

⁹⁶ See sections 1.2.2.2.4 and 1.2.2.2.16.

⁹⁷ Swammerdam 1975, letters 20 (28 April 1678), 23 (7 July 1678), and 29 (1678). It is apparently also mentioned in letter 27 (autumn 1678), in which Swammerdam refers to the mention, in the preface of an unspecified treatise, of the figure of the ovary of the louse, which Swammerdam had sent Thévenot on 11 August 1678 (letter 25). See also section 1.2.2.2.11.

⁹⁸ "De Eerste deser platen is nog niet gesneeden," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 11, cover.

⁹⁹ Swammerdam 1975, letter 20 (28 April 1678).

¹⁰⁰ See my commentary to letter 31. See also section 1.2.2.1.2.1.

¹⁰¹ Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 11r (unnumbered).

¹⁰² See *infra*, section 2, n. 242.

of the treatise on the hermit crab.

As to the 1737–1738 edition of the plates, Boerhaave recommended the buyers of the book, in the *Monenda* at the end of the second volume, to have the plates bound all together at the end of that volume, namely after or within a section, provided with an independent numbering, consisting of their separate explanations, which in some exemplars of the *Biblia naturae* can even be found bound as a third, separate volume (as suggested by Boerhaave, too).¹⁰³ In any case, in some copies some of the plates were bound at the end of the first volume.¹⁰⁴ Swammerdam somehow planned this separate binding of the plates, as (1) he usually put the explanations of the relevant plates at the end of the manuscript of each treatise, but (2) he planned to have the main text of a treatise followed by the main text of another treatise or by the text of the *Historia insectorum*, rather than the explanation of its plates (which therefore were meant to be separated from the main texts), as evident from his editorial indications.¹⁰⁵

As far as the numbering of the figures and the plates is concerned, the overall number of plates was well defined by Swammerdam, who clearly planned the publication of 52 plates. However, the manuscripts of some of the treatises contain references to an internal, independent numbering of the plates, i.e. only some of the handwritten treatises refer to the numbering of the plates taking into account all the plates of the *Biblia naturae* (such are the cases of plates 3, 10–12, 31, and 33–49, originally numbered like this by Swammerdam in the manuscripts). So that, for instance, in the *Biblia naturae* edition of the treatise on the louse we do find references to plates 4–5

103 “Titulus posterioris tomi poterit poni ante pag. 551 ad literam AAA AAAA, ut duo tomi eiusdem fere sint magnitudinis. Nisi quis velit Explicationes tabularum ipsis cum tabulis seiunctim compingi, et hasce pro tomo tertio habere. Tabulae omnes, cum evolvi queant, iunctim post finem operis locandae sunt. Vel, si quis malit, suis singulas explicationibus proxime adpositas, is commodo suo indicatis hic paginis eas inserere poterit,” Swammerdam 1737–1738, 44 (unnumbered page of the indexes, *Monenda* and *Errata* placed at the end of the second volume; at page 45 are provided references to the exact pages of the section on plate explanations where each plate was to be put). See *infra*, section 1, n. 154.

104 No systematic comparison of all the retrievable copies of Swammerdam’s *Biblia naturae* has been carried out, though, it is worth to remarking, that in a copy located at the New York Public Library the plates are all bound at the end of the second volume, after the section containing their explanations (call number: QIL++ (Swammerdam. *Biblia naturae sive historia insectorum*), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433061673251> and <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433061673269>, accessed 4 March 2022); in a copy extant at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen all the plates can be found only in the second volume, and bound within the section on the explanations, not after it (signatures: 2 ZOOL V, 6243:1 and 2 ZOOL V, 6243:2, <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN483385700> and <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN483385956>, accessed 4 March 2022); in a copy extant at the Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington plates 1–16 are bound at the end of the first volume, plates 17–52 at the end of the second volume, and plate 53 with the treatise on fern spores (call number: QL362.S96 folio, <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.119987>, accessed 4 March 2022); the same binding can be noticed also in a copy held at Leeuwarden, Tresoar – Frysk Histoarysk en Letterkundich Sintrum (signature: 891 Ntk fol, <https://opc-kb.oclc.org/DB=1/XMLPRS=Y/PPN?PPN=427139139>, accessed 4 March 2022). At the Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht one can find a separate binding of the explanation of the plates and the plates themselves (signature: ex. R fol 18, MAZ 1429).

105 BPL 126 C II, 39v.

instead of to plates 1–2, as indicated in the *Errata*,¹⁰⁶ and this old numbering is reported, with corrections, in the Leiden plates, by an unrecognizable i.e. incomparable hand.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Wingendorp made some changes to the numbering of the figures (which were in any case not followed in Boerhaave's edition).¹⁰⁸

1.2.2.1.2.1 Swammerdam's *Specialia experimenta*

Related to the 36 plates is a booklet the existence of which has so far troubled historians,¹⁰⁹ namely a print of 32 of these plates (viz. plates 19, 20, 42, and 44 are absent), titled *Specialia experimenta et artificia Joannis Swammerdami circa insecta, scilicet Historia apum, ephemera, ranarum, cochlearum, et c., iconibus expressa, quarum iconum tabulae elegantissimae triginta sex [sic], nondum editae, et eiusdem celeberrimi authoris manuscripta insectorum anatomica, quae deperdita putabantur; prostant Parisiis in musaeo [...] Josephi du Verney [...]. Anno 1700*, with a French annotation (of the same hand) reporting that only two copies of these figures had been printed, the present one and another one extant in the cabinet of Sherard at London. Another French hand, moreover, reports that, after collation, the booklet contained prints of 32 plates only. The booklet is today extant at the Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, and the complete frontispiece is reproduced in Figure 21 (QL362 .S96c folio, 2r (unnumbered)).¹¹⁰ As the title reports a year indication to 1700 and specifies that the manuscripts were in the hands of Duverney, we can presume that the year indication refers to a print allegedly made in 1700, before the preparation of the frontispiece itself (whether or not such a print was correctly dated). In fact, Duverney came into possession of the manuscripts and related materials not earlier than 1706, after Joubert's death. Even if Boerhaave's statements are not always correct, his reporting that Duverney bought them from Joubert's heirs for the cheap price of 50 *écus*, i.e. circa 125 guilders, nonetheless makes it quite probable, as it suggests that they were bought at an

106 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 945.

107 BPL 126 B, 2r and 3r.

108 See *infra*, section 1, n. 190.

109 Sinia 1878, 39–40; Schierbeek 1967, 167.

110 “*Specialia experimenta et artificia Joannis Swammerdami circa insecta, scilicet Historia apum, ephemera, ranarum, cochlearum, et c., iconibus expressa, quarum iconum tabulae elegantissimae triginta sex [sic], nondum editae, et eiusdem celeberrimi authoris manuscripta insectorum anatomica, quae deperdita putabantur; prostant Parisiis in musaeo [...] Josephi du Verney [...]. Anno 1700*. On n’a tiré que deux Exemplaires de ces figures, scavoir celui cy, et un autre qui est dans le Cabinet de Monsieur Guillaume Sherard a Londres [...]” Washington, Smithsonian Libraries and Archives, Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History, call number: QL362 .S96c folio, 2r (unnumbered); cf. 1r (unnumbered): “Collationné il n’y a que 32 figures.” I thank Leslie K. Overstreet, Curator of Natural-History Rare Books at the Library, for having helped me in finding this item and providing details of it. The item is fully available at the following link: <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/page/61913034> (accessed 6 October 2022).

auction.¹¹¹

The very title, in turn, seems to be based on second-hand information on what could have been a part of Swammerdam's posthumous works in the early 1680s. Still, it might have somehow captured the title of an unauthorized edition dating to this period. A version of it appeared, for the first time, in the letter to the reader of Heinrich Christian de Hennin (1655–1703) introducing his Latin translation (1685) of Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum*. According to this, Swammerdam was going to publish a Latin edition of this book, augmented with "*Special Experiments and Findings about Insects*, [the] *History of Bees, Mayfly, Frogs* [*Specialibus experimentis et artificiis circa insecta, Historia apum, Ephemeræ, Ranarum*], and other evidences of a not ordinary zeal."¹¹² It was after a part of this title (which is almost identical to that of the frontispiece, to which is added a reference to snails), namely *Specialia experimenta*, that De Hennin translated Swammerdam's references, given in his *Historia insectorum*, to his planned "special experiences" ("besondere ondervindingen") on a number of animals, namely insects in general, spiders, the louse, the water flea, the dragonfly, the mayfly, false wasps (*pseudosphecae*), the mosquito, the ant, the butterfly, the moth, flies, and frogs, and typographically rendering it as a title (i.e. by differentiating it from the rest of the text, which is in italics).¹¹³ The publication of this augmented edition of Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* – in fact, his very *Biblia naturæ* – was however prevented by Swammerdam's death, after which, according to De Hennin, there survived only his *Specialia experimenta* [*et artificia*] *circa insecta*, kept by his heirs, his *Historia apum* (a title and work thus distinguished by De Hennin from Swammerdam's *Specialia experimenta*, and by which he also translates Swammerdam's reference to his planned "special experiences" on bees ("besondere ondervindingen vande Byen") – so that this title was not inferred from the text), bequeathed to Thévenot, and Swammerdam's *Historia ephemeræ*, published before his death.¹¹⁴ No mention of the treatise on frogs being made, all his other unfinished or planned works – which De Hennin himself wished to publish in a Latin edition – allegedly went missing with him.¹¹⁵

111 See *supra*, n. 8.

112 See *infra*, section 1, n. 115.

113 Cf. Swammerdam 1669, 46, 67, 72, 80, 91, 97, 98, 108, 109–110, 111, and, in the appendix, 13, 37, and 48, and Swammerdam 1685a, 38, 60–61, 65, 71, 81, 86, 95, 96, 103, 119, 127, 132, 133, 135, 139, 150–151, 165, 197, and 211.

114 The references to Swammerdam's planned "special treatise" ("besondere verhandeling") and "special experiences" on bees ("besondere ondervindingen vande Byen") are rendered in their occurrences as *Historia apum* or *Specialis apum historia*, and the "treatise" ("verhandeling") and "description" of the mayfly ("beschrijving van het Haft") as *Historia hemerobii*: cf. Swammerdam 1669, 106, 119, 131, and 136, and Swammerdam 1685a, 93, 103, 113, and 118. Cf. especially Swammerdam 1669, 136, and Swammerdam 1685a, 118, where "besondere ondervindingen vande Byen" is translated as *Historia apum*.

115 "Dedit hinc auctor eam historiam publico, sed vernaculo sermone, stilo sane quam difficili, conciso et obscuro, quique per continuas protases et apodoses decurrit. Nullus autem dubito, quin auctor noster eam Latina veste meliorem fuisset daturus, additis etiam, ad quae toties lectorem in hoc, hoc opere remittit, *Specialibus experimentis*

Actually, it is unclear who was De Hennin's source with regard to Swammerdam's legacy. On the one hand, De Hennin knew that after the delivery of the manuscripts to Thévenot (for De Hennin, only the manuscript on bees), Swammerdam's heirs kept some of his posthumous works, i.e. what De Hennin labels *Specialia experimenta*. In fact, De Hoest was certainly in possession, during the affair, of a partial copy of Swammerdam's manuscripts and drawings,¹¹⁶ and apparently of the copperplates of the 36 plates, which had still to be delivered to Thévenot by him in November 1684,¹¹⁷ namely, after the date reported on the dedicatory letter to Ortt opening De Hennin's translation, 27 April/7 May 1684 (at which point De Hennin might already have prepared his letter to the reader).¹¹⁸ Moreover, De Hoest declared, in June 1683, that Swammerdam's works were already in course of printing in the Netherlands,¹¹⁹ an unauthorized edition which might have been that of the plates themselves, the printing of which could have been titled *Specialia experimenta*, hence mentioned by De Hennin in 1685, who might have heard about them.

In any case, De Hennin seems to ignore that, besides the treatise on bees, Thévenot also received all of Swammerdam's other treatises, which did not go missing with him: something about which De Hoest was well informed. In other words, it seems that De Hennin did not come in contact with De Hoest while preparing his translation, or in any case did not get help from him. We can suppose that De Hennin's source was Ortt, the dedicatee of the translation, who acted on behalf of Margarita Volckers (ca. 1648–1688) and De Hoest during the affair.¹²⁰ Indeed, Ortt put them in

*et artificii circa insecta, Historia apum, Ephemeræ, Ranarum, aliisque non tralatitiæ sedulitatis documentis. Quam enim acuto valeret iudicio, orbi erudito exhibuerat in doctissimis illis De respiratione et Naturæ miraculo, seu Ovis faeminarum dissertationibus, qua Latine edita ferunt ætatem. Nihil proin erat tam arduum in scientia naturali, nihil tam abstrusum in re anatomica, nihil tam perplexum in mysteriis hisce insectorum, quod de se inexpugnabilis illius diligentia, ardor immensus ornandi, quam susceperat, spartam, iudicium elegans et elimatum sponte polliceri non posset verum omnes hasce spes, hos tam praeclaros conatus, tantam denique expectationem importuna mors praecidit, evertit, sustulit. Perit ille in ipso ætatis flore, nihil non magnum et accuratum minatus. Periere una aut imperfecta, apud heredes mansere *Specialia experimenta* ipsius *circa insecta*, at *Historiam apium* Belgice conscriptam, ut audio, legavit auctor Thevenotto, Viro Nob. quam Latine verti ac publicari sane e re naturalis scientiæ maxime foret, neque dubito, fore aliquando ei desiderio satis. *Historiam ephemeræ* intertextam multis argumenti theologicæ rebus paullo ante mortem Belgice ediderat. Sed cætera omnia, quæ minabatur, una cum auctore sunt extincta. Multum sane in eo res medica, anatomica ac naturalis amisit: sed est profecto, ni fallor, tacita quaedam factorum invidia, quæ potiora semper ex rebus humanis decerpit. Illa tamen, quæ hactenus ediderat, apud ingenuos eruditosque lectores cum plausu omne punctum tulerunt, unde haud difficulter a viris doctissimis me induci passus sum, ut hanc, quam nunc damus, historiam Latine otiosis horis verterem, gratificaturus pro mea virili Germanis, Italis, Anglis, aliisque seu Belgici, seu Gallici, nam et hoc sermone versa est, idiomatis imperitis. Imo dedissem omnia quæ reperiri possunt, opera uno iunctim volumine orbi Latine literato, si ad manus fuissent τὰ σωζόμενα, quæ desiderabam," Swammerdam 1685a, *Lectori*, 3–4 (unnumbered). The use of italics matches the original text, i.e. it provides indication of titles.*

116 Letters 22 and 31.

117 See my commentary to letter 31.

118 Swammerdam 1685a, *Johanni Ortt*, 4 (unnumbered).

119 Letters 31 and 33.

120 Born at Amsterdam in 1642, Johann Ortt – a wealthy merchant – bought the castle of Nijenrode in 1673 and became Lord of Nijenrode and Breukelen in 1675. Swammerdam was his guest there in summer 1678. He and his wife Anna Pergens (1650–1733) were among the acquaintances of Bourignon. Besides her and Thévenot (whom he

contact with Thévenot, sent him the extract from Swammerdam's testament in 1680, and asked him to refund the expenses incurred by De Hoest during the quarrel on 5 November 1684. Prima facie, Ortt should have been well informed about Swammerdam's legacy. However, in his testament (whose extract passed through Ortt's hands) Swammerdam provided a rather vague description of the contents of his papers, labelling them as "concerning the nature and anatomy of bees [and] butterflies," and even after having talked with De Volder about them shortly before 5 November 1684, when he likely came in contact also with De Hoest, Ortt referred only to a "treatise" by Swammerdam in his letter of this day.¹²¹ This letter was probably posterior to De Hennin's letter to the reader, which must be a fortiori less updated. Moreover, around November 1682–January 1683 Ortt overtly declared not to want to enter into the affair in any way,¹²² so that it might be that he did not have detailed information on the contents of Swammerdam's legacy, despite his acquaintance with the protagonists of the affair and with Swammerdam himself. Of course, he knew about the latter's wide research activities, and might even have been the owner of a copy of a first draft of the treatise on bees (which, probably, he could not share with De Hennin during the affair, given the fact that it was to be published by Thévenot),¹²³ but his information might have been dated to the period when Swammerdam was alive. So that probably De Hennin had just second-hand information about what was extant from De Hoest: still, *Specialia experimenta et artificia circa insecta* might have been the title of what was in the possession of De Hoest, either a (partial) copy of the manuscripts and drawings, or the prints of the 36 plates.

To sum up, the frontispiece of the Smithsonian booklet was most probably based on De Hennin's account (based in turn on second-hand information), without, however, a differentiation between the *Specialia experimenta* from the *Historiae*, as the formula 'scilicet' is used to relate them (while De Hennin in fact distinguishes them). Moreover, the 36 plates belonged, amongst others, to the treatises on bees, frogs, and snails (mentioned in the frontispiece, while De Hennin does not mention snails), while the plates on the treatise on the mayfly (plates 13–15), mentioned in the frontispiece, were not among these 36: and this confirms that the author of the frontispiece only relied on De Hennin's account, adding a reference to the treatise on frogs (and we can decidedly exclude that the four plates missing from the booklet traced to those concerning the mayfly: certainly, they traced to the treatises on bees, the horsefly, and on the insects of fruits, tubercles and

probably met in Paris), he was also an acquaintance of Christiaan Huygens. He died in 1701. On him, see De Baar 2004, chapter 11; see also Swammerdam 1975, letter 23 (7 July 1678). On Volckers, see *infra*, section 2, n. 5; on De Hoest, see my commentary to letter 3.

121 Letters 1 and 35.

122 Letters 28 and 29.

123 See section 1.2.2.1.3.2.

leaves, to which plates 19, 20, 42 and 44 belong). Eventually, the second part of the title, specifying that the manuscripts were not lost, as believed, seems to address De Hennin's claim that these treatises went missing after Swammerdam's death.¹²⁴

In turn, as suggested above, the year indication to 1700 might indicate a possible printing of the plates antecedent to the preparation of the frontispiece. In 1700 the copperplates were certainly in the possession of Joubert, who could have used them. Alternatively, the prints themselves might have come from the Netherlands, i.e. be in fact the mentioned unauthorized edition of De Hoest, later provided with a title on the basis of De Hennin's text (with an imprecise date). The prints, in fact, could date before 1700, as at least one print was already in the possession of Thévenot.¹²⁵ A possible author of the frontispiece might have been Duverney himself, or in any case an associate of his. Indeed, it is reported, in the French annotation, that another exemplar of the prints was in the hands of Sherard, who was an acquaintance of Duverney and who informed Boerhaave about the latter being in possession of Swammerdam's materials, sending, in fact, prints of the plates to him in 1723 or 1726 (as I discuss in section 1.2.2.2.1). Sherard's collection at the Bodleian Library, in turn, does not contain these prints,¹²⁶ so that his copy might have simply consisted of some of the prints now extant at Göttingen (though Boerhaave also wrote to him that he would try to give them back to him).¹²⁷ The frontispiece might have been prepared when the prints were in possession of Duverney's and Sherard's acquaintance Antoine-Tristan Danty d'Isnard (1663–1743),¹²⁸ as the sale catalogue (1744) of his private library mentions an item the description of which matches the Smithsonian booklet.¹²⁹ In any case, these prints might not have come into the possession of Danty d'Isnard directly from Duverney or Sherard; let alone the possibility that even Joubert gave them to him (and that the title was prepared afterwards); before their publication by Boerhaave the figures of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae* were also available to at least René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683–1757) and Jacques B. Winslow (1669–1760).¹³⁰

124 Nonetheless, see *infra*, section 1, n. 166.

125 See section 1.2.2.1.2.

126 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mss. Sherard 44–201.

127 See *infra*, section 1, n. 189.

128 On him and his network, including also Joubert, Vaillant and Boerhaave, see Tjaden 1976; Parsons 2018, chapter 6.

129 “1110. Eiusdem Swammerdam Specialia experimenta et artificia circa insecta, iconibus expressa, quarum iconum tabulae aeneae elegantissimae XXXVI nondum editae, et eiusdem autoris manuscripta insectorum anatomica, quae deperdita putabantur, prostant Parisiis in musaeo D. Guichardi Jos. du Verney. In fol. br. * Il n’y a eu que deux exemplaires tirez de ces figures, celui-ci et un autre qui est dans le cabinet de M. Sherard à Londres,” Martin 1744, 94–95.

130 This is testified to by Réaumur's handwritten observations on frogs, tracing to March 1736 and April 1740 (at which point, however, he could just have at his disposal a copy of the *Biblia naturae*), which are critical about Swammerdam's actual observations of some details of the copulation of frogs, as depicted in figures 1 and 2 of plate 48 (in the *Biblia naturae* edition): “[1r] 1736 Grenouilles [...] aujour de 20. mars [...] [2r] [...] Mais on pourroit croire qu’il sort de temps en temps une liqueur

After having been in the possession of Danty d'Isnard, the booklet of prints passed (probably directly) to the physician and botanist Johann Heinrich von Heucher (1677–1746), being catalogued with the items that passed from his collection to the Kupferstich-Kabinett in Dresden, where it was extant at least until 1869,¹³¹ before ending up at the Smithsonian apparently not later than the mid-twentieth century (according to the accession number, 167267). The booklet is mentioned in a number of bibliographic repertories, most probably based on Danty d'Isnard's catalogue (as they do not add information besides that provided in it),¹³² with the exception of the *Monographia Anoplurorum Britanniae* (1842) of Henry Denny (1803–1871), which reports a more extended description (such as that the four plates were missing).¹³³ It is unclear when the four missing plates went lost; of course, this happened after the preparation of the frontispiece. Since these plates belong to treatises with other surviving plates, they were most probably accidentally detached from the booklet.

1.2.2.1.3 Some notes on the treatises

As far as the ways in which the different treatises were to be inserted into the original text of

du masle, qui est pompee par le derriere de la femelle il pourroit {respirer} de l'eau chargee de cette liqueur. Enfin [...] Swammerdam, a fait dessiner la fin de [...] l'accouplement le masle y est represente arossant avec des jets de liqueur les oeufs de la femelle. Mr. Winslou dit qu'il n'a pu parvenir a voir rien de pareil. Le vray de tout cela sera aise a de couvrir par les experiences auxquelles j'ai pense. [...] Je n'ai point vu de grenouille masle qui se joint les mains comme Swammerdam les les lui fait joindre peutetre que cela n'arrive que quand l'accouplement est prest de finir[.] [...] [3r] Grenouilles. Le 21 mars [...]. Quand [...] le masle est presque aussi grand que la femelle, quand il a les bras assez longs alors ses doigts se croisent, c'est a dire les deux premiers sur la poitrine de la femelle. Ce qui revient de la figure de Swammerdam qui apparemment a ete prise sur une ponte de grenouilles [[da]] dont le masle etoit aussi gros que la femelle. Mais quand les masles sont plus petits les doigts ne se croisent pas. [...] [11r] Grenouilles. 1740. 8 Avril. [...] Swammerdam veut que dans l'instant ou les oeufs viennent de sortir du corps de la femelle ils soient arroses par la liqueur propre a les feconder. Il a fait meme represente une espece de gerbe de cette liqueur sortant du derriere du masle. S'il ne la pas dit simplement sur ce qu'il a cru que cela devoit etre, s'il la vu, il auroit bien du nous apprendre comment il est parvenu a les voir. S'il la vu distinctement et combien de fois quoique la femelle perde une tres grande quantite d'oeufs, et qu'avec les matieres visceuses qui les enveloppent forment une masse considerable, c'est une operation d'une tres courte duree, de moins d'une minute inutilement [[aye]] ai je tenté pendant plusieurs annees a [...] saisir le moment de la ponte de grenouilles qui je tenoit dans des cloches de verre je n'y ai pas reussi," Paris, Académie des Sciences, Fonds Réaumur 69J, dossier 35, 1r, 2r, 3r, and 11r. For a discussion, see Terrall 2011, 194–195. Also the plate of the treatise on fern spores (plate 53) circulated in 1720s, when, according to Boerhaave, some attempted or managed to plagiarize it: see *infra*, section 1, n. 181.

- 131 At Dresden it was given the signature F 112, being the group F of the items collected by Heucher. The cataloguing took place after 1786. I thank Gudula Metze, Curator at the Kupferstich-Kabinett, for having provided me with this information. An eighteenth-century German hand noticed, on the booklet, that the item was very rare: "höchst seltnes Stuk," QL362 .S96c folio, 2v (unnumbered). See Grässe 1859–1869, volume 7, 447: "Swammerdam. Specialia experimenta et artificia J. Sw. circa insecta, tabulae aeneae XXXVI nondum editae et ejd. autopsis manuscr. insectorum anatomica, s.l. 1700. In fol. Il n'y en avait que 2 exempl., l'un à Londres dans la collection de Mr. Sherard, et l'autre (défectiv de 4 pl.) dans le cabinet d'estampes à Dresde."
- 132 Duclos 1790, volume 3, 69; Nodier 1801, 40; Clarke 1802–1806, volume 6, 133; Peignot 1810, 129; Hagen 1862–1863, volume 2, 209; Horn and Schenkling 1928–1929, volume 4, 1209; Nissen 1966–1978, volume 1, 402.
- 133 "Swammerdami Specialia experimenta et artificia circa insecta, Historia apum, ephemerae ranarum cochlearum, et c., represented by numerous figures, in 32 plates, folio, sewed, 4s[.] Paris, 1700[.] 'Oy n'a tiré que deux exemplaires de ces figures – note'," Denny 1842, 14.

Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* are concerned, I summarize them – by considering their manuscripts – in Table 2, in which I illustrate the order of the treatises devised by Swammerdam, which is different from that adopted by Boerhaave, who most probably postponed the publication of the treatise on bees to the second volume (1738) of the book because there was some delay in the preparation of the plates of the figures (as I discuss in section 1.2.2.1.3.2). In what follows, in turn, I comment upon some of the treatises included in the book, as they present some notable editorial features.

1.2.2.1.3.1 The treatises on the louse, the hermit crab and the mayfly

What is worth noting about the new treatises is that, first, the treatise on the louse is extant at Göttingen as the letter-treatise sent by Swammerdam to Thévenot for publication in April 1678 (before the *Biblia naturae*),¹³⁴ provided with a slightly different preface (in fact, a letter in a letter), and with several variants.¹³⁵ Later, a further exemplar of the treatise was included by Swammerdam in the papers he gave to Wingendorp, now extant at Leiden and used for the *Biblia naturae*, where it is published in the form of (1) an introductory text,¹³⁶ and (2) the letter-treatise to Thévenot.¹³⁷ This text is followed, in the *Biblia naturae*, by (3) a partial explanation of plate 1 (figures 1–3), on two unnumbered pages not counted in the overall page numbering (but continuous with them), which recurs also in the plate explanations at the end of the second volume, while in the manuscript one finds just the complete explanation of a plate.¹³⁸ As there are no references to figures 1–3 of plate 1 (wrongly referred to as plate 4, as seen in section 1.2.2.1.2) in the text of the treatise on the louse, it might be that the explanation of such figures had been placed at the end of the treatise in order to orient the reader.

As in the case of the letter-treatise on the louse, also an exemplar of the letter-treatise on the hermit crab was sent by Swammerdam to Thévenot for publication in 1678 (now extant at Göttingen).¹³⁹ As mentioned above, however, Thévenot published only an abridgement of this text in 1681. Hence, a further exemplar of it was included by Swammerdam among the manuscripts of

¹³⁴ See *supra*, n. 97.

¹³⁵ Now in Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 24a (see section 1.2.2.2.18). See Swammerdam 1975, letters 19 (14 April 1678) and 20 (28 April 1678). Lindeboom provides, as letter 19a, the transcription of the first page of the Leiden manuscript (BPL 126 C II, 93), nonetheless claiming that it is the text of the version of the letter-treatise extant at Göttingen (cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 24a, 1v).

¹³⁶ Cf. BPL 126 C II, 1r–8v and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 63–66.

¹³⁷ Cf. BPL 126 C II, 9r–30v and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 67–85.

¹³⁸ Cf. BPL 126 C II, 31r–35v and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 1–2 (unnumbered, between pages 85 and 86) and, in the section on the explanation of the plates, 3–4.

¹³⁹ Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 15. See Swammerdam 1975, letters 18 (30 March 1678), 19 (14 April 1678), 20 (28 April 1678), 23 (7 July 1678), 25 (11 August 1678), and 29 (1678). See also *infra*, section 2, n. 242.

his *Biblia naturae*, now extant at Leiden.¹⁴⁰

Moreover, Swammerdam aimed at having included in the *Biblia naturae* the text of his *Ephemeris vita*, which Boerhaave edited by omitting large portions of it, namely all Swammerdam's moral and theological considerations.¹⁴¹ In fact, the text of this treatise was not among those delivered to Thévenot by Wingendorp,¹⁴² who, apparently, had already sent to Thévenot around 1678 a copy of the 1675 book and/or the copperplates used for its printing, which were engraved by Bosboom (as mentioned above) and re-used by Thévenot for the 1681 edition.¹⁴³ Indeed, around 1678 Swammerdam asked Thévenot to publish a translation of it (certainly in French) before the *Biblia naturae* was completed, and including also the lengthy moral considerations which Boerhaave omitted.¹⁴⁴ Since the treatise – contrary to the other ones he sent to Thévenot for publication – had already been published, probably Swammerdam did not deem it necessary to send to Thévenot the manuscript of it: this means that he probably wanted the text published as it was. In fact, no copy of such a treatise is extant at Göttingen or Leiden, neither it is indicated in the items Boerhaave received from France in 1727.¹⁴⁵ In any case, in his *Recueil* Thévenot published just a French abridgement of this treatise: a manuscript version of it is extant at Göttingen, in fascicle 12, and was deemed by Boerhaave as an unpublished French translation of the *Ephemeris vita*.¹⁴⁶

1.2.2.1.3.2 The treatise on bees

Also, is worth noting that at the end of the manuscript of the treatise on the ant, an annotation by Swammerdam reports that the treatises on bees, the rhinoceros beetle and the mosquito have to follow it,¹⁴⁷ while at the end of the manuscript on the mosquito there is a further indication, by Swammerdam, that the text on the mosquito is to be inserted before page 128 of the *Historia insectorum*,¹⁴⁸ this being, indeed, the order of the treatises also planned by Wingendorp.¹⁴⁹ However, in Boerhaave's edition the treatise on bees is placed after the treatise on the mosquito, and

140 BPL 126 C II, 137r–150v.

141 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 234.

142 Letter 29.

143 See *infra*, section 2, n. 207.

144 Swammerdam 1975, letter 23 (7 July 1678).

145 See section 1.2.2.2.12.

146 “Quin et [...] Thevenotum, cui prima edendi huiusce Operis cura ab ipso Swammerdammi commissa erat, haud aliter acturum fuisse, si editioni supervixisset, versio Gallica Historiae naturalis ephemeris, quam inter manuscripta huc pertinentia simul accepimus,” Swammerdam 1737–1738, 234.

147 BPL 126 C I, 112r–v.

148 BPL 126 C II, 206v. Cf. the beginning of the treatise on the mosquito: “Gelykerwys de Mieren, de Byen, en de Neushoornige Schalbyter [...],” Swammerdam 1737–1738, 348.

149 According to his own annotations, in BPL 126 C I, 85v and BPL 126 C II, 151r. See also his *Memory*, transcribed and commented in letter 29.

the text of page 128 of the *Historia insectorum* follows it. Moreover, the published text of the treatise on the mosquito includes a reference – certainly added by Boerhaave – to the treatise on bees, which is absent in Swammerdam’s manuscript,¹⁵⁰ while editorial annotations on the manuscripts – not by Swammerdam’s hand – place the treatise on bees after the other ones.¹⁵¹ Certainly, such a re-ordering of the treatises was due to Boerhaave, who in an explanatory note concerning the insertions of treatises in the text of the *Historia insectorum*, extant at Göttingen, listed Swammerdam’s order of treatises as (1) ant, (2) bees, and (3) rhinoceros beetle, nonetheless noting, about the treatise on bees, that “still much is to be done with regard to the figures.”¹⁵² Moreover, this treatise was most probably printed along with the treatises of the second volume (1738) of the *Biblia naturae*: even if it can sometimes be found bound as the last treatise of the first volume (1737),¹⁵³ this depended on a suggestion of Boerhaave himself to the buyers of the book, who for him could have it bound in the first rather than in the second volume, in order to have two volumes of the same size (unless one wanted to have the plates and their explanations bound as a third volume). If this treatise were originally published with the first volume, probably Boerhaave would not have needed to add this remark (and the book gatherings, which are just continuous between the two volumes, do not help to date its printing).¹⁵⁴

As far as the manuscript of the treatise on bees is concerned, it is worth noting that according to Boerhaave’s biography of Swammerdam “some pages of the text” were missing from the papers he received from France, that someone before him had noticed this, and that he could

150 Cf. BPL 126 C II, 205r: “waar van ik voor tegens woordig niet meer sal bybrengen, alsoo ik vermoeit ben van alle de voorgestelde saken te observeeren ende te beschryven. Waarom ik my nu begeef om die diereken te verhandelen, de welke onder deese selve order behooren, maar die wat {d uijster} der {haare} leedematen vertoonen: om welke reeden {...} deese manier van verandering, in een soort, die op de tweede wys toegaat, heb {...} order {...}. {Hoewel} sy {wegtuns}, niet als toevallig verscheelen,” and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 361: “Waar van ik voor tegenswoordig niet meer sal bybrengen, alsoo ik vermoeit ben van alle de voorgestelde saken te observeeren ende te beschryven. Waarom ik my, van deeze verhandeling een einde makende, nu begeef om de merkwaardige Historie der Byen te beschryven.”

151 BPL 126 C I, 97v, as in Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v), on the top, by Dutch hand D (see section 1.2.2.1.1); BPL 126 C II, 205r, as in Figure 22 (BPL 126 C II, 205r), by Dutch hand E, closing the treatise on the mosquito (see *supra*, n. 150) and indicating that the contents reported in the main text (which announces the treatment of the second mode of the third order of insects, as in Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v)) follow the treatise on bees.

152 “Op pagina 127, agter het alderlaaste, dat daar op staat, moet \1./ gedrukt het schryft van de mier [...]. En hier agter het werk van de Byen. Waar in nog veel is te doen omtrent de figuuren. Hier naa de Nasicornis, quem scripsit 1[7]679,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 6r. The reference is of course to Swammerdam 1669, 127.

153 Among the copies discussed *supra*, n. 104, the treatise on bees can be found in the first volume in the copies extant at New York and Göttingen.

154 See *supra*, n. 103. The gatherings including the sheets of the treatise on the mosquito are marked Ss ss 2–Yy yy; those of the treatise on bees are marked Aaaa a–Zz zz 2; after the treatise on bees, Swammerdam’s *Biblia naturae* continues with gathering Aa aa aa a. Moreover, between the treatises on the mosquito and on bees there are no connecting words, and there are four missing page numbers: these might have been left for the insertion of the four pages of the bilingual title pages of the second volume, which should have started with this treatise: Swammerdam 1737–1738, 362 and 367 (the latter one is unnumbered).

anyway find this missing text “in a certain paper[/copy] found elsewhere.”¹⁵⁵ In fact, this matches at least one annotation one finds in the Göttingen papers, present in the French translation of the treatise extant in fascicle 6a–c, where one finds:

- (A) a Dutch copy of the treatise on bees (fascicle 6a, 1–64 and 6b, 65–79).
- (B) a French translation of the treatise (fascicle 6b, 1r–89v) – not made on the basis of this Dutch copy (as I am going to show in a moment).
- (C) a French translation of the appendix to the treatise (fascicle 6b, 90r–96r), namely Swammerdam’s observations on beehives,¹⁵⁶ not present in the Dutch copy.
- (D) a French translation of a supposedly separate treatise (according to the translator) on beeswax (fascicle 6b, 96r–v), which in fact was only an addendum to the main text of the treatise.¹⁵⁷
- (E) a French translation of the descriptions of the plates of the treatise and some proofs of the printing of them (fascicle 6c).

In the French translation of the treatise (item B) one can find the annotation, by the same hand as the rest of the text, “here a sheet is missing from the manuscript.”¹⁵⁸ In fact, the missing text corresponds to the contents of a sheet extant at Leiden as a copy by Boerhaave’s hand, inserted in the rest of the manuscript as a replacement for the missing page.¹⁵⁹ Boerhaave made this copy certainly on the basis of the Dutch version of the treatise now extant at Göttingen (viz. item A), in which this text is present, and which was not included in the papers he received from France in 1727, being “found elsewhere” – as seen above – and not mentioned in the 1727 catalogue.¹⁶⁰

In fact, one can hypothesize that the Dutch copy was in the possession of Thévenot (whether or not he had it made or received it from someone else), but not of the translator of the treatise, who might have worked on behalf of Thévenot and still could have received from him the originals (or a further copy of them) deprived of this page. Indeed, this page is not the only one the contents which are missing in the French translation: at the end of the French translation of the appendix concerning Swammerdam’s observations on beehives (item C), one reads “the rest is missing in the

155 “Reperi completa, nisi quod in Tractatu de apibus solo iactura esset facta aliquot paginarum in textu [*waren eenige bladen van het schrift verloren*], ibique adscriptum fuit, damnum hoc sarciri non potuisse. Perquisivi diligenter, et felix invenit, charta quadam [*in seker afschrift*] alibi reperta, id ipsum, quod hic erat perditum,” Boerhaave 1737, 36–37 (unnumbered).

156 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 539–550.

157 Cf. BPL 126 C II, 286r, Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 96r–v and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 483–484. According to the catalogue of manuscripts of the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, such a ‘treatise’ had not been published: Meyer 1893, 317.

158 “[I]l manque icy un feullet dans le manuscrit,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 3r.

159 BPL 126 C II, 210.

160 Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 4–6. See *supra*, n. 155, and section 1.2.2.2.6.

manuscript.”¹⁶¹ In this case, the missing text corresponds exactly to that of the last sheet of the appendix, extant at Leiden by Swammerdam’s hand, and bound in its correct place within the treatise on bees.¹⁶² So that this sheet probably went missing within the *Nachlass* itself (and in any case it contains annotations by Wingendorp, so that certainly it was among the papers sent to France), and Boerhaave managed to retrieve it from among the papers. In the case of the other sheet (in fact Boerhaave refers to more than one missing page, as seen above), however, he had to revert to a Dutch copy not present among the manuscripts he received from France.

As far as this copy is concerned, it is worth noting that: (1) paragraphs and sentences are often shorter with respect to the Leiden version (and, accordingly, to the *Biblia naturae*);¹⁶³ it lacks the appendix on the observations on beehives; Swammerdam’s interlinear or marginal additions present in the Leiden manuscript are absent; it presents textual variants, and the order of paragraphs is sometimes different. Moreover, (2) it does not contain the Dutch translations of the Latin terms present in the Leiden manuscript, but not by Swammerdam’s hand – this being a further confirmation that they trace to Boerhaave’s editorial team. (3) It contains some marginal annotations, by the same hand of the copyist (Dutch hand F), as in Figure 23 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6a, 2), absent both in Swammerdam’s autograph and in Boerhaave’s edition. So that we might suppose that the copyist, or the owner of a copy from which this copy was made (and which included these annotations) was Dutch, and that the copy probably came from the Netherlands. Eventually, (4) the copy does not contain some scattered marginal annotations – indicating the contents of some paragraphs – apparently by Swammerdam’s hand, present in the Leiden autograph (as in Figure 24 (BPL 126 C II, 209r)) and made with red ink, absent also in the edition by Boerhaave, who might have deemed them for Swammerdam’s personal use.

The origin of the copy is not clear. The existence of Swammerdam’s treatise on bees was well known before its publication by Boerhaave: as seen above, in the letter to the reader opening his Latin translation (1685) of Swammerdam’s *Historia insectorum* De Hennin declared that the “History of bees” had been given to Thévenot in order for it to be published in Latin.¹⁶⁴ In turn, in his *Schou-Burg der rupsen, wormen, maden en vliegende dierkens* (1688) Steven Blankaart (1650–

161 “Le reste manque dans le manuscrit,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 96r.

162 BPL 126 C II, 335r; Swammerdam 1737–1738, 549.

163 Cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 76: “Terwyl de Beyen niet als de Bloemen ende de Kruiden bezoeken soo dunkt enige Historie Jud. c. 14 {&} 9 verhaalt [...]” and BPL 126 C II, 319r: “Nademaal de Byen, niet als de kruiden, planten, bomen, en haare bloemen bezoeken, en nimmer meer aanraaken dat onreyn of met stank vervult is, soo dat men se nimmer op het doode aasch van eenige dieren siet sitten, of haar selfs daar naa toe begeeven, soo dunkt eenige de Historie van Schimschon, die in het boek der rigteren in het 14. cap. verhaalt wort [...]” (also in Swammerdam 1737–1738, 527).

164 See *supra*, n. 115.

1704) noticed that Swammerdam's treatise on bees was in the hands of a friend of his in France, and he expressed hopes that it could be published,¹⁶⁵ while in 1699 Petrus Houttuyn (1648–1709), who saw the manuscript when it was in the possession of Swammerdam, suggested ignoring where it was (and in fact Thévenot had died in 1692).¹⁶⁶ Certainly none of them possessed any manuscript of the treatise. In any case, at the time of Swammerdam's death there was a rumour, reported by Guenellon to Thévenot in his letter to him of 16 February 1680, that this treatise was bequeathed to Ortt by Swammerdam, and the rest of the manuscripts to Thévenot.¹⁶⁷ Of course, Swammerdam's testament states otherwise, and De Hennin does not report anything about Ortt being in possession of such a treatise (as mentioned above). Though, Guenellon's letter might signify that Ortt – at whose residence Swammerdam conducted some observations on bees –¹⁶⁸ nonetheless came into possession of a copy, additional with respect to the manuscript to be delivered to Thévenot. In fact, the Göttingen copy might have originated from a first draft of the treatise, which Swammerdam gave to someone in late 1673 upon its completion – as he himself reports in his *Ephemerī vita* – fearing that something bad could happen to him.¹⁶⁹ There is evidence that the Göttingen copy was drawn from an earlier manuscript than the one preserved at Leiden. As seen above, indeed, its text is shorter than the one of the Leiden version and it lacks the appendix on the observations on beehives. Moreover, it can be dated around September 1673 as *terminus post quem* for the reason that in it is reported that (1) on 22 August 1673 Swammerdam was conducting his observations, and (2) that at the beginning of September (without mentioning the year) he was putting his observations on paper.¹⁷⁰ Nonetheless, this hypothesis is not unproblematic, for the reason that the Leiden version contains just slightly different chronological references. In it, it is reported that (1) on 22 August

165 “Daar syn verscheide schryvers soo oude als nieuwe, die van 't gemeene best der bijen geschreven hebben [...]. Onder de nieuwe vind ik den Heer Swammerdam, die eenigsins in syn werken daar van gewag gemaakt heeft, en daar by belooft had een verhandeling van de byen gereed te hebben om in 't ligt te geven; welke schriften in Vrankryk (soo my verhaalt is) geraakt syn in handen van ymand van syn goede vrienden: ik wenste met veele andere liefhebbers dat sulx in 't ligt gebragt mogt werden,” Blankaart 1688, 194–195. It might be that Blankaart just based his account on De Hennin's.

166 “[...] doleo non prodiisse amici huius nostri Commentarium de apibus [...]. Hoc opus vernaculo sermone scriptum cum iconibus quamplurimis eo spectantibus plus semel apud eum vidisse me satis memini, at ubi iam latitat ignoro prorsus,” Houttuyn 1699, 365. See Schierbeek 1967, 24–25. The title-page of the *Specialia experimenta*, discussed in section 1.2.2.1.2.1, reports that Swammerdam's manuscripts were believed to be lost (see *supra*, nn. 110 and 129); this might be addressing not only De Hennin's claim, but also that of Houttuyn.

167 “[...] il a pourtant disposé de ces manuscrits, une partie a ce que j'apprends, vous {douerent} estre envoyiez, le traité des mouches a miel sera mis entre les mains de Mons.^r Oort,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, 65r; cf. Swammerdam 1975, 167, providing a slightly different transcription.

168 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 529–530.

169 In the main text of his *Ephemerī vita* he maintains that he gave it to someone one year and half before: “Gelijck als ick dat selve wijtloopigh heb beschreven en afgebeeld in mijn boeck van de ondervindingen der Beyen: Dat ick over een jaar of anderhalf geleeden, uyt mijn handen, gegeven heb; latende tegenwoordigh aan Godt alleen de sorgh, of het voor den dagh sal komen, of niet,” Swammerdam 1675, 120; since the opening letter of his *Ephemerī vita* is dated July 1675, which can be considered as the *terminus ante quem* of the treatise, the delivery probably occurred in late 1673.

170 See *infra*, section 1, nn. 171–173.

1673 Swammerdam was conducting his observations (as in the Leiden version),¹⁷¹ and that (2) on the last day of September – not at the beginning – he was putting his observations on paper (this being not an addition or a change, but the main text of the manuscript).¹⁷² Moreover, Swammerdam reported (in the Leiden version only) that on the last day of September 1673 he had completed (or at least carried on) his observations, this being reported twice: in (3.1) an addition to the main text and (3.2) in the appendix.¹⁷³ Still, we can be sure that Swammerdam continued to work on the treatise at least until late 1677 or even early 1678, as between late September and early November 1677 he wrote to Thévenot that “you may have thought that I have done most of the work concerning the bees, but I still have to try a hundred experiments,”¹⁷⁴ while on 11 November 1677 he wrote to him that he “had finished the history of bees,”¹⁷⁵ even if in fact he referred to observations on bees and beehives also later, on 30 March 1678.¹⁷⁶ So that we can suppose that in late 1673 he finished a first draft of the treatise and gave it to somebody else (without the appendix, on which he was nonetheless working in September 1673): from this, the Dutch copy was made. Later, he continued to work on the treatise, having it re-copied (as the variants between the two versions are present also in the main text of the Leiden manuscript, i.e. the variants are not just additions) and slightly chronologically updated.

1.2.2.1.3.3 The treatises on the cheese mite and fern spores

As in the cases of the letter-treatises on the louse and the hermit crab, the letter-treatise on the cheese mite also survives in two exemplars by Swammerdam’s hand, namely the letter sent by Swammerdam to Thévenot for publication around autumn 1678, and a copy of it.¹⁷⁷ Thévenot

171 Cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6a, 2: “Als ik op den 22 Augustj 1673 een korf met Beyen, die geswermt had quam te openen, [...]” and BPL 126 C II, 208r: “Als ik op den 22 august 1673 een korf met byen, die geswermt had quam te openen, [...]” (also in Swammerdam 1737–1738, 369).

172 Cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6a, 28: “[...] dan de tyd om die te hebben is nu voorby, synde in ’t begin van september, dat ik dit schryt,” and BPL 126 C II, 238r: “[...] dan de tyt om die te hebben is nu voorby, synde het den laatsten september, wanneer ik dit schryf” (also in Swammerdam 1737–1738, 415).

173 Cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6a, 28 (where the first reference to the last day of September should be found, but is missing), and BPL 126 C II, 237v and 298v: “De geseide experimenten heb ik int laats van September gedaan./ [...] Nog beken ik alhier, dat ik met de grootste vreught ter weerelt, nu laats in September \in dit Jaar/ 1673 deese observatien gedaan hebbe [...],” (also in Swammerdam 1737–1738, 414 and 502). The second part of the quotation traces to the appendix (absent in the Göttingen manuscript).

174 “UE hebt dat wel gedaght, dat ik ontrent de byen het meeste wel gedaan hebbe, maar ik heb nog hondert experimenten om te tenteeren, die ik niet heb kunnen volvoeren, om dat ik niet op het lant gewoont heb, sedert dat ik tot volkome kennisse, in veele natuurelyke dingen ben geavanceert,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 14 (between late September and early November 1677).

175 “Ik ben eijndelyk ten eynde van de historie der beyen gekomen,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 12 (11 November 1677).

176 Swammerdam 1975, letter 18 (30 March 1678). See also letter 30 (1678).

177 See *supra*, n. 95, and *infra*, section 1, n. 200; Swammerdam 1975, letters 27 (autumn 1678) and 28 (end of November 1678). Further observations were sent to Thévenot at the end of 1678 and/or in 1679: Swammerdam

started to organize its publication by using the 1678 letter, as he had its figures engraved in 1678,¹⁷⁸ however, it was never finalized by him.

Eventually, the last treatise of the *Biblia naturae* is that on fern spores, not meant by Swammerdam to be included in the *Biblia naturae*. Despite being indicated in the index of BPL 126 C III, the manuscript of this treatise is now lost.¹⁷⁹ Notably, after Boerhaave acquired the papers from France, he noted in his biography of Swammerdam – after having discussed Swammerdam’s observations on fern spores – that the figures and descriptions presented in his *Biblia naturae* were very similar to those published by some unmentioned author in botanics years later.¹⁸⁰ Also, Boerhaave reported a similar judgment in his correspondence, referring to some undisclosed author who had obtained some benefit by presenting Swammerdam’s manuscripts as his own. However, it has not been possible to retrace the publication in which Swammerdam had been plagiarized.¹⁸¹

1.2.2.2 The Göttingen manuscripts

As mentioned above, the Göttingen section of the *Nachlass* contains, roughly speaking, the materials received by Boerhaave from France in 1727 – with the exception of the original manuscripts – to which he added his editorial materials. This section, accordingly, testifies to the editorial efforts of Thévenot and Boerhaave; moreover, it reveals that the former was planning to publish the *Biblia naturae* in French (as he did in 1681 with other treatises by Swammerdam) rather than Latin. In fact, in his testament Swammerdam did not ask Thévenot to publish it in Latin: however, he had informed him that he was going to prepare a Latin edition, as seen above. Also, given the fact that the Dutch copy of the treatise on bees did not come from France, it seems that Thévenot was giving precedence to the French translation of the treatise rather than to its

1975, letters 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679) and 36 (21 June 1679).

178 See *supra*, n. 95, and *infra*, section 1, n. 202; see also section 1.2.2.4.

179 The hand of the indexes opening the Leiden manuscripts is apparently the same in BPL 126 B (Latin) and BPL 126 C I–III (Dutch). It is unclear whether it is Dutch hand D and/or Dutch hand H, or Gaubius’s (see *infra*, section 1, n. 199).

180 “Porro etiam, anno iam LXXIII, folliculos seminales filicum clarissimo Arnoldo Syen, Professori Botanices in Academia Lugduno Batava, ostenderat, depinxeratque. Quaeso te, mi lector, intento considera animo, et oculo, descriptiones, et figuras, quae hoc in libro proponuntur; conferre postea cum his, quae longo post tempore dederunt viri in botanicis principes. Non ovum similius ovo est. Potuere in Galliis videri, describi potuisse, haud impossibile est,” Boerhaave 1737, 26 (see *supra*, n. 42).

181 “Parum abfuit, quin plagiaro aeternam conciliassent gloriam: sane ostentanti pro suis emolumenta jam dederant,” Boerhaave to Bassand, 9 September 1735, in Boerhaave 1962–1979, volume 2, 340 (letter 279). The plate of the treatise on fern spores had been engraved twice, for Thévenot (whose handwriting is extant on a print, see section 1.2.2.16) and for Boerhaave, i.e. it was not among the 36 plates he received from France. Notably, the plate of this treatise (plate 53) is the only one provided with an indication of the page number in the final edition (and is sometimes bound, not with the other plates, but with the treatise itself: see *supra*, n. 104) – namely to some extent it was treated also by Boerhaave as a separate treatise; in any case, its explanation is included among the other ones in the dedicated section.

publication in Dutch, which was explicitly bestowed on him by Swammerdam.

The manuscripts are divided into 19 fascicles, numbered as fascicles 1–16 and 24a–26, while fascicles 17–23 are missing. These 26 fascicles, originally, were those Boerhaave received from France, given the fact that (1) some of them still have the cover indicating the contents also reported in the 1727 inventory (by French hand A, as in Figure 25 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 5, cover) and Figure 26 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, cover)), and (2) some of them still contain the editorial materials related to or consisting of their original contents. Upon having received such materials, Boerhaave re-ordered Swammerdam’s papers, leaving the autographs, bound into the mentioned volumes, to the Leiden University Library and keeping the additional materials he received from France in the fascicles, which eventually came up to Göttingen. In what follows, I discuss their contents in detail.¹⁸²

1.2.2.2.1 Fascicle 1

Originally, this fascicle contained the copy of Swammerdam’s *Historia insectorum*, including some additional manuscripts inserted into it, amounting to circa 50 pages.¹⁸³ Today it contains:

- 1r–v: inventory of the materials delivered to Boerhaave in 1727 and compiled for him at Paris by Duverney and Guitton on 2 February of the same year. The heading reads “Inventory of Mr. Swammerdam, which Mr. Duverney has made under Mr. Guitton for me,”¹⁸⁴ while the end reports “done [in a] double [copy] between us at Paris this 20 Fe[bruary] 1727. Marc Guitton[,] G. J. Duverney,”¹⁸⁵ so that it might have been transcribed by Röell, who acted on behalf of Boerhaave at Paris. The inventory, moreover, contains some annotations in Dutch apparently by Boerhaave’s hand, and concerning the positions of the insertions of the new treatises in the text of the *Historia insectorum*.

- 2r–v: a cover, apparently by Boerhaave’s hand, of the prints of 36 plates that he received from England, dated 1726.¹⁸⁶ In fact, Boerhaave reported in his biography of Swammerdam to have

182 See also Meyer 1893, 316–318.

183 “N. 1. Environ 50 pages, écrites de la main de Swammerdam, & insérées en différents endroits de son traité hollandais des insectes,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. The original cover, if ever existed, is now lost. As to the quantity of papers inserted into the Leiden copy of the treatise, which largely exceeds 50 pages (and 50 sheets), see section 1.2.2.2.17.

184 “Inventaire de Msts de Swammerdam, que Monsr. du Verney a tenus sous Mr. Guitton pour moy,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r.

185 “[F]ait double entre nous a Paris ce 20 fe[r]vier 1727. Marc Guitton [J] G. J. du Verney,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v.

186 “Icones XXXVI Swammerdamianae quas ipse habui ex Anglia respondentes Tabulis XXXVI aeneis. 1726” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 2r.

received from Sherard some “printings of the copperplates” before receiving Swammerdam’s manuscripts and related materials,¹⁸⁷ while (as indicated in the inventory) in 1727 he received the copperplates.¹⁸⁸ In any case, Boerhaave had certainly also received some prints in 1723, when he wrote to Sherard (at London) that he was going to study and try to return to him Swammerdam’s plates (*planches*), certainly referring to prints rather than copperplates, and expressing interest in buying them.¹⁸⁹ So that we should suppose either that he received the prints twice, or, more probably, that the “1726” was a wrong indication of the year. These prints, as discussed in section 1.2.2.1.2.1, most probably belonged to what was labelled Swammerdam’s *Specialia experimenta*.

- 3r–v: a letter of Wingendorp to Thévenot, which is published and commented on in the present book (letter 2), revealing that the title of the *Biblia naturae* was not chosen by Boerhaave but by Swammerdam himself (as in Figure 8 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 3r)).

- 4r–v: a letter or note by a translator into French (French hand B), as in Figure 27 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 4r), with some remarks on the fact that someone (the reference is certainly to Wingendorp) had replaced some figure numbers and reference letters written by Swammerdam in the margins of the manuscripts,¹⁹⁰ and on his choices in translating certain terms into French, about which he asks the recipient if the latter wants a list of definitions, which he can provide to him if need be, of the senses in which Swammerdam used them.¹⁹¹ The same hand prepared a French translation of the explanations of the figures of the treatise on bees (see section 1.2.2.2.6), and added corrections to the explanations of the figures of the treatises on the rhinoceros beetle and the hermit crab (see sections 1.2.2.2.10 and 1.2.2.2.15 respectively). As the corrections to the latter treatise were not included in its 1681 edition, they were posterior to it. Most probably, this translator worked for Thévenot, and the letter was addressed him.

- 5r–v: an inventory (*Memory*) by Wingendorp of the papers which were delivered by De Volder to Thévenot in 1683, as in Figure 11 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 5r), transcribed and

187 See *supra*, n. 9.

188 See section 1.2.2.2.20.

189 “J’étudieray les planches de Swammerdam, et apres cela je chercheray l’occasion, de les rendre; je voudrois les pouvoir atraper en quelque endroit mesure a bon prix,” Boerhaave to Sherard, 20 October 1723, in Boerhaave 1962–1979, volume 1, 119 (letter 61).

190 See, for instance, the explanations of the figures in the treatise on the insects and in the treatise on the insects of fruits, tubercles and leaves: BPL 126 C III, 190v–191r. In any case, such changes were not included in Boerhaave’s edition.

191 “Il est bon de vous avertir que j’ay trouvé dans les marges du manuscrit deux sortes de nombres des figures, les uns de la main de l’auteur rayez par une main differente qui en substitue d[']autres en la place, il en est de mesme de quelques lettres qui servent de renvoy aux figures, j’ay cru qu’il falloit laisser l’un et l’autre dans ma traduction. [...] Quant aux mots que j’ay fabriquez ou derivez du latin faute de connoistre les termes françois qui fussent propres, s’il [...] y en a quelques uns que vous n’entendiez pas, vous n’avez qu’a m’en envoyer une liste, et je vous en donneray les definitions dans le sens ou l’auther les employe,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 4r.

commented on in letter 29.

- 6r–v: an editorial note, by Boerhaave, on the places in which to insert the additional treatises to the text of the *Historia insectorum*.¹⁹²
- 7r–10v: annotations by Boerhaave on Swammerdam's life, in Latin.
- 11r–13v: annotations on Swammerdam's relations with Bourignon, by a hand (Dutch hand G) different from Boerhaave's, as in Figure 28 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 11r). No indication of the primary sources of this information is provided.¹⁹³ Since these annotations are not by Boerhaave, it might be that he asked someone to collect them.

1.2.2.2.2 Fascicle 2

Originally, this fascicle contained only the letters of Swammerdam and Guenellon to Thévenot (published by Lindeboom in 1975), as reported both in the 1727 inventory and on the cover (which also contains an annotation by Boerhaave, according to which he reviewed and put the letters in order for use on 29 July 1734).¹⁹⁴ Today it contains:

- 1r–v: extract of the testament of Swammerdam, in Dutch (transcribed in letter 1), originally in fascicle 20.¹⁹⁵
- 2r–3v: French translation of the extract (by French hand C), as in Figure 29 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, 2r), transcribed in letter 1.
- Unnumbered blank sheet, originally folded as part of a letter.
- 4r–5v: Boerhaave's summary of the contents of Swammerdam's letters to Thévenot.
- 6r–62v: Swammerdam's 40 letters to Thévenot.
- 63r–65v: two letters of Pieter Guenellon to Thévenot (Lindeboom wrongly attributes them

192 Mentioned *supra*, n. 152.

193 For a reconstruction of the Swammerdam-Bourignon correspondence and Bourignon's writings and life, see De Baar 2004; Jorink 2016.

194 “[4]2. 40 lettres de sa main a Mr. Thevenot, & 2 lettres de Guenellon,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “\Testament de Swammerdham./ Quarante lettres de Monsr. Swammerdham \et deux de Monsr. Guenellon/,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, cover. The two additions are by a different, unrecognizable French hand; Boerhaave added to the cover “Recensui, in usum redegi. 17 29/7 34.” The two letters of Guenellon are provided with an internal, unnumbered cover extant just before them in the same fascicle, by two unrecognizable French hands (“Deux Lettres de M.^r Guenelon \Touchantes la maladie fatale a Monsieur Jean Swammerdam./” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, unnumbered sheet following 62v), also containing an addition by Boerhaave repeating the text he gave on the first cover.

195 See section 1.2.2.2.17.

to his father Pierre Guenellon, ca. 1611–1680).¹⁹⁶

1.2.2.2.3 Fascicle 3

Originally, this fascicle contained the manuscript of Swammerdam's treatise on the cuttlefish, namely 39 pages for the treatise and 10 pages for the explanation of the plates (as in the Leiden manuscripts, where the treatises are provided with an internal numbering), as well as a French explanation of the plates themselves.¹⁹⁷ Even if there is no mention of the plates in the inventory or on the cover,¹⁹⁸ these are extant at Leiden as drawings by Swammerdam (plates 50–52), therefore, they must have come to Boerhaave along with the papers. Today, the fascicle contains:

- 1r–v: abridged French translation of some sentences of Swammerdam's treatise on the cuttlefish (by French hand D), as in Figure 30 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 3, 1r).
- 2r–12v: French translation of the explanation of the three plates of the treatise, by the same hand.
- 17r–22v: proofs of prints of such plates (two prints for each plate), with editorial annotations by a further hand (Dutch hand H), as in Figure 31 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 3, 18r).¹⁹⁹

1.2.2.2.4 Fascicle 4

Originally, this fascicle contained the two above-mentioned original manuscripts of the treatise on the cheese mite, respectively 51 and 74 pages long, and its figures (now extant at Leiden).²⁰⁰ Today it contains:

196 Published in Swammerdam 1975, 163–168. In the first letter (January or February 1680) the writer mentions the *Epistolica dissertatio de genuina medicinam instituendi ratione* (1680), of Pieter Guenellon, as his own: therefore, the writer was Pieter Guenellon. In the second letter (16 February 1680), the writer mentions his aim of being allowed by Van Beuningen to dissect corpses at the hospital – which of course cannot be attributed to the 70-year old Pierre, his father (see Swammerdam 1975, 165 and 167). The hand of the letters published by Lindeboom is the same as the two letters published in the present book. I deal with Pieter's biography *infra*, section 2, n. 40.

197 “3. L'anatome de la seche, contenant 39 pages, pour la description, & 10 pour l'explication des figures. Original flamand; on y a joint l'explication françoise,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. The original manuscripts are now in BPL 126 C III, 270r–290r (as to the treatise) and 290v–295r (as to the explanation of the figures).

198 “Anatome saepiae,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 3, cover. It is unclear whether this is by the same hand as French hand A.

199 It is unclear if Dutch hand H is Gaubius's, and/or Dutch hand D: cf. both Figure 4 (BPL 126 C I, 97v) and Figure 7 (L 00120 hs, 58r).

200 “4. L'histoire naturelle du ver, qui se trouve dans le fromage avec les figures, contenant 51 page. Orig. flamand. Item un'autre de 74 pages in 12 avec figures,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “[Figures du ver] \L'histoire du ver qui/ qui se trouve dans le fromage avec les figures,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 4, cover. The original manuscripts are now in BPL 126 C III, 107r–143v and 144r–169r respectively (both including the explanation of the figures). As to the presence at Leiden of the figures of this and other treatises, see Table 1.

- 1r–4r: French translation, by Thévenot’s hand, of the explanation of the plates of the letter-treatise on the cheese mite, as these are numbered in the version of the letter sent by Swammerdam to Thévenot, in which the figures of the treatise are distributed in five plates, while in the manuscript for the *Biblia naturae*, and in the drawings extant at Leiden and in the *Biblia naturae* are in one plate only (published as plate 43). The translation contains some corrections by Thévenot and by at least one unrecognizable French hand (which might be French hand H),²⁰¹ as in Figure 32 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 4, 1r).

- 4v: some annotations by Thévenot about, apparently, his translation.

- 5r–9v: the prints of four of the mentioned five plates (viz. those referred to in the letter version of the treatise), without annotations. Thévenot had at least some of the five plates of this treatise engraved and printed at Paris, these being commented on by Swammerdam in a letter of his dating to autumn 1678.²⁰² Afterwards, Boerhaave had the figures of the treatise re-engraved in one plate.

1.2.2.2.5 Fascicle 5

Originally, this fascicle contained a translation of the treatise on the mosquito, “explained by figures,” and at least one of its plates (plate 31 or 32, both a mix of prints, from the *Historia insectorum*, and new drawings by Swammerdam).²⁰³ According to the cover of the fascicle, the original Dutch manuscript could not be found,²⁰⁴ however, it is now present at Leiden,²⁰⁵ and certainly it was delivered by Wingendorp along with the other manuscripts, as it is mentioned in his

201 See section 1.2.2.2.7.

202 Swammerdam 1975, letter 27 (autumn 1678); in the letter, Swammerdam complains about the asymmetrical depiction of the wings of a fly in figure 7 of plate 4 (which is figure 15 of plate 43 in the *Biblia naturae* version), which he deems unnatural and unfaithful to his drawing. Such an asymmetrical depiction can be noticed in the Göttingen print (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 4, 7r). To a minor extent, in any case, it also characterizes Swammerdam’s own drawing (BPL 126 C, 44r) as well as the plate of the *Biblia naturae*.

203 “5. L’histoire naturelle du Cousin, expliquée par figurés & traduite sur l’original. On a ajousté q[ue]lq[ue]s figures a celles de l’ancienne planche,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. A marginal annotation by Boerhaave indicates where to place this treatise with respect to the Leiden copy of Swammerdam’s *Historia insectorum*: “NB. pag. 127, post mst. pag 19.” Namely after page 19 of the manuscript of the treatise to be placed at page 127 of this book: in other words, after the manuscript of the 19-pages long treatise on the ant (physically located, in the Leiden copy, at page 136 of this treatise (BPL 126 C I, 102v–103r), but following the text of page 127). In fact, as discussed in section 1.2.2.1.3.2, the order of treatises planned by Swammerdam was that of the ant, bees, the rhinoceros beetle, and the mosquito; the one followed by Boerhaave was the ant, the rhinoceros beetle, the mosquito, and bees. So that even if in any case the treatise on the mosquito was not to come after the one on the ant, Boerhaave’s annotation served to locate it in the copy of the *Historia insectorum*, as the other treatises before it (rhinoceros beetle and bees, in Boerhaave’s order) were not in the book copy.

204 “L’histoire naturelle du cousin traduite sur l’original flamand qui ne s’est point trouvé, avec l’explication ¶{...} des figures. ¶{...} On a ajousté quelques figures a celles de l’ancienne planche,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 5, cover (as in Figure 25 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 5, cover)).

205 BPL 126 C II, 195r–206v (including the explanation of the figures).

Memory. Today it contains what seems to be the translation mentioned in the 1727 catalogue, namely:

- 1r–v: non literal, abridged French translation of some sentences of Swammerdam’s treatise on the mosquito (by French hand E), with corrections by Thévenot’s hand, as in Figure 33 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 5, 1r).

- 2r–4v: non-literal translation, by French hand E and with corrections by Thévenot, of the explanations of plates 31 and 32. According to an annotation in pencil, apparently by a librarian, this explanation is partial, as the original Dutch is missing from the last part. However, an analysis of the original manuscript at Leiden reveals no missing part.²⁰⁶

1.2.2.2.6 Fascicles 6a–6c

Originally, fascicle 6 contained a 178-pages long manuscript of the treatise on bees, a further treatise of 12 pages “with the figures,” as well as an addition of 26 pages and a French translation of the treatise.²⁰⁷ While the 178-pages manuscript is the main treatise extant at Leiden (numbered, certainly by Swammerdam, as pages 1–178,²⁰⁸ though consisting of more sheets, as I clarify in a moment), the additional treatise of 12 pages could not be identified with certainty. It could be the appendix on beehives, which however consists of 18 pages (or 9 sheets, numbered by the letters A–I), extant at Leiden.²⁰⁹ At Leiden, moreover, there is extant also an unpublished index, by Swammerdam’s hand, of the treatise, which is 12-pages long (numbered as sheets 1–6), though it cannot be mistaken for a separate treatise.²¹⁰ More probably, the 12-pages long treatise “with the figures” is the now lost explanation of the plates: this explanation, indeed, cannot be found at Leiden. Eventually, the 26-pages long addition certainly meant 26 additional sheets, now bound within the main treatise but not counted in the original numbering of 178 pages.²¹¹ Today (as

206 BPL 126 C II, 206v.

207 “6. L’histoire naturelle des abeilles, pag. 178, deplus un petit traité, qui en content 12 avec les figures. Orig. flam. avec un’addition de 26 pag. & une version françoise de ce traite,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. The cover of the fascicle just reports on the treatise on bees and its figures: “L’histoire des Abeilles, les figures y sont renfermeés,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6c, cover. As for the manuscript of the treatise on the mosquito, a marginal annotation by Boerhaave on the 1727 catalogue indicates that the treatise on bees has to be placed after the one on the ant: “NB. pag. 19 mst. agter pag. 127 lin. ult.,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. We can rule out the hypothesis that the French translation mentioned in the inventory concerned only the explanation of the plates, which in fact is by a hand different from that of the other translations extant in fascicles 6a–c: indeed, the other translations were nonetheless prepared by someone not involved in Boerhaave’s edition.

208 BPL 126 C II, 207r–326v.

209 BPL 126 C II, 327r–335v.

210 BPL 126 C II, 336r–341r.

211 BPL 126 C II, 216r–v, 224r–v, 227r–v, 251r–v, 253r–v, 257r–v, 261r–v, 268r–v–275r–v, 282r–v–285r–v, 286r–v–288r–v, 302r–v, 308r–v–309r–v, and 311r–v.

discussed above), the fascicles contain:

- Fascicle 6a (1–164) and fascicle 6b, 66–80: transcription, in Dutch, of Swammerdam’s treatise on bees.
- Fascicle 6b, 1r–96v: French translation of the treatise on bees, by French hand C (as in Figure 34 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6b, 1r)).
- Fascicle 6b, 80r–v: drawing and Latin explanation, by Swammerdam’s hand, of the head of an insect. The sheets appears to have been folded as part of a letter.
- Fascicle 6c, 1r–30v: non literal translation of the explanation of the 10 plates of the treatise (eventually published as plates 17–26), by a French hand (French hand F), as in Figure 35 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6c, 1r).
- Fascicle 6c, page 7a: abridged translation, by French hand B, of the explanation of figures 4–5 of plate 18.
- Fascicle 6c, 31r–33v: proofs of printing of plates 17–19. Plate 18 contains annotations by a French hand (French hand G), as in Figure 36 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 6c, 32r).
- Fascicle 6c, 34r–35v: editorial annotations by Boerhaave.

1.2.2.2.7 Fascicle 7

Originally, this fascicle contained the 73-pages long manuscript of the treatise on the butterfly and the figures (now extant at Leiden).²¹² Today it contains:

- 1r–5v: French translation, by French hand H and with corrections by the same hand (in a smaller size) and by Thévenot, as in Figure 37 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 7, 2r), of the explanations of plates 34–36.
- 6r–8v (unnumbered): sheets originally folded in two; the last one (the only one which is not blank) seems to be an older cover page of the fascicle, by an unrecognizable French hand.
- 9r–13v (unnumbered): proofs of printing of plates 34–36, some of which with annotations by, apparently, Dutch hand H.

212 “7. L’histoire naturelle du papillon, qui vole le jour, fig., 73 pag. Orig. fl.,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “Anatome papilionis diurni. Les figures y sont renfermées,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 7, cover. The original manuscript is now in BPL 126 C III, 5r–42r (including the text of the introduction, additional with respect to the mentioned 73 pages, and the explanation of the figures). A marginal annotation by Boerhaave on the catalogue indicates that this treatise comes after the one on the moth, namely after page 16 of the manuscript of this treatise, located at page 139 of the Leiden copy of Swammerdam’s *Historia insectorum*: “NB. agter pag. 16 mst. agter pag. 139 lin. ult.,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r.

1.2.2.2.8 Fascicle 8

Originally, this fascicle contained the 81-pages long manuscript on the horsefly and its figures (now extant at Leiden).²¹³ Today it contains:

- 1r–v: introduction, by French hand I, to the treatise on the horsefly (as in Figure 38 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 8, 1r)). This introduction does not seem to be a translation of the original text.

- 2r–8v: translation, by French hand I with corrections, in a smaller size, by the same hand and by an unrecognizable Dutch hand, of the explanations of plates 39–42, concerning the figures of the treatise on the horsefly.

- 9r–13v (unnumbered): proofs of printing of plates 40–42, some of which with annotations by Dutch hand H.

1.2.2.2.9 Fascicle 9

Originally, this fascicle contained (1) the 91-pages long manuscript on the common snail (*limaçon de vigne*), corresponding to the manuscript on the *cochlea opercularis* now extant at Leiden, with six pages for the figures, as well as (2) a 49-pages long manuscript on other snails, including a short treatise on the river snail (*cochlea vivipara*) (extant at Leiden) – “all with fig[ures].”²¹⁴ Today, the fascicle contains (in 9 unnumbered sheets) the proofs of printing of plates 4–10, some of which are with annotations by Dutch hand H.

213 “L’histoire naturelle de l’asilus musca, fig. 81 p. o[riginal] fl[amand],” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “L’histoire de l’asilus musca, avec/ les figures [[de l’asilus musca]],” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 8, cover. The original manuscript is now in BPL 126 C II, 65r–106v (including the explanation of the figures). In an addition by Dutch hand H on the cover, it is reported that the four plates of the treatise (39–42) were given to an engraver: “Tab. 39, 40, 41, 42. Dese 4 Teekeningen hebbe aan de snijder gegeven.” In fact, plates 40–42 were not engraved by Van der Spyck, i.e. they were among the 36 plates received by Boerhaave, while plate 39 was engraved by Van der Spyck: indeed, at Leiden its drawing reports an annotation by Dutch hand H, noting that this plate had to be newly engraved: “Deese Plaat moet nieuw gemaakt worden,” BPL 126 B, 40r. We can suppose, therefore, that the drawings of all the four plates were given to the engraver in order to be completely engraved (plate 39) and to be corrected (plates 40–42), as in fact the proofs of printing of plates 40–42, extant at Leiden, report several corrections by Dutch hand H.

214 “9. [L’histoire naturelle] du limaçon de vigne, 91 p. & 6 pour les fig.; de plus un traité des autres limaçons, 49 p. avec une petite description du limaçon vivipare. Le tout avec fig. O[riginal] fl[amand],” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “L’anatomie des limaçons les/ figures \y/ [[des]] sont renfermées [[limaçons]],” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 9, cover. The original manuscripts are now in BPL 126 C II, 45r–97v (as to the common snail), 98r–129r (as to the other snails; the treatise on the river snail is at 108v–115v); the explanations of the figures are at 96v, 120v, 125v, and 129v–136v. The explanations of figures 2–9 of plate 8 and of figures 1–12 of plate 9 could not be retraced in the manuscript.

1.2.2.2.10 Fascicle 10

Originally, this fascicle contained (1) the 67-pages long manuscript on the rhinoceros beetle, (2) the 16-pages long manuscript of the explanation of its plates (both extant at Leiden),²¹⁵ plus (3) a circa 25-pages long manuscript on the same topic, as well as (4) a French translation.²¹⁶ Actually, it is unclear which was item (3), which could not be found at Leiden or Göttingen. Moreover, no mention of the figures is made, now extant as drawings at Leiden (plates 27–30). Today it contains:

- 1–60 and 1–24 (different paginations): translation, by French hand C, of the treatise and of the explanation of the plates (27–30) on the rhinoceros beetle, with corrections apparently by the same hand. The text also includes, in an unnumbered sheet preceding the translation of the treatise, the transcription of Wingendorp's annotations on the cover page of the original manuscript at Leiden.²¹⁷

- 1r–22v: another, abridged translation of the explanation of these plates, by a French hand (French hand J), with corrections by French hand B, as in Figure 39 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 10, 14r). 21r–22v are blank.

- 23r–29v (unnumbered): proofs of printing of plates 27–30, some of which are with annotations by Dutch hand H.

1.2.2.2.11 Fascicle 11

Originally, this fascicle contained 54-pages long and 49-pages long manuscripts on the louse, as well as the figures and a French translation of it.²¹⁸ These two manuscripts are nothing but the two autographs of the treatise, extant respectively at Leiden,²¹⁹ and in fascicle 24a at Göttingen.²²⁰ As to the translation, it constitutes the present-day content of the fascicle (1r–12v), namely an abridged French translation of the treatise by a French hand (French hand K) with corrections by Thévenot,

215 Now in BPL 126 C II, 151r–186r and 187r–194r respectively.

216 “10. L’histoire naturelle du Scarabé nasicorné, 67 p., outre l’explication des fig. qui contient 16 pag., de plus un autre traité sur le meme sujet d’environ 25 pag. Le tout en flamand avec une version françoise,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “L’histoire du scarabé nasicorné. Les figures y sont renfermées,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 10, cover. As for the manuscripts of the treatises on the mosquito and bees, a marginal annotation by Boerhaave on the catalogue indicates that the manuscript on the rhinoceros beetle comes after the one on the ant: “NB. pag. 127 lin. ult. post pag. 19 mst.”

217 BPL 126 C II, 151r.

218 “11. L’anatomie du pou, 54 p., outr[e] un petit traité sur le meme, 49 p. avec fig. & la traduction françoise,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1r. Cf. the cover: “L’anatomie du pou avec les figures,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 11, cover. Boerhaave added: “Dit moet ingevoegd agter pag. 85 van het eerst gedrukt werk. De Eerste deser platen is nog niet gesneden.” See *supra*, n. 98. A marginal annotation by Boerhaave on the catalogue indicates that it has to be placed at page 85 of the *Historia insectorum*: “NB. pag. 85.”

219 Now in BPL 126 C II, 5r–35v (including the explanation of the figures).

220 See section 1.2.2.2.18.

as in Figure 40 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 11, 2r). This translation was made in the letter sent by Swammerdam to Thévenot for publication in April 1678 (viz. the one extant in fascicle 24a),²²¹ as one can note, for instance, by the fact that the Leiden manuscript has a different covering letter, not matched by the translation.²²² In fact, during his lifetime Swammerdam asked him to publish this treatise, as seen above; however, in his *Recueil* Thévenot published, besides the catalogue of his cabinet, only abridgements of the treatises on the mayfly and the hermit crab.

1.2.2.2.12 Fascicle 12

Originally, this fascicle contained the figures and what is claimed to be the French translation of the treatise on the mayfly, as well as the French explanation of its figures.²²³ According to the cover of the fascicle, moreover, the original Dutch text of the treatise could not be found (and in fact it was not delivered as a manuscript to Thévenot).²²⁴ Such contents are the same as today, namely:

- 1r–6v: French abridgement of Swammerdam’s treatise on the mayfly, namely the manuscript version of the text published by Thévenot in his *Recueil* (with the exception of the last paragraph, absent in the manuscript),²²⁵ mentioned in the 1727 inventory as a French translation of the treatise. It is by a French hand (French hand L, as in Figure 41 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, 1v)), and with corrections by a French hand (French hand M) and by another, unrecognizable French hand, some of which are present in the printed text of 1681.

- Two unnumbered, blank sheets.

- 7r–9v: French abridgement, by a further French hand (French hand N), and with additions by French hand M (as in Figure 42 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, 9r)), of the explanation of the figures of the treatise. A substantial part of the text matches that of the 1681 edition (including the interventions by French hand M); moreover, as in the 1681 edition, the manuscript also does not include an explanation of what, in the 1675 edition, were the three figures of plate 1. Therefore, we can deem the present manuscript a preparatory draft of the explanation of the figures of the 1681 edition. However, one can also notice the presence of relevant variants,²²⁶ as well as of a major

221 See *supra*, n. 97.

222 See *supra*, n. 54.

223 “N. 12. L’histoire naturelle de l’ephemere, fig., traduct. fr. & explication de fig. en François,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v.

224 “L’histoire naturelle de l’Ephemere avec les figures. Traduction françoise faite sur l’original flamend, qui ne s’est point trouvé,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, cover (as in Figure 26 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, cover)). See my commentary to letter 29.

225 Thévenot 1681, *Histoire naturelle de l’éphémère*, 20 (separate numbering).

226 Cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 12, 8r: “PP Autres rameaux de meme couleu[...]]r/ qui sont coupez et qui vont

difference with this edition, namely the grouping of the figures in three plates, instead of the eight of the 1675 edition and of the seven of the 1681 edition: i.e., plates 3 and 4 of the 1675 edition were to be kept as they were (and become plates 2 and 3 in the manuscript), while all the figures of the other plates, (with the exception of those of plate 1, absent in the manuscript), were to be grouped in one plate. This kind of re-organization was also adopted by Boerhaave in his edition, in which plates 14 and 15 are the same as plates 3 and 4 of the 1675 and 1681 editions (with a negligible exception),²²⁷ and 2 and 3 of the manuscript, while plate 13 contains all the figures divided in the other plates in the 1675 and 1681 editions, and included (with the exception of figures 1–3 of Boerhaave’s edition) in plate 1 in the manuscript, where they are numbered in the same order as in the 1675 edition. As the order of the explanations of the figures (which are re-numbered from 1 to 11) followed in the manuscript is the same as that followed in the 1681 edition (where the explanations refer to the numbers of the figures and plates of the 1675 edition, the copperplates of which were re-used, though not in their original order),²²⁸ we can presume that at some point Thévenot planned to have new figures engraved for his edition, and that later he managed to re-use the original copperplates of 1675 (with the exception of those of the first plate, most probably omitted as he just provided an abridgement of Swammerdam’s treatise),²²⁹ which forced him to be consistent with the original numbering by Swammerdam, and to re-use only partially this preparatory draft of the explanation of the figures.²³⁰

- 10r–11v (unnumbered): proofs of prints, with handwritten corrections by an unrecognizable Dutch hand, of two text pages of the *Biblia naturae* (263–264, on the treatise on the mayfly), to which is attached a print of the figure i.e. plate 6 of the treatise on the hermit crab, taken from the 1681 edition.

aux ouyes,” and Thévenot 1681, plates of the *Histoire naturelle de l’éphémère*, 9 (separate numbering): “PP Autres nerfs de mesme couleur, qui vont aux ouyes rr de l’animal.”

227 See *infra*, section 1, n. 230.

228 Cf. Swammerdam 1675, 405–420 and Thévenot 1681, plates of the *Histoire naturelle de l’éphémère*, 1–13 (separate numbering).

229 See *infra*, section 2, n. 207.

230 Moreover, reusing the original copperplates probably forced Thévenot to include in his 1681 abridgement figure 3 of plate 3, representing the home of a caterpillar, the description of which is given at the end of the 1681 edition, and is absent both from the handwritten description of the figures, as well as from Boerhaave’s edition and from the drawings he used in his edition, extant at Leiden: cf. Swammerdam 1675, plate 3, BPL 126 B, 15r, and Swammerdam 1737–1738, plate 14. This figure, indeed, has nothing to do with the description of the mayfly, but was used by Swammerdam in support of his moral and theological considerations, omitted in his edition by Boerhaave: cf. Swammerdam 1675, 65–69 and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 245. Notably, the drawings of plates 13 and 15 are lost, and at Leiden one can find only prints of the copperplates engraved by Van der Spyck; probably, Thévenot received only prints from the 1675 edition of them from Wingendorp.

1.2.2.2.13 Fascicle 13

Originally, this fascicle contained the 104-pages long manuscript of the treatise on the frog and its figures (now extant at Leiden), and French and Latin explanations of them.²³¹ Today it contains:

- 1r–9v: French translation, by a French hand (French hand O), as in Figure 43 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 1r), of the explanation of plates 47–49, of the treatise on the frog.
- 10r–v (unnumbered): proof of printing of plate 45 (belonging to the treatise on the insects of fruits, tubercles and leaves).
- 11r–v (unnumbered): plate 12 from the *Historia insectorum*, with handwritten Latin captions by an unrecognizable hand, corresponding to those eventually present in the *Biblia naturae* edition (plate 46).
- 12r–16v (unnumbered): proofs of printing of plates 47–49, some of which are with handwritten figure numbers and letters by an unrecognizable hand.
- 17r–v (unnumbered): a probably older cover of the fascicle, in Latin.²³²
- 18r–19v (unnumbered): Wingendorp’s Latin translation – viz. the one mentioned in the 1727 catalogue – of the explanation of plates 47–49, as in Figure 9 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 18v (unnumbered)). This translation was not re-used in Boerhaave’s edition.²³³

1.2.2.2.14 Fascicle 14

Originally, this fascicle contained the 96-pages long manuscript of the treatise on the insects of fruits, tubercles and leaves, and its figures (now extant at Leiden).²³⁴ Today, it contains some proofs of printing of plates 44 and 45 of this treatise (in 3 unnumbered sheets), some of which are with annotations by Dutch hand H.

231 “13. [L’histoire naturelle des] grenouilles, fig., 104 p., fl. avec l’explication fr. des figures, & une latine,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v. Cf. the cover: “L’anatomie des grenouilles. Les figures y sont renfermees,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, cover; within the fascicle is enclosed a further cover: “Anatome ranae,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 13, 17r (unnumbered). It is unclear whether this is by the same hand as French hand A. The original manuscript is now in BPL 126 C III, 217r–269v (including the explanation of the figures).

232 See *supra*, n. 231.

233 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 110–117 (in the section on the explanation of the plates).

234 “14. Traité des animaux, qui naissent dans les les tuber[cules] des plantes. 96 p., fig., flaman.,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v. Cf. the cover: “Des animaux qui naissent dans les Tubercules des Plantes,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 14, cover. The original manuscript is now in BPL 126 C III, 170r–216v (including the explanation of the figures).

1.2.2.2.15 Fascicle 15

Originally, this fascicle contained 28-pages and 40-pages long manuscripts of the treatise on the hermit crab, as well as the figures.²³⁵ These two manuscripts are nothing but the two autographs of the treatise, one of which is extant at Leiden,²³⁶ while the other is still in the fascicle. Namely:

- 1r–20v: Swammerdam’s letter-treatise on the hermit crab, sent to Thévenot in 1678.²³⁷
- 21r–23v (unnumbered): translation, with variants with respect to the original Dutch, by French hand N with some corrections by another hand (French hand P (as in Figure 44 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 15, 21r (unnumbered))), of the explanation of the figures of the letter-treatise, as they are divided in the six plates of the Göttingen letter and in the abridgement of the treatise published by Thévenot in 1681. This translation largely matches the text of this publication, so that it was certainly a preparatory text. The corrections were not included in the printed edition of 1681, therefore, they were certainly posterior to it.

1.2.2.2.16 Fascicle 16

Originally, this fascicle contained the 10-pages long manuscript of the treatise on fern spores, now lost, and its figures.²³⁸ Today it contains:

- 1r–2v (unnumbered): two proofs of printing of the plate of the treatise on fern spores (viz. plate 53 in the *Biblia naturae*), one of which is with the explanation of the figures by Thévenot’s hand, as in Figure 45 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 16, 1r (unnumbered)).
- 3r–v (unnumbered): French explanation of these figures, with relevant variants with respect to the Dutch original, by a French hand (French hand Q with corrections by an unrecognizable French hand (which might be French hand H), as in Figure 46 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 16, 3r (unnumbered))). The whole, corrected text is the same as the one by Thévenot’s hand on the mentioned proof of printing.

235 “15. Hist. nat. de Cancellus, 28 p., outre un petit Trai[té] sur le meme sujet contenant 40 pag. avec fig., or. fl.,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v. No cover dating to 1727 is extant.

236 BPL 126 C II, 137r–150v (including the explanation of the figures).

237 See *supra*, n. 139.

238 “16. Traité des Semences de la fougere, fig., 10 p. {...},” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v. Cf. the cover, revealing changes in contents of the fascicle (as mentioned in section 1.2.2.2.1): “[Divers traités] des semences de la fougere avec les figures [Perla],” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 16, cover. An unrecognizable hand reported on the cover “23,” as if originally this was the cover of fascicle 23, which however in 1727 contained other items: see section 1.2.2.2.17. The index of BPL 126 C III reports the presence of this manuscript, as its last content.

1.2.2.2.17 Fascicles 17–24

These fascicles are missing. Originally,²³⁹ they contained the manuscripts (now all extant at Leiden) of the treatises on the presence of the butterfly in the larva (23 pages and the figures, fascicle 17),²⁴⁰ the water flea and scorpions (16 pages and the figures, fascicle 18),²⁴¹ and the sea mouse (8 pages, fascicle 19).²⁴² In turn, fascicle 20 contained Swammerdam's testament (now extant in fascicle 2) and unspecified additions to the *Historia insectorum*: in fact, the exemplar of the book extant at Leiden includes many more pages (or sheets) than the 50 originally in fascicle 1, so that Boerhaave certainly put the sheets contained in fascicle 20 into the book copy.²⁴³ Eventually, fascicles 21–24 contained figures of the treatises on the frog, the ant, the fly, and the moth, namely figures added to those which had already appeared in 1669, viz., certainly, plates 16, 33, 38, and 46.

1.2.2.2.18 Fascicle 24a

This fascicle did not exist in 1727. It contains the letter-treatise on the louse (1r–20v), sent to Thévenot by Swammerdam in 1678, as mentioned above. It does not contain the explanation of the figures.

1.2.2.2.19 Fascicle 25

Originally, this fascicle contained “letters concerning the manuscripts of Swammerdam.”²⁴⁴ Certainly, it contained all the letters published here (consulted by Boerhaave between 22 July 1733 and 1 August 1734),²⁴⁵ still extant in the same fascicle along with a letter by Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) to Thévenot of 23 September 1688.²⁴⁶

239 “17. [Traité] du papillon caché dans la chenille, 23 [p.], fig., fl. 18. Hist. de la puce aquatique, avec un traité du Scorpion, 16 pag., fig., flam. 19. Traité du phisellus, 8 pag. 20. Le testament de Swammerdam, & augmentations, a l'hist. naturelle des insectes, fl. 21. Fig. de la grenouille ajoutée aux anciennes. 22. Fig. ajoutées [sic] a celle de la fourmi. 23. [Fig. ajoutées a celle de la] mouche des latri[nes]. 24. [Fig. ajoutées a celle] du papillon de nuit,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v. Marginal annotations by Boerhaave refer item 22 to page 127 of the *Historia insectorum* (where indeed the treatise on the ant has to be placed), and item 24 at page 138 (where the treatise on the moth has to be placed): “NB. pag 127 ult. [...] NB. pag 138 lin. ult.”

240 BPL 126 C III, 43r–54r (including the explanation of the figures).

241 BPL 126 C II, 37r–40v (as to the water flea; including the explanation of the figures) and 41r–44v (as to scorpions; including the explanation of the figures). These two treatises are not mentioned in Wingendorp's *Memory* (see letter 29): in their place, i.e. after the treatise on the louse, the *Memory* reports the treatise on water scorpions (which in fact follows the treatise on the dragonfly): see *infra*, section 2, n. 200.

242 BPL 126 C III, 297r–300v (including the explanation of the figures).

243 See *supra*, n. 77.

244 “25. P[lu]sieurs lettres concernant les mss. de Swammerdam,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v.

245 “Plusieurs lettres concernant les manuscrits de Mons.^r Swammerdham \Evolvi. Excerpti necessaria & utilia. 17 22/7 33. 17 1/8 34/,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 25, cover. The addition is by Boerhaave's hand.

246 Published in Van Leeuwenhoek 1939–1952, volume 8, 58–61 (letter 111). See my commentary on letter 29.

1.2.2.2.20 Fascicle 26

Originally, this fascicle contained the above mentioned 36 copperplates,²⁴⁷ namely the copperplates already engraved in 1727, and re-used, with small corrections, by Boerhaave. Today, it contains the proofs of printing of 26 plates, namely plates 4–10, 17–26, 34–36, 40–42, 44, 45, and 47 (all belonging to the mentioned 36 plates), some of which are with small corrections to the numbering of figures by an unrecognizable hand. A proof of printing of plate 8 has annotations by Thévenot's hand (as in Figure 20 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 26, 13r)).

1.3 Other themes of the correspondence

Among the recurring themes of the correspondence, it is worth drawing attention to the vicissitudes of Johannes Jacobsz.'s and Johannes Swammerdam's cabinets and Johannes's other scientific belongings (section 1.3.1), as well as on the scientific instruments and information exchanged by De Volder and Thévenot (section 1.3.2).

1.3.1 Scientific cabinets and instruments

1.3.1.1 *The Swammerdams' cabinets*

The cabinets of specimens of Johannes Jacobsz. and Johannes Swammerdam have been discussed in a number of sources, in particular, by Jorink.²⁴⁸ It is worth, however, providing a summary of their vicissitudes, on which the present correspondence provides some new detail.

As to the collection of Swammerdam's father, it was gathered over around fifty years (as declared in its catalogue), and was visited, usually together with that of Johannes, by travellers such as Ole Borch (1626–1690) in 1662 and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689) and Balthasar de Monconys (1611–1665) in 1663 (amongst others),²⁴⁹ as well as by Cosimo de' Medici in 1668, as mentioned above. Johannes Swammerdam mentions it in his treatises on snails and the hermit crab,²⁵⁰ moreover, he prepared its catalogue, which was eventually published in 1679, listing around 6,000 items divided into 27 sections.²⁵¹ It is also discussed in the biography of Swammerdam by

247 “26. 36 plan[[{...}]]ches de cuivre gravées,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 1v.

248 Schierbeek 1967, 55–66; Lindeboom 1980; Jorink 2010, 309–324;

249 Schierbeek 1967, 195–196; Jorink 2010, 311–313.

250 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 142, 145, 149, and 197.

251 Swammerdam 1679a.

Boerhaave, who claims that Johannes started to prepare its catalogue in 1670, in order to appease his father who wanted him to pursue a career as a physician.²⁵² In fact, this information could not be retrieved in the correspondence between Swammerdam and Thévenot, where Johannes Jacobsz.'s cabinet is mentioned in no less than 15 letters.²⁵³

In fact, upon Johannes Jacobsz.'s death in April 1678 (buried at Amsterdam on 26 April), his sons Johannes and Jacob (1640–1702) and his daughter Johanna (1642–1722) immediately wanted to sell it, which they initially valued at 60,000 guilders.²⁵⁴ However, disagreement between them prevented it being kept as a whole, and each third of it was valued at 10,000 guilders, i.e. 30,000 guilders in total in July.²⁵⁵ In August, Johannes attempted to sell it to an unknown Italian prince living – apparently at Rome – with the botanist Paolo Silvio Boccone (1633–1704),²⁵⁶ though in vain, and he started to prepare its catalogue between the end of 1678 and the beginning of 1679, i.e. after the completion of his *Biblia naturae*, announcing to Thévenot, at the end of March 1679, that he was going to deliver it to him.²⁵⁷ The catalogue was finished and published by the heirs (“Door d’ Erfgenamen” – according to the frontispiece) before 1 June 1679, when Swammerdam asked for Thévenot confirmation that he had received it from Hermann Wingendorp, who took care of (at least) its proof-reading: Swammerdam deemed it full of typographical errors, due to Wingendorp’s old age.²⁵⁸ Moreover, 12 copies of it were shipped by Swammerdam to Thévenot through a certain Mr. Barra, merchant at Amsterdam (whose identity could not be ascertained), if not more as a supplement to those sent by Wingendorp.²⁵⁹

252 Boerhaave 1737, 10, 18, 20, 22, and 32 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7v and 8r).

253 Swammerdam 1975, letters 11 (4 November 1677), 21 (May 1678), 23 (7 July 1678), 24 (21 July 1678), 25 (11 August 1678), 28 (end of November 1678), and letters from 31 (autumn 1678) to 39 (30 November 1679). Cf. Boerhaave’s *Vita* and his handwritten annotations: “Ut vero indignanti Patri aliquid praestaret grati, mundum eius omnem, atqui locupletissimum, excussit, ordinavit, omniumque conscripsit quam accuratissimum indicem. In quo taediosissimo labore onus sustinuit incredibile, temporisque tristem fecit iacturam nimis magni; ut saepenumero acerbe doluit,” Boerhaave 1737, 20 and 22 (unnumbered); “In conscribendo catalogo thesauri paterni multum laboris posuit. Ep. 26 sine temp. Ep. 18 1 Junii sine anno,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7v. According to Boerhaave’s inventory of the Swammerdam-Thévenot correspondence (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, 4r–5v), this letter 26 is in fact the letter of 20 January 1678, dated by Swammerdam (and acknowledged as dated in Boerhaave’s inventory); in turn letter 18 dates, according to Lindeboom, to 1 June 1679, and overtly refers to the sale of the cabinet of Swammerdam’s father, so that Boerhaave could not ignore that it was dated post-1670: Swammerdam 1975, letters 15 (20 January 1678) and 35 (1 June 1679). Moreover, in two of his undated letters to Thévenot, Swammerdam clearly states that (1) his father has died, and (2) no catalogue of his cabinet had been prepared, not even the least part of it: Swammerdam 1975, letters 21 (May 1678) and 23 (7 July 1678).

254 Swammerdam 1975, letters 20 (28 April 1678), 21 (May 1678), and 23 (7 July 1678). It is also briefly mentioned in letter 11 (4 November 1677).

255 Swammerdam 1975, letter 24 (21 July 1678). See also letter 31 (autumn 1678).

256 Swammerdam 1975, letter 25 (11 August 1678). See Pulvirenti et al. 2017 and *supra*, n. 44. Johannes Jacobsz.’s and Johannes’s cabinets are mentioned in Boccone 1674, 278.

257 Swammerdam 1975, letters 28 (end of November 1678), 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679), 33 (February or March 1679), and 34 (30 March 1679).

258 Swammerdam 1679a, frontispiece; Swammerdam 1975, letter 35 (1 June 1679).

259 Swammerdam 1975, letter 36 (21 June 1679).

As to its sale, it was initially conceived as a public auction planned for 14 August 1679 (as reported in the catalogue).²⁶⁰ However, in September 1679 Swammerdam wrote to Thévenot that it had been postponed until May 1680, and that it was valued at 40,000 guilders, while later in the same year it was valued at 32,000 guilders.²⁶¹ Eventually, in January 1681 Guenellon informed Thévenot that it had been sold for just a bit more than 9,000 guilders, as Johannes Jacobsz. Swammerdam had been fooled and bought items, such as the hedgehog stone, which were mere forgeries.²⁶² This news was also reported by Le Moine to Thévenot in August of the same year.²⁶³ It is unclear if the auction took place in May, or if it was subjected to a further change.

As far as Johannes Swammerdam's cabinet is concerned, as reconstructed by Jorink, he started to collect it as early as 1662 (when it was visited and described by Borch), and then during Swammerdam's stays at Leiden and in France, amounting to 1,200 items in 1669 and to 3,000 in the late 1670s.²⁶⁴ It is recurrently mentioned in the treatises of his *Biblia naturae*, as well as in Boerhaave's *Vita* of Swammerdam, based mostly on the Swammerdam-Thévenot correspondence.²⁶⁵ This correspondence reveals, in particular, the offer that Cosimo de' Medici made to Swammerdam in 1668 to buy the whole cabinet for 12,000 guilders, on the condition that Swammerdam was to move to Florence (an offer declined by him),²⁶⁶ and Swammerdam's subsequent attempts, from 1677 onwards, to sell it, in order to raise the money he needed to continue his researches, as his father granted him only 200 guilders per year, while he needed at least 400.²⁶⁷ Swammerdam tried to sell it through Thévenot, to whom he sent a handwritten catalogue on 4 November 1677 asking him to disseminate it and expressing the interest of having it published in French.²⁶⁸ He continued to prepare a more complete inventory in the following months, planning to add some figures to it,²⁶⁹ while at the beginning of 1678 some friends of his offered to buy it in parts (which was declined by Swammerdam), and the Royal Society – kept informed about

²⁶⁰ Swammerdam 1679a, 2. It is worth noting that a copy of the catalogue held at London, British Library (shelf mark: General Reference Collection 1044.a.34.(1.), <https://books.google.com/books?id=qa7ImgEACAAJ>, accessed 4 March 2022), containing previously unnoticed handwritten corrections by Swammerdam, includes a rectification of the date of the auction, apparently postponed, at first, to 1 September 1679 (if not initially set on this day, and wrongly indicated in the printed text). The copy comes from the private library of Hans Sloane (1660–1753).

²⁶¹ Swammerdam 1975, letters 37 (September 1679), 38 (autumn 1679), and 39 (30 November 1679). Letter 38 reports the expression of interest by Christaan Huygens for one of the items in the cabinet. Letter 39 was preceded by a letter of Thévenot to which an extract of some rarities in the cabinet was attached.

²⁶² Letter 3.

²⁶³ Letter 5.

²⁶⁴ Jorink 2010, 313–319.

²⁶⁵ Boerhaave 1737, 18, 20, 28, 30, and 32 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r and 7v); Swammerdam 1737–1738, 186, 216, 277, 278, 280, 580, 625, 626, 632, and 751.

²⁶⁶ See *supra*, n. 39.

²⁶⁷ Swammerdam 1975, letter 20 (28 April 1678).

²⁶⁸ Swammerdam 1975, letters 11 (4 November 1677) and 12 (11 November 1678).

²⁶⁹ Swammerdam 1975, letters 14 (between late September and early November 1677) and 13 (2 December 1677). The printed catalogue contains one figure.

the cabinet by Christiaan Huygens since 1670, when he visited it –, showed interest in it, though with no outcome.²⁷⁰ The publication plans for the catalogue (apparently the version sent by Swammerdam to Thévenot in November 1677) continued in spring 1678, when it was anticipated that it would be published following the treatise on the hermit crab (both texts being announced as already in print around the first half of April 1678 by Thévenot). At which time, Swammerdam, wanting to get rid of it as soon as possible, and being therefore unable to provide a full description of its items, continued to offer it in France, and asked Steno to offer it for sale to the Duke of Hanover (John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Calenberg, 1625–1679): again with no result.²⁷¹

In any case, April 1678 Swammerdam dropped his sale plans, as his father had died, and he started his attempts to sell his father's cabinet rather than his own, although, he did not stop his plan of having his catalogue published by Thévenot, following the treatises on the hermit crab and on the louse.²⁷² In July he again asked Thévenot to publish these three texts, with the announcement that the catalogue was to be further detailed with figures and more precise descriptions of the contents of each of its boxes.²⁷³ Eventually, in autumn 1678 he sent Thévenot back its printed proofs, without corrections.²⁷⁴ In order to be able to move to France, in early 1679 Swammerdam resumed the sale plans of his own cabinet, with the help of Thévenot, who around 1 June sent Swammerdam the printed, final version of the catalogue.²⁷⁵ It is unclear if this was properly published only in 1681, when it was appended, with separate numbering, to Thévenot's *Recueil*, and containing references to the ongoing sale of Johannes Jacobsz.'s cabinet, which took place in 1680 (as seen above), and to the forthcoming publication of the French version of the treatise on the mayfly (which appeared along with the catalogue in Thévenot's *Recueil*).²⁷⁶

As revealed by the correspondence published here, after Swammerdam's death his heirs (namely Volckers and her husband Christopher van Wyland, d. 1680 or 1681,²⁷⁷ and probably Swammerdam's brothers), sought Thévenot's help in selling the cabinet, asking him, through

270 Swammerdam 1975, letters 6 (30 October 1670), 14 (between late September and early November 1677), and 15 (20 January 1678). See also the letter of Christiaan Huygens to Henry Oldenburg (1619–1677) of 31 October 1670, in Huygens 1888–1950, volume 7, 45 (letter 1819).

271 Swammerdam 1975, letters 18 (30 March 1678), 19 (14 April 1678), and 20 (28 April 1678).

272 Swammerdam 1975, letter 20 (28 April 1678). The catalogue had to be the last text to be published; see also letter 18 (30 March 1678).

273 Swammerdam 1975, letter 23 (7 July 1678).

274 Swammerdam 1975, letter 31 (autumn 1678). In an apparently subsequent letter (letter 32, autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679) Swammerdam wrote to Thévenot that he was expecting the (printed) catalogue from him.

275 Swammerdam 1975, letters 33 (February or March 1679) and 34 (30 March 1679). Letter 34 apparently refers to both cabinets.

276 Thévenot 1681, *Le cabinet de Mr. Swammerdam*, 3 and 16 (separate numbering). Only one separate copy of the catalogue could be retrieved, held at London, British Library, shelf mark: General Reference Collection 1044.a.34.(2.).

277 On him, see *infra*, section 2, n. 71.

Guenellon, to offer it for sale among his acquaintances in January 1681.²⁷⁸ Apparently, Thévenot asked for the cabinet to be delivered him in France, as on 26 June of the same year De Hoest informed him that he and Volckers had decided to keep it at Amsterdam, asking Thévenot to send someone to evaluate its contents: apparently, they did not sufficiently trust Thévenot as a seller.²⁷⁹ In turn, in August Le Moine informed Thévenot that the cabinet had not been sold yet, being pessimistic that it could be sold for its actual value,²⁸⁰ while in October De Hoest informed Thévenot that it was still complete, and consisted of anatomical preparations, insects (to which two corresponding sections of the catalogue are devoted), and drawings of the latter,²⁸¹ though he could not find drawings of parts of the human body, these being, in fact, not mentioned in the printed catalogue. The cabinet was worth 5,000 guilders, namely 3,000 for the anatomical preparations, 1,500 for the insects, and 500 for the drawings, even if it was on sale, as a whole, also for a cheaper price.²⁸² Later (July 1682), it was De Volder who kept Thévenot informed about it, communicating that he had heard that someone at Amsterdam offered 200 ducats (i.e. circa 660 guilders) for it.²⁸³ Information confirmed by De Volder (who tried to get, in vain, more information from De Hoest) in August 1682, when he also reported to Thévenot that this offer had been declined.²⁸⁴ In fact, this is the last retrievable information about the fate of Swammerdam's cabinet, which was henceforth dispersed.

1.3.1.2 Swammerdam's scientific instruments

Related to Swammerdam's cabinet are his instruments. As to these, his key instrument was the microscope, to which he repeatedly refers in his writings: in particular, in his *Historia insectorum* and *Biblia naturae* he declares he uses one-lens microscopes, provided with a kind of lens invented by Johannes Hudde (1628–1704), and which was shown him for the first time by Van Leeuwenhoek.²⁸⁵ The microscope is also a recurrent topic of his correspondence with Thévenot: in

278 Letter 3.

279 Letter 4.

280 Letter 5.

281 The drawings are listed as item 88 of the catalogue: Thévenot 1681, *Le cabinet de Mr. Swammerdam*, 4 (separate numbering).

282 Letter 8.

283 Letter 19.

284 Letter 20.

285 “Kunnende met eenen verseekeren, dat onder alle soorten van vergroot glaasen, geene gevonden werden, dewelke de vergroot glaasen met een glas overtreffen. Welcke kunst greep, naademaal wy de selve deur gunst, van den Grooten ende Onvergelijkelijken Wiskunstenaar de Heer Johannes Hudden Raad ende Oudscheepen der stad Amsterd. besitten, soo agten wy ons ook verbonden, de genoemden Heer daar openbaar voor te roemen,” Swammerdam 1669, 81; “[...] gelyk my dat de naaukeurige Leeuwenhoek tot Delft het eerste onder een vergrootglas, naa de nitvinding van den Heer Burgermeester Hudde tot Amsterdam getoont heeft,” Swammerdam 1737–1738, 377. On Swammerdam's use of microscopes, see Lindeboom 1981; Fournier 1990; Ruestow 1996,

particular, Swammerdam informed him, in 1677–1678, about his ability to construct lenses (certainly following Hudde’s procedure) very efficiently and quickly, and to have used them to observe the blood’s globules.²⁸⁶ The microscope apparatus aimed at this purpose is duly described by Swammerdam in his letter to Thévenot of 30 March 1678, to which he added one of his lenses and a figure of the instrument itself, composed by a lens and a glass tube in which blood could be observed.²⁸⁷ No details on its maker are provided, though it might have been constructed by the Van Musschenbroek workshop at Leiden, led in the 1660s–1670s by Samuel van Musschenbroek (1640–1681), who was a renowned microscope maker, and who constructed at least one instrument for Swammerdam, as I discuss to a greater extent below. Thévenot was deeply interested in Swammerdam’s microscope, as he variously replies to Thévenot’s inquiries (now lost), crediting its invention to Van Leeuwenhoek, who however could not use it to observe the internal parts of bodies, as he could just put specimens in its tube (a sort of instrument named by Van Leeuwenhoek ‘aalkijker’, or eel viewer, used to observe live eels and other animals put in the glass tube).²⁸⁸ Later, Thévenot himself sent Swammerdam a microscope, of unspecified features: it was probably just a lens.²⁸⁹ In fact, Swammerdam attempted to acquire small lenses through Thévenot (despite being able himself to construct them quickly following Hudde’s model, as mentioned above): in particular, he expressed interest in receiving one made by Nicolaas Hartsoeker (1656–1725), which he preferred to those made by Huygens.²⁹⁰

The correspondence published here sheds more light on Swammerdam’s microscopes, as well as on his other scientific belongings. After an inquiry by Thévenot, De Hoest wrote to him, on 26 June 1681, that Swammerdam’s instruments and books had all already been sold, with the exception of an anatomical table to dissect insects and two copper instruments with magnifying glasses (accordingly, two microscopes).²⁹¹ Hence, in his letter to Thévenot of 14 August 1681 De Hoest specifies that this anatomical table, which is for sale, is an instrument made of copper provided with two arms, one of which serves to keep the lenses, while on the other one could put the specimens and manipulate them; in turn, the two other copper instruments are no longer

chapter 4; Jorink 2013; Loescher 2016. On Hudde’s model of microscope lenses, used by Swammerdam, see Bolt, Cocquyt, and Korey 2018; on Van Leeuwenhoek’s microscopes, see Robertson et al. 2016; Zuidervaart and Anderson 2016.

286 Swammerdam 1975, letters 14 (between late September and early November 1677) and 31 (autumn 1678). Discussed in Bolt, Cocquyt, and Korey 2018.

287 Swammerdam 1975, letter 18 (30 March 1678). The instrument is reconstructed in Cobb and Davidson 2001.

288 Swammerdam 1975, letters 19 (14 April 1678) and 20 (28 April 1678). This instrument was first described by Van Leeuwenhoek in 1689 and then produced by the Van Musschenbroek workshop: Van Leeuwenhoek 1689; De Clercq 1997a, 117; De Clercq 1997b, 125.

289 Swammerdam 1975, letters 27 (autumn 1678) and 28 (end of November 1678).

290 Swammerdam 1975, letter 31 (autumn 1678). On Hartsoeker’s and Huygens’s lenses, and on their quarrel over lenses, see Abou-Nemeh 2013.

291 Letter 4.

characterized as microscopes by De Hoest, who in this letter simply admits to not understanding their function.²⁹² Eventually, in his letter to Thévenot of 23 October 1681 De Hoest reveals that this anatomical table had been made by Van Musschenbroek.²⁹³ In fact, the table described by De Hoest matches one which was produced by the Van Musschenbroek workshop during the eighteenth century. As reconstructed by Peter de Clercq, an instrument compatible with the one mentioned by Swammerdam can be found in sale catalogues of the Van Musschenbroek workshop from 1710 onwards, while an exemplar similar to it, tracing to the first half of the eighteenth century, survives at the University of Amsterdam.²⁹⁴ Its functioning is commented upon by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734) in his travel-journal entry of 20 January 1711, when it was shown to him by Jan van Musschenbroek (1687–1748, son of Johan Joosten, 1660–1707 and brother of Pieter, 1692–1661), who claimed that with it one could dissect the heart of a louse. Uffenbach did not believe him, as he believed that there were no blades small enough to perform such an operation, and the anatomist's hands would obstruct the view.²⁹⁵ Notably, in his letter to Thévenot of 20 April 1678 Swammerdam briefly mentions “a very curious invention I use to anatomize the louse,” without providing more insights.²⁹⁶ Even if Swammerdam could not discern the heart of the louse,²⁹⁷ we can assume that this was the anatomical table mentioned by De Hoest, a version of which was later produced and sold by Jan van Musschenbroek. *Pace* Uffenbach, however, Swammerdam was in possession, as reconstructed by Boerhaave, of very small scissors, knives, and

292 Letter 6. Notably, the letter also reveals the existence of, apparently, a now lost copy of the *Metamorphosis et historia naturalis insectorum* (1662–1669) by Johannes Goedaert, in which Swammerdam intervened with drawings, and about which De Hoest promised Thévenot more information not, however, extant in their correspondence. On Swammerdam and Goedaert, see Klerk 2020.

293 Letter 8. This table is also described by Boerhaave in his biography, amongst the various instruments used by Swammerdam: “ad anatomen subtilissimorum habebat mensam ex aere confectam, ab ingeniosissimo mechanico, Samuele Musschenbroekio. Erant in illa bina brachia aenea, sic constructa, ut pro arbitrio, essent in omnem plagam convertibilia. Sed et simul attolli, et deprimi, poterant, quam lenissime, pro lubitu, partes horum supremas. Uni horum brachiorum affigebatur corpusculum explorandum, microscopium alteri applicabatur. [...] Praecipuum eius arcanum erat in forsicibus incredibiliter subtilibus, atque secando acutissimis. Has adhibebat, quoties tenuissima separanda: quia aequabilissime dividebant minutissima; dum cultelli, et lanceolae, ut acutissimi fuerint, et subtiles, semper tamen filamenta resistentia trahendo, dum dissecant, tenerrima quaeque loco suo movent. Cultellos, lanceolas, stylos, adeo parvos usurpabat, ut eos acuere ad cotem non posset, nisi microscopiis adiutus,” Boerhaave 1737, 38 (unnumbered; cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r, 10r, and 10v).

294 De Clercq 1997a, 117–120. The instrument appears in the catalogues of the workshop of 1710 (item 32), ca. 1714 (item 44b), and ca. 1730 (145b; provided with two lenses): De Clercq 1997a, 221, 223, and 232.

295 “Machina ad minima obiecta per microscopium dissecanda, heite nichts. Wir dachten Wunder, was es vor eine Erfindung seyn werde. Es war aber nur ein Fu, auf welchem mitten ein klein Tischgen, oben aber ein Arm, mit einem ziemlich grossen lente, der vest stehet. Durch diesen siehet man, und schneidet oder anatomirt, wie er es nennet, unten die auf dem Brettgen oder Tischgen liegende Objecte. Er sagte, da man das Herz von einer Laus (aus dadurch anatomiren knne, allein es ist nicht zu glauben. Denn obgleich der lens die Objecten vergrssert, so hat man doch keine so zarte und scharfe Messergen, die man zu so kleinen Dingen geo brauchen knnte; so verhindern auch die Hnde das Gesicht, und die Operation in solchen minimis selbst,” Uffenbach 1753–1754, volume 3, 433–434.

296 “Het is een seer curieusen inventie, die ik gebruijk, om de luys te anatomiseeren,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 20 (28 April 1678).

297 Swammerdam 1737–1738, 70–71.

pointed blades, all mentioned in Swammerdam's essays as well as in his correspondence with Thévenot, by which he could observe anatomical *minutiae*.²⁹⁸ As far as the other two items mentioned by De Hoest are concerned, in turn, we can identify them as microscopes, even if De Hoest declared that he did not understand their function. One of them could have been the microscope described and depicted by Swammerdam in his letter to Thévenot of 30 March 1678 (mentioned above). The other might have been a second microscope model produced by the Van Musschenbroek workshop since the early 1670s, composed of a lens fixed on an arm and another moveable arm (usually named 'Musschenbroekse nootjes', or Musschenbroek nuts), though this is a matter of mere guesswork.²⁹⁹

1.3.2 The learned correspondence of Thévenot and De Volder

As far as the correspondence between De Volder and Thévenot is concerned, it is revelatory not only of the attempts of the former to secure the delivery of Swammerdam's legacy to the latter, but of the exchange of scientific information and instruments between France and the Netherlands.

De Volder,³⁰⁰ who had certainly known Swammerdam at least since 1661, when they both

298 See *supra*, n. 293; Swammerdam 1975, letters 7 (16 April 1671) and 8 (1671).

299 De Clercq 1997a, 115–116; De Clercq 1997b, 125. Other instruments used by Swammerdam are listed in a letter of his to Thévenot of 1678, in which he provides a description of eight figures attached to the letter, now lost. However, for five of them he also refers to the figures included in the main text and the frontispiece of his *Tractatus de respiratione* (on the frontispiece of which the page numbers corresponding to those presented in the main text are provided, as in Figure 1 (Swammerdam 1667b, frontispiece)). These instruments are vessels, glass tubes and thermometers, as well as a copper syphon provided with a piston, namely a syringe, mentioned in Swammerdam 1975, letter 17 (1678). This instrument was probably built by Samuel van Musschenbroek, who, as reconstructed by De Clercq, had been constructing, since the late 1660s, copper pipes and syringes: De Clercq 1997a, 34.

300 Born in Amsterdam on 26 July 1643, after having attended the Latin School of Cornelius Sladus (1599–1678, father of Matthaëus, an acquaintance both of De Volder and Swammerdam, who in turn probably did not attend a pre-university school, as seen in section 1.2.1) De Volder studied philosophy at the Amsterdam Athenaeum illustre from 1657 onwards, following the lectures of Arnold Senguerd (1610–1667), Alexander de Bie (1623–1690), and most probably of Gerard Blasius (1627–1682). Subsequently, he matriculated at the University of Utrecht, graduating on 18 October 1660 as *magister artium* under the Cartesian professor Johannes de Bruyn (1620–1675). Then, he moved to the University of Leiden, where he enrolled in 1661 and graduated in medicine with a disputation *De natura* (3 July 1664), dedicated to Sylvius and Hudde – two acquaintances of Swammerdam. After some years spent in Amsterdam as town physician (where he was acquainted with the members of the *Collegium privatum Amstelodamense*, to which Swammerdam belonged, as did Matthaëus Sladus and Blasius – though there is no evidence that he was an active member of it), he was able to obtain a chair in logic at the University of Leiden in September 1670, through the recommendation of Hudde himself. De Volder started his teaching activities by lecturing on the logic of Franco Burgersdijk (1590–1635), and, after a few weeks, was allowed also to teach natural philosophy. At this point, he had aligned himself with the 'Cartesian faction' at Leiden, of which, after the departure of Johannes de Raey (1620 or 1622–1702) and the death of Arnold Geulincx (b. 1624) in 1669, he was a representative alongside Theodoor Craanen (ca. 1633–1688; appointed in June 1670) and the theologians Christoph Wittich (1625–1687) and Abraham Heidanus (1597–1678). Between July and August 1674, provided with a presentation letter by Philipp van Limborch (1633–1712), De Volder travelled to England, where he visited Cambridge and met Isaac Newton (1642–1726). Having returned to Leiden, in December 1674, he asked the Curators of the University of Leiden to fund the establishment of a *Theatrum physicum*, or *Auditorium philosophiae experimentalis*, which was to be a classroom aimed at demonstrating, through experiments, the validity of

enrolled at the University of Leiden, entered into the quarrel in 1681 after an intervention by Le Moine, who informed Thévenot, in his letter of 12 August of the same year (letter 5), that De Volder was at Paris. In fact, De Volder visited Paris during the summer holidays of 1681 and, as evident from letters 20 and 21, he was actually favoured by Thévenot during his visit. Few details are available on his stay. Certainly, he travelled to Paris with the main goal of buying scientific instruments for the Leiden University experimental theatre (which he himself had established in 1675), on a mandate from the University Curators.³⁰¹ He arrived there just after the beginning of the summer holidays, as his presence is reported in a letter by Henri Justel (1619–1693) to John Locke (1632–1704) of 24 July/3 August 1681, according to which De Volder wished to talk with the members of the Académie Royale des Sciences.³⁰² At Paris, moreover, De Volder would have the support of Christiaan Huygens (his correspondent and friend), who lived there until September 1681 before moving back to Holland, and he probably met Edme Mariotte (ca. 1620–1684).³⁰³ As to his previous acquaintance with Thévenot, De Volder could have met him for the first time in Holland in 1668, when Thévenot accompanied Cosimo de' Medici on his visit to Swammerdam's cabinet; moreover, Thévenot is reported to have been at Amsterdam also around January 1670: in which year De Volder was among a circle of learned men which included Swammerdam, Hudde, the physician Matthaeus Sladus (1628–1689), and the cartographer Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), with all of whom Thévenot was acquainted, as testified to by a letter of Swammerdam to Thévenot of 30

theoretical physics, roughly identified with Cartesian natural philosophy. The *Theatrum*, whose main tool was an air-pump built by Samuel van Musschenbroek, based on the model by Robert Hooke (1635–1703) and now extant at the Rijksmuseum Boerhaave at Leiden, opened the following year. In 1674, De Volder also commenced his activities as a full-fledged academic philosopher, presiding over a series of disputations: in particular, his *De rerum naturalium principiis* (1674–1676), which is a defence of the use of the ideas of matter, movement, size, figure and disposition as first principles in natural philosophy; his *De aëris gravitate* (1676–1678), giving some insights into his experimental lectures; his *Contra atheos* (1680–1681), providing Cartesian-inspired demonstrations of the existence of God; and his *Exercitationes philosophicae* (1690–1693), a criticism of the *Censura philosophiae Cartesianae* (1689) of Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721). In the meantime, he also assumed the chair of mathematics and the directorship of the Leiden Observatory (1682). Upon its publication, De Volder carefully studied Newton's *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (1687), appreciating its contents and sharing insights on his reading of Newton's text with Christiaan Huygens. The late 1690s saw De Volder distance himself from Cartesianism, when, according to Jean Le Clerc (1657–1736), he became discontented with teaching Descartes's *Meditationes de prima philosophia* (1641) and with the *Traité de physique* (1671) of Jacques Rohault (1618–1672). He started a correspondence (1698–1706) with Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716), from whom he requested a demonstration of the activity of material substance, deeming the recourse to God as a universal mover, typical of Descartes and his followers, not philosophically satisfying. Eventually, he retired from academic teaching in 1705, leaving a well-equipped academic *Theatrum*, and died in 1709. On him, see Strazzoni 2019. In the present book I refine and correct some discussion provided in this monograph, in particular, the treatment of the information conveyed in the correspondence between De Volder and Thévenot and on the former's role as director of the Leiden Observatory.

301 Le Clerc 1709, 376; Gronovius 1709, 23–34. As reported in Rosenboom 1697, part 3, 40, and part 4, 52, in November 1681 De Volder was reimbursed 442 guilders and 19 stuivers for having bought scientific instruments in Holland and at Paris. See also Wiesenfeldt 2002, 91–92, referring to the manuscript, preserved at the Leiden University Library, AC (Archieven Universiteit Leiden: Curatoren, 1574–1815) 44.

302 Locke 1976–1989, volume 2, 426–427 (letter 651).

303 Bell 1950, 82; Strazzoni 2019, 68–69.

October 1670.³⁰⁴

A main topic of their correspondence is the exchange of scientific instruments, in particular, astronomical lenses. In fact, in April 1682 De Volder was appointed professor of mathematics at Leiden: a professorship about which De Volder kept Thévenot informed,³⁰⁵ and which included the directorship of the Observatory, which under De Volder underwent important transformations and improvements. As reconstructed by Frederik Kaiser, Willem de Sitter, and Huib Zuidervaat, the Observatory had been first established around 1632, in which year (between August and December) the University Curators, upon request of Jacob Golius (1596–1667), granted a sum for the building of a structure capable of hosting the azimuthal quadrant of Willebrord Snel (1580–1626), originally built around 1610 by Willem Janszoon Blaeu (1571–1638) and acquired by Golius from Snel's widow. This structure consisted of a rectangular tower on the western roof of the University building, covered by a terrace of 19×15 feet, on which the quadrant was to be hosted in open air. Shortly afterwards, in August 1633, it was decided to build a floor below this terrace, in order to host two of Blaeu's globes held by the Leiden University Library, while between November 1633 and May 1634 it was decided to add to the terrace a turret capable of hosting the quadrant: as depicted in Figure 47 (detail from Hagen 1670 (1)), Figure 48 (detail from Hagen 1670 (2)), and Figure 49 (detail from Hagen 1670 (3)) from the map of Leiden by Christiaan Hagen (1635–1707) dating to 1670.³⁰⁶ The turret was octagonal and was provided with 14 shutters for observations (not allowing the observation of the zenith). This was the structure of the Observatory – used mostly for teaching – at the time of De Volder's appointment, the third director of the Observatory after Golius (who died in 1667) and Christiaan Melder (1625–1681), who in 1669 added a telescope to Snel's quadrant – though we do not know what were the other instruments belonging to the Observatory before De Volder's appointment.³⁰⁷ In fact, before De Volder's directorship the instruments used in it seem to have belonged mostly to professors, as testified by the sale catalogues of the private libraries and scientific instruments of Golius, his assistant Samuel Carolus Kechel ab Hollenstein (1611–1668), and Melder. Moreover, when Melder died his widow refused to leave to the University his collection of instruments, so that De Volder had to re-furnish it.³⁰⁸ After having been

304 Swammerdam 1975, 13–14, and letter 6 (30 October 1670); Mirto 2015.

305 Letters 20 and 29; Strazzoni 2019, 75–76.

306 Figure 48 (detail from Hagen 1670 (2)) is also in Kaiser 1868, plate 1, figure 2, in a version made after it. A representation similar to Figure 47 (detail from Hagen 1670 (1)) can be found in the *Korte besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden* (1672) of Simon van Leeuwen (1626–1682): see Figure 50 (detail from Van Leeuwen 1672, 63) (also in Kaiser 1868, plate 1, figure 1, in a version made after it), where, however, only one shutter is depicted. See *infra*, section 1, n. 313.

307 Kaiser 1868, V–VI; De Sitter 1933, 6–14.

308 Driehuysen 1668, 19–20; Hack and Lopez de Haro 1668, 138; Voorn and Lopez de Haro 1682, 65–68; Zuidervaat 2007, 10–14. Instruments were also probably stored in the attic under the western roof of the University

requested to check what was needed for the Observatory, De Volder ordered from the Leiden instrument maker Anthony Hoevenaer (d. 1695) – who was going to enrol at Leiden on 25 March 1683 as his *amanuensis* – some modifications to Snel’s quadrant, acquired a mast and a stand for installing large telescopes, and acquired a helioscope, according to the resolutions of the University Curators of 1682.³⁰⁹

De Volder’s correspondence with Thévenot is revelatory, first, of the acquisitions of at least two lenses by De Volder from Jacques Borelly (1623–1689), member of the Académie Royale des Sciences.³¹⁰ Indeed, on 30 April 1682 (letter 15) De Volder wrote to Thévenot that Borelly “had not accepted so far[,] after six months[,] the remuneration established for him,” certainly by the University Curators (who also endowed Borelly with a medal, mentioned in letters 19, 20, 24, and 27),³¹¹ – certainly for a lens (henceforth: lens A), as De Volder overtly refers, in the same letter, to a second lens (lens B), by which Borelly was going to gladden him. Later (17 August 1682, letter 20), De Volder acknowledged to have received from a certain Mr. Vander Burgh “the lens of Mr. Borelly,” probably this lens B (for his personal use), as in his letter of 19 November 1682 (letter 19) De Volder communicated to Thévenot that the University authorities were satisfied with Borelly’s offer for a further lens (lens C1). So that lens B had most probably not been delivered to the University, but only to De Volder, while afterwards Borelly offered the University a second lens for the Observatory, i.e. lens C1. This lens C1 was to be of a longer reach than the first built for the University, and according to De Volder the University authorities were doubtful whether this lens would fit the place appointed for it (probably the turret of the Observatory, if not the stand and mast ordered by De Volder in 1682). Moreover, they doubted “whether it would not be better for us, especially at this beginning of activities, to have one more of 18 feet, and for convenience one of 7 or 8,” though they were not willing to impose anything on Borelly. Accordingly, lens C1 was certainly to be longer than 18 feet (which might have been the length of lens A): in fact, it was about 50–60 feet. Indeed, the subsequent letter by De Volder (letter 28, written after 19 November 1682 and before 28 January 1683) reveals that Borelly had in the meantime changed his mind and wanted to offer the University a lens of a shorter range (lens C2, shorter than lens C1), though, at the same time one of the University Curators became interested in providing the Observatory with a

building: see *infra*, section 1, n. 313; Kaiser 1868, VIII.

309 Du Rieu 1875, 659; Zuidervaat 2007, 12, 24, 162, 164, and 168; Zuidervaat refers to AC 7, 186, dating to August 1682. On De Volder’s directorship see also Kaiser 1686, VII–IX; De Sitter 1933, 14–16.

310 On him, see Chabbert 1970.

311 The proceedings of the Curators of the University of Leiden (AC) could not be accessed during the preparation of the present book; however, neither the researches of Zuidervaat or of Gerhard Wiesenfeldt on these proceedings have revealed information concerning this remuneration and medal for Borelly. The University Curators usually endowed medals: Rosenboom 1697, part 1, 18–19 and 34; part 2, 105, 123 and 126; part 3, 43; part 4, 53 and 54.

place (probably an enlargement of the Observatory itself, which was to happen around 1689 with the construction of a second turret),³¹² capable of hosting a lens of 50 or 60 feet: thus, De Volder wanted Borelly to revert to his first plan – which we presume to be to build lens C1, of about 50–60 feet. Moreover, the letter reveals that Borelly offered one more lens to De Volder (lens D), and that he had given him in the past a lens of 12 feet (most probably lens B); but since De Volder could also use a lens of 25 feet belonging to the University (probably dating before his appointment), he prefers a lens of intermediate range (so that lens D might have to be 25 feet too): and this in fact matches the focal length of a lens of 18 feet, in which De Volder showed interest in letter 27 – even if the Observatory was already provided with a lens of this length (as seen above).

To sum up, Borelly built for the Leiden Observatory a lens of (probably) 18 feet (lens A), and offered to the University a longer one (lens C1, of about 50–60 feet) then planned to be shorter (lens C2). Moreover, Borelly had built for De Volder himself a lens of 12 feet (lens B, apparently), and offered him another (lens D), of circa 25 feet, which however De Volder wished to be about 18 feet. Traces of at least two such lenses can be found in De Volder's inventory of the Observatory, which he prepared on 7 February 1706 – as he was leaving his academic post – and including:

- “An azimuthal quadrant” – viz. the one by Snel, as mentioned above;
- “A sextant” – certainly acquired by De Volder in 1685;³¹³

312 See *infra*, section 1, n. 313.

313 In 1685 De Volder purchased a big, brass Tychonic sextant, which he had built by a craftsman in Amsterdam, Coenraet Metz (1643–during or after 1724), and for which De Volder had asked, according to the Resolutions of the Curators of 8 November 1685, 1,200 guilders, and which eventually cost, according to the University budget of the same year, 1,050 guilders: Rosenboom 1697, part 2, 120; part 3, 40; part 4, 54; Molhuysen 1913–1924, volume 4, 38–39 and 107*–108*; Zuidervaart 2007, 25. This instrument, which was ready in 1686, was hosted in a second turret built around 1689 (when, moreover, the first turret was renovated), which is depicted in *Les délices de Leide* (1712) of Pieter van der Aa (1659–1733), as in Figure 51 (Van der Aa 1712, plate 5), where one also notices the presence of a tall stand, probably the one of 40–50 feet acquired in 1706, after De Volder's retirement: Molhuysen 1913–1924, volume 4, 225–226; Zuidervaart 2007, 168. The two turrets and a smaller pedestal (maybe the one ordered by De Volder in 1682, and probably stored in the attic of the University building) were described and depicted in detail by Uffenbach, who visited them in 1711: Uffenbach 1753–1754, volume 3, 395–398 (especially plates 14–16: see, for instance, Figure 52 (Uffenbach 1753–1754, volume 3, plate 14), giving an example of a turret). A further, small figure of the two turrets, depicted from the other side of the University building, can be found in the front cover of the *Jubelfeest der Leidsche Akademie* (1725) of Johannes Schröder (d. 1747); also in Kaiser 1868, plate 1, figure 4, in a version made after it). According to the academic budgets, 1,800 guilders were tendered at the beginning of 1688, and 2,031 guilders were eventually spent in 1690 for the renovation of the Observatory. In particular, 1,796 guilders were paid to Jan Bastiaansz. Lopik for carpentry work, and 235 were paid to Adriaan Kramer for iron work in the turrets: Rosenboom 1697, part 1, 18; part 2, 105 and 124; part 3, 40; part 4, 52 and 54. The turrets were provided with rotatable domes with shutters in them, as in Figure 52 (Uffenbach 1753–1754, volume 3, plate 14); it is unclear whether they were provided with other shutters, present in this figure, but absent in Figure 51 (Van der Aa 1712, plate 5) (nonetheless, their presence seems not to have been relevant in maps and related works, as they are absent even in Figure 50 (detail from Van Leeuwen 1672, 63): see *supra*, n. 306). Moreover, Uffenbach provides a representation of the turrets as circular, at least in their internal part, while in the representation of Van der Aa, dating after 1689, they are still polygonal: it might just be that Van der Aa's was based on the ones of Hagen and Van Leeuwen in this regard. According to De Sitter (who criticizes Kaiser in this regard), no rotatable dome was present in the Observatory before 1689, and the observations took place from the 14 shutters

- “A quadrant”³¹⁴
- “Two clocks measuring seconds” – one of which probably dated to 1649 at the latest;³¹⁵
- “A metal mirror”
- “A pair of compasses”
- “An armillary sphere”
- “Two old globes” – maybe Blaeu’s globes mentioned above;
- “An objective lens of 50 feet” – not built by Borelly, but by Hartsoeker for the Observatory in 1688.³¹⁶
- “Another one of 18 feet” – apparently the one built by Borelly for the Observatory (lens A).³¹⁷
- “A little copper quadrant”
- “A telescope of 12 feet” – apparently the one built by Borelly for De Volder (lens B).³¹⁸
- “Various other eyeglasses, a few telescopes etc.”³¹⁹

of the first turret: De Sitter 1733, 8. Notably, in letter 25, dating to 29 October 1682, De Volder reports that the (first) turret was being prepared for observations, after having been left neglected: at that point, however, the Observatory was not yet under extensive renovation as around 1689. In the same period (ca. 1670–1694), Hieronymus Meyer – who was also the caretaker of the Leiden experimental theatre and the head-gardener of the botanical garden of the University – took care of the maintenance of the Observatory, while around 1706 Metz took care of the cleaning of the instruments: Rosenboom 1697, part 1, 15; part 2, 84–88, 89, and 108; part 3, 23; Molhuysen 1913–1924, volume 4, 225. Around 1705 De Volder ordered from Metz, most probably for his personal use, a brass quadrant with a radius of 2 feet (not to be confused with the quadrants mentioned in the inventory), which however was left unfinished by him, and was eventually acquired by Willem Jacob’s Gravesande (1688–1742) for the Observatory in 1724: Zuidervaart 2007, 14 and 26.

314 See *supra*, n. 313.

315 Observations taking place at the Observatory in 1649 and involving the use of a clock measuring seconds are mentioned in a manuscript of Ismaël Boulliau (1605–1694) discussed in Pingré 1901, 190; De Sitter 1933, 12.

316 This lens was praised by De Volder in his correspondence with Huygens and Leibniz, and was personally shown by De Volder to Huygens at his house in March 1689, from which, however, they could only observe the other side of the canal – namely Rapenburg, where De Volder’s house was located: Huygens 1888–1950, volume 9, 313 (letter 2534); Zuidervaart 2007, 52 and 166.

317 Zuidervaart mentions no source of this object: Zuidervaart 2007, 166–167.

318 Zuidervaart mentions no source of this object: Zuidervaart 2007, 164–165. In fact, if this lens was different from the one made for De Volder by Borelly, probably De Volder would not have acquired one of the same range for the Observatory. Alternatively, lens B might have been part of De Volder’s private collection, whose catalogue of scientific instruments, sold with his private library in 1709, reports, as to lenses, a “telescope for the observation of the Moon” and a “small telescope”: “Twee curieuse Astrolabia [...]. 1 Kopere Sonnenwijser. 1 Maankijker. 1 Kleyne Verrekijker. 1 Pedestaal om een groote maankijker op te leggen [...]. 1 Groote houten Quadrant met koper beslag staande op een voet. *Astrolabium Catholicum*, van Voogt. 1 Eeuwigdurende Maanwijser in een swarte lijst. 1 Groote Sphera. 1 Dito kleynder. [...] 1 Landmeeters ketting. 1 Globus Celestis en Terrestris. 1 Doekmeter om een platte Globus of Landkaart te meten,” Van der Linden and Voorn 1709, 95–96.

319 “1706 Febr. 7. Inventaris van het Observatorium. Een quadrans azimuthalis. Een sextans. Een quadrans. Twee horologien wysende seconden. Een metael spiegel. Een spangpasser. Een armilla. Twee oude globi. Een objectif glas van 50 voet. Nogh een van 18 voet. Een kleyne kopere quadrant. Een kycker van 12 voet. Nevens verscheyde oogglazen, minder kyckers etc.,” Molhuysen 1913–1924, volume 4, 107*–108*.

Notably, this inventory does not report the lens of 25 feet mentioned by De Volder, in possession of the Observatory in 1682: though this lens could have been among the “various other eyeglasses, a few telescopes etc.” mentioned at the end of the catalogue.

Another astronomical instrument dealt with in the correspondence is a micrometer, which De Volder attempted to acquire for the Observatory, through Thévenot, from the French astronomer and lens maker Adrien Auzout (1622–1691, whom he wished to meet in Holland with Théodore Barin, 1634–1692, though in vain).³²⁰ This micrometer is mentioned as being in fabrication in several letters by De Volder,³²¹ who was eagerly waiting for it, especially once he became director of the Observatory (as evident from letters 20 and 25), where it was to be used in its turret (probably, on the quadrant hosted on it),³²² under preparation for the resuming of observations in 1682. Still, as late as on 27 August 1683 (letter 33) its fabrication was under delay, and in fact it is not mentioned in the 1706 inventory. In turn, De Volder was supervising the construction a scientific instrument to be delivered to Thévenot, namely a pendulum, which was fabricated at Amsterdam and, after some delay, completed around May 1682, at which time De Volder was attempting to ship it to Thévenot.³²³ However, no more evidence is provided on it by De Volder or Thévenot.

Besides scientific apparatuses, their correspondence deals with the exchange of scientific information and books – which I will discuss in more detail in my commentaries on the letters. This is the case of De Volder’s acting as intermediary between Thévenot and Johannes de Raey Jr. (ca. 1645–1697, son of a foremost Dutch Cartesian), who authored a *Dictionarium geographicum ofte Schat- en woordt-boeck des aerdt-rycks* (1680): De Volder forwarded memories and notes between Thévenot and De Raey Jr., from whom Thévenot was attempting, in particular, to get information about the Jelmerland.³²⁴ Moreover, Thévenot was trying to get information about a handwritten *Descriptio Moscoviae* of Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681), now lost, as well as on Heinsius’s private library, the catalogue of which was delivered to Thévenot by De Volder along with Swammerdam’s manuscripts.³²⁵ Also, De Volder provided Thévenot with information on the private library of Golius and on his translation of Heron of Alexandria’s *Baroultos* (weight hauler) from an Arabic manuscript.³²⁶ As to geographical literature, De Volder attempted to provide Thévenot with a copy

320 Auzout is mentioned in letters 19, 23, 24, 25, 27, and 33; Barin in letters 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, and 31.

321 Letters 15, 20, 25, 27, 29, and 33.

322 The quadrant was eventually provided with a micrometer in 1743: Zuidervaart 2007, 24.

323 Letters 12, 15, and 18. The pendulum might have been commissioned from Metz, active at Amsterdam, though no evidence confirming this could be retrieved. See Rooseboom 1950, 97–100.

324 Letters 12, 15, 18, and 28.

325 Letters 15, 18, 20, 25, 27, and 29.

326 Letters 15, 21, 24, and 28.

of the *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense zee- en lant- reize* of Johan Nieuhof (1618–1672) or of his *Zee en lant-reize door verscheide gewesten van Oostindien*, both published in 1682,³²⁷ and acted as intermediary with the botanist Paul Hermann (1646–1695), with regard to the latter’s drawings of insects and plants and his cabinet,³²⁸ and with the exchange of information (about which Thévenot was eager) on the publication of the *Hortus Malabaricus* (1678–1693), and about travellers such as Aeneas Menelaides or Minnes Loenen (1623–during or after 1667), Herbert de Jager (1634–1694), and Servatius Clavius (ca. 1625–1691).³²⁹ Lastly, it is worth mentioning that De Volder kept Thévenot informed about his efforts to produce phosphorus, probably following the *Aerial Noctiluca or Some New Phaenomena, and a Process of a Factitious Self-Shining Substance* (1680) of Robert Boyle (1627–1691).³³⁰

1.4. A summary of the affair

Given the fact that the main events reported in the letters cover four years (1680–1684), and are quite intricate, before moving to the edition of, and commentary on, the correspondence it is useful to provide here a summary of the whole affair.

By his testament of 25 January 1680, Johannes Swammerdam (1637–1680) required that the manuscripts on and the 52 plates of drawings of insects and other animals, extant at the house of Hermann Wingendorp (ca. 1608–1689) (charged by him to provide a Latin translation and to organize the engraving of their plates) and listed in a specific inventory (*specificatie/estat*) by Swammerdam’s hand (now lost), had to be delivered to Melchisédech Thévenot (ca. 1620–1692) within one year after his death, and that the treatise on bees had to be published also in Dutch.³³¹ After Swammerdam’s death and funeral (17 and 21 February 1680), Thévenot was informed about the legacy by Johan Ortt (Lord of Nijenrode and Breukelen, 1642–1701), who was asked to do so by Margarita Volckers (ca. 1648–1688), Swammerdam’s main heiress and, together with Christopher van Wyland (d. 1680 or 1681), his executor.³³² In the course of 1680 Wingendorp, still working on his translation,³³³ was urged many times to consign the manuscripts and the drawings: on 8 April, Van Wyland visited and notified him of the last will of Swammerdam, while in May Volckers showed him a copy of Swammerdam’s testament, requiring him to continue his work.

327 Letters 15, 18, 19, 20, and 21.

328 Letters 12, 15, 18, 19, and 33.

329 Letters 15 and 18.

330 Letters 15 and 25.

331 Letter 1.

332 Letter 1.

333 Letters 1, 2 and 6.

Later, one of the brothers of Daniel de Hoest (ca. 1648–1698, husband of Volckers and apothecary at Leiden) delivered Wingendorp a copy of the testament on behalf of Van Wyland, and together with Daniel repeatedly admonished him.³³⁴ Towards the end of the deadline (23 January 1681) the physician Pieter Guenellon (ca. 1650–1722), who had met one of De Hoest’s brothers, informed Thévenot that Wingendorp had not yet consigned the manuscripts, and provided him with De Hoest’s address.³³⁵ In June of the same year, in turn, De Hoest informed Thévenot that Wingendorp had been urged to relinquish the manuscripts, but that he refused to do so, asking him for a procuracy and to designate someone to legally act on his behalf.³³⁶ Eventually, on 6 August De Hoest filed at Leiden, before a notary, an *insinuatie en protestatie*, namely a formal request to Wingendorp to release the manuscripts and an allegation against him, with a series of replies and counter-replies following on that day and on 9 August. At that point, De Hoest started to remind Thévenot (as he was going to do through the whole correspondence) that any expense made on his behalf had to be refunded him.³³⁷ Over the same days, Étienne Le Moine (1624–1689, professor of theology at Leiden) entered into the affair, probably after having been asked to do so by De Hoest, offering to Thévenot to be willing to intercede with the Leiden aldermen and, if possible, to deliver him the manuscripts.³³⁸

After having in vain attempted to convince Wingendorp to resolve the quarrel at the University or to give the manuscripts to a third party, on 22 October 1681 De Hoest had an *eijsch* or claim filed against him to the Leiden aldermen. By this, he required Wingendorp to give him the manuscripts, or at least to the court clerk, and to pay the legal expenses. Moreover, De Hoest obtained that Wingendorp was to bring to the court clerk a specific inventory (*specificatie*) of the materials at his disposal, and to swear not to take anything away from them. In the meantime, Thévenot was keeping the French ambassador in Holland informed about the affair, who – as suggested to him by De Hoest – could convince the aldermen to speed up its resolution and to seize the manuscripts, in order to prevent Wingendorp publishing them.³³⁹ In turn, Wingendorp complained to Ortt about the legal action of De Hoest,³⁴⁰ who – with the intermediation of Le Moine – approached the French ambassador asking for help.³⁴¹ It is unclear whether this brought actual results: in any case, during the trial (which started on 5 November 1681), Wingendorp agreed

334 Letter 6.

335 Letter 3.

336 Letter 4.

337 Letter 6.

338 Letter 5.

339 Letters 8 and 9.

340 Letter 7.

341 Letter 9.

to provisionally deliver the manuscripts to the court clerk (3 December), upon the condition of having access to them. However, he postponed the delivery until 19 December, and only thanks to the efforts of Burchard Volder (1643–1709, professor of philosophy at Leiden), who had been involved in the affair by Thévenot and Guenellon.³⁴² Wingendorp, moreover, did not consign Swammerdam's specific inventory (*specificatie*) of the manuscripts, but only an inventory (*register/specificatie*) of the plates, by Swammerdam's hand (now lost): so that De Hoest decided to require him to swear that he had delivered everything Swammerdam gave him. This was done by Wingendorp on 31 December: once again, thanks to the efforts of De Volder, to whom Wingendorp promised to transfer the property of the manuscripts to Thévenot, on the condition that he not be charged with the legal expenses.³⁴³

Being fully involved in the affair, in 1682 De Volder started to organize the publication of Swammerdam's manuscripts, taking information about the costs of printing from Hendrik Boom (1644–1709) at Amsterdam in January.³⁴⁴ Shortly afterwards (in February), De Hoest – asked by Thévenot – interested himself in the plates of which Wingendorp had started to organize the engraving when Swammerdam was still alive: according to De Hoest, Wingendorp was in possession of the engravings of all the plates, these therefore being available for an edition of the manuscripts in the Netherlands.³⁴⁵ In the meantime (around January), Wingendorp asked the aldermen to be allowed to take home some of the manuscripts, in order to collate them with his Latin translation. Even if De Hoest rejected this proposal, the aldermen required him (on 10 February) to inform Thévenot about it. Moreover, they suggested to De Hoest a solution of the affair, probably as the result of De Volder's pressure on them,³⁴⁶ in order to avoid a lengthy trial and any appeal by Wingendorp to a higher court.³⁴⁷ Namely, to allow Wingendorp to take home some sheets, and to let him finish his work of translation within two months: afterwards, he was to transfer the property of the manuscripts to Thévenot, provided that he had not to pay the legal expenses (which, in February 1682, amounted to 170 guilders, i.e. 68 French *écus*, on Thévenot's part).³⁴⁸ There is no trace of a positive answer by Thévenot to this proposal, which the aldermen asked De Hoest to inform Thévenot about and which was repeated, from Thévenot's side, in April (as I show in a moment). In any case, probably around March he assured De Hoest (through De Volder and other people) about his intentions to publish Swammerdam's manuscripts in Dutch, in

342 Letters 5 and 11.

343 Letters 10 and 11.

344 Letter 12.

345 Letter 13.

346 Letter 12.

347 Letters 8, 9 and 13.

348 Letter 13.

the Netherlands, and asked him to reach an agreement with Wingendorp about the use of the plates. In turn, De Hoest was informed – certainly by Wingendorp – that Thévenot had already bought from Wingendorp both the Latin translation and the plates: something which Thévenot was to harshly negate in the course of the affair.³⁴⁹

In accordance with the solution proposed by the aldermen, on 23 April 1682 Wingendorp accepted to transfer the property of the manuscripts to Thévenot, asking however not to pay the legal expenses, and to have access to them until Thévenot's reply to his proposal. De Hoest immediately rejected this offer, still aiming at pursuing a condemnation of Wingendorp in accordance with the *eijsch*. However, the aldermen once again asked De Hoest to inform Thévenot, to whom De Hoest recommended (on 3 May) posing two conditions to Wingendorp, in case of acceptance: namely to make him swear that (1) he did not remove anything from the manuscripts extant at the court clerk's office, and (2) that he did not undertake their publication in Dutch. In turn, De Hoest and De Volder – organizing the publication of the manuscripts, for which De Hoest wanted a few complimentary copies – received the news that a publisher at Amsterdam (probably Boom) initially interested in the publication had become too busy, and that an unspecified Leiden publisher was expressing interest in publication. As to the legal expenses, in May these amounted, after a discount, to 160 guilders or 64 *écus*: a sum that, for De Hoest, had to be repaid to Thévenot by the profit made through publication of the manuscripts.³⁵⁰

However, at that point (May 1682) Thévenot became discontented about how the affair was being conducted by De Hoest: indeed, he complained to him that he could have taken the manuscripts from the court clerk, under a caution, and required that he pursue a condemnation of Wingendorp both to renounce to the property of the manuscripts and to pay the legal expenses. Only after this, according to Thévenot, could Wingendorp be pardoned them.³⁵¹ In turn, De Volder (taking in the meantime information about the size of an edition and the costs for engraving the plates) recommended Thévenot to accept Wingendorp's proposal, to pardon him the legal expenses, and to drop the lawsuit. Indeed, for De Volder, Wingendorp could not afford the payment of the legal expenses, given his dramatic financial situation, for which he even probably pawned Swammerdam's drawings. Moreover, according to De Volder the possession of the manuscripts could ease a deal with the publishers, who needed to have more information about their theologically and morally laden contents.³⁵² In any case, probably as the result of the manner in

349 Letter 14.

350 Letters 15 and 16; see also letter 20.

351 Letter 17.

352 Letters 18 and 19.

which Thévenot deemed the affair to have been dealt with, in June 1682 he decided to have the manuscripts taken from the court clerk and immediately delivered to him in France, therefore dropping his publication plans in the Netherlands. Thévenot communicated this decision to De Volder at the end of the month, but until mid-July the latter did not inform De Hoest himself, who, after having been informed by De Volder about it, claimed to have received different orders from Thévenot.³⁵³ In fact, one month later (17 August) the manuscripts had still to be taken from the court clerk, even if De Volder and De Hoest offered Wingendorp to drop the controversy and pardon the legal expenses, requiring him to swear in compliance with the two aforementioned conditions, in order to make sure that he did not obtain any privilege to print from the States of Holland or the States General. Notwithstanding Wingendorp's initial agreement, at the time of De Volder's departure from Leiden to Amsterdam for the August holidays (likely at the beginning of the month) he had not yet sworn. Moreover, given the ambiguous answers De Volder received about the affair from the aldermen he talked with, at that point he, De Volder, began to suspect that something was delaying its conclusion.³⁵⁴

Later, on 24 September De Volder wrote to Thévenot (who had also complained to him about the manner in which the affair had been carried on) that it was De Hoest himself who had retarded its conclusion, rather than the aldermen. Indeed, as De Volder asked him about this delay, De Hoest answered him in a way that let De Volder understand that De Hoest suspected that Thévenot wanted to have the manuscripts delivered to him in France because he did not want to publish them in Dutch. On the basis of this suspicion, De Hoest did not want to actively pursue the affair without explicit orders from Thévenot, thereby hindering its conclusion. Moreover, De Hoest reported to De Volder that Thévenot had bought the plates from Wingendorp, and that he had to consult some people at Amsterdam before coming to a decision about what to do. Accordingly, De Volder recommended Thévenot to give clear orders to De Hoest, as well as not to break contact with him, the only one who could legally act on his behalf.³⁵⁵

Some days later (early October) De Hoest wrote to Thévenot urging him to publish the manuscripts in Dutch, in the Netherlands (of which he just wanted some complimentary copies), and reiterated his claim that Thévenot bought the plates from Wingendorp. Moreover, De Hoest asked him to be allowed to keep the manuscripts for a while, in order to collate them with his exemplar and to copy those drawings he lacked – thereby revealing he had a (partial) copy of the

353 Letters 19, 21, and 22.

354 Letter 20.

355 Letter 21.

manuscripts and drawings.³⁵⁶ At that point, while De Hoest believed that Thévenot had reached an agreement with Wingendorp, Thévenot was convinced of the same thing with regard of De Hoest, who, for him, protracted the affair in collusion with Wingendorp.³⁵⁷ In turn, in two undated letters (tracing to between October and November), Thévenot communicated to De Volder this claim of De Hoest as to the use of the plates, and his request to make a copy of the drawings, declaring to be sure that De Hoest was going to publish Swammerdam's manuscripts behind his back, and that the trial as well as De Hoest's supposed need to take counsel from someone at Amsterdam were just means to gain time to make such an edition.³⁵⁸ Before mid-October, moreover, De Volder received a letter from Thévenot testifying to his reversion to his plan to pursue Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses. Deeming this useless, and urging Thévenot to pardon him of them, De Volder at that point devised a solution to comply with Thévenot's wish, and at the same time to get the manuscripts without officially acting on his behalf, given the fact that Wingendorp would never pay the legal expenses, and that it would be impossible to continue the legal action against Wingendorp without De Hoest. Namely, De Volder asked one of the aldermen to allow him to take the manuscripts, and at the same time to reserve to Thévenot any decision about the payment of the legal expenses by Wingendorp.³⁵⁹ As Wingendorp was summoned by this alderman at the end of October, they all agreed that Wingendorp was going to consign the manuscripts to De Volder, provided that if Thévenot was going to ask him to pay the legal expenses, De Volder would bring the manuscripts back to the court clerk. Moreover, Wingendorp proposed to De Volder the condition to urge Thévenot to pardon him of these expenses. Accordingly, at the end of October 1682, De Volder eventually took the manuscripts from the court clerk, agreeing with Wingendorp's condition: only in this way, indeed, could he avoid bringing the matter to the whole assembly of aldermen, where he could not officially act on Thévenot's behalf.³⁶⁰

Later (in November) De Volder was visited by the lawyer and the attorney representing Thévenot during the trial, asking to be paid: as De Volder had no clear indications about this from Thévenot (who just confirmed to him his intention to no longer continue the lawsuit), he refused to do so. In the meantime, he asked a friend of his at Utrecht to ask Ortt about De Hoest's intentions.³⁶¹ This friend sent him two letters (between November 1682 and January 1683), reporting first that Ortt claimed not to know anything about the affair – even his role in having

356 Letter 22.
 357 Letter 25.
 358 Letters 23 and 26.
 359 Letter 24.
 360 Letter 25.
 361 Letter 27.

addressed Thévenot to De Hoest – but to be willing to contact De Hoest. According to the second letter, however, Ortt claimed not to be willing to enter into the affair, since he had heard that Thévenot was suspecting him of having colluded with De Hoest: a suspicion which De Volder’s friend tried to clarify, since Thévenot’s suspicions were in fact about a collusion between De Hoest and Wingendorp, but in vain.³⁶² In any case, De Volder (after having asked Thévenot for a clear order as to the payment, fearing hindrances by the lawyer and the attorney) eventually conveyed the manuscripts to Thévenot in January 1683, together with an inventory (*Memory*) compiled by Wingendorp.³⁶³

De Volder received an acknowledgment of their receipt by Thévenot around April, without – again – any order to pay the legal expenses: which Thévenot declared to be willing to pay only if it was proven that De Hoest did not act in collusion with Wingendorp. However, this was something which, for De Volder, could be done either on the basis of De Hoest’s letters, or by requesting an oath from him. Moreover, Thévenot at this point wanted to be sure that no edition of Swammerdam’s manuscripts had been undertaken in the Netherlands: for this purpose, De Volder contacted publishers at Leiden and Amsterdam, finding no evidence of it, while one of them suggested he just obtain a privilege for printing from the States of Holland, for 30 *écus*, so that the publication of any other edition would be prevented.³⁶⁴ Later, in June 1683 De Hoest wrote to Thévenot for the first time since October 1682,³⁶⁵ informing him that he did not want to charge him with the costs of the complimentary copies of the Dutch edition he wished to have for himself, which, as he put it, are in course of printing in the Netherlands (though, this claim might refer to the prints of the 36 mentioned plates), and claiming that he asked to keep the manuscripts and drawings for a while just in order to secure an additional copy of them, in case of a loss of the originals.³⁶⁶ Thévenot replied neither to this letter, nor to any of the subsequent ones by De Hoest: however, between June and July he mandated De Volder to offer De Hoest a refund of the legal expenses and to pay those still due, on the condition of not publishing Swammerdam’s manuscripts for a period of three years: a proposal rejected by De Hoest, harshly complaining about Thévenot’s behaviour, and reclaiming his rights to Swammerdam’s manuscripts.³⁶⁷ In any case, De Volder managed to have De Hoest swear in front of the aldermen not to have an intention to make such an edition, in any case mentioned by De Hoest to Thévenot as in the course of printing, thereby provoking the indignation

362 Letter 28.

363 Letters 28 and 29.

364 Letter 30; see also letter 25.

365 Letter 22.

366 Letter 31.

367 Letter 32.

of Le Moine and De Volder. At that point, apparently, the privilege of printing bought by Thévenot (of which, however, no trace could be found) prevented the appearance of such an unauthorized edition, if not a possible accusation of perjury against De Hoest.³⁶⁸ Eventually, De Hoest paid all the legal expenses, sending Thévenot a bill in June 1684 with a request to refund more than 170 guilders, reiterated by Ortt in November.³⁶⁹ Nothing, however, indicates that Thévenot ever refunded him, while his edition of Swammerdam's manuscripts never saw the light – with the possible exception of the printing of the 36 plates, the copperplates of which might have been in possession of De Hoest, and delivered by him to Thévenot after November 1684.³⁷⁰

368 Letter 33.

369 Letters 34 and 35.

370 Letters 31 and 35.

2. Commented edition of the letters (and related materials)

Conventions adopted in the transcriptions: (1) the text deleted has been put between brackets []; (2) the text added in the margins or between the lines is put between the symbols \ /; (3) dubious text is put between brackets { } and, whenever possible, I have provided the deleted or dubious text, otherwise, I have used the ellipsis ... instead of each illegible word or part of word; (4) my interpolations or remarks are put between brackets []; (5) in the footnotes, new paragraphs are signalled by a slash / with two blank spaces either side of it; (6) the numbering of the lines follow the originals. I have only slightly modernized the texts.

- *Letter 1: Ortt to Thévenot, 29 March 1680 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 25, 40r–41v), and bilingual extract of Swammerdam's testament, 25 January 1680 (fascicle 2, 1r–3v)*

[fascicle 25, folium 40r]

Au château de Nyënrode
ce 29 Mars 1680

[line 3] Je suis bien fâché, Monsieur, que la premiere lettre, que je me donne l'honneur de vous écrire [5] contienne un entretien, qui m'est autant douloureux, qu'il vous sera desagreable. Je sçay, que vous aymiez Monsieur Swammer=[8]dam: ainsi je ne puis douter, que sa mort ne vous affligera:

Quelque peine que je [10] me sois sentie pour vous l'apprendre: j'ay cru pourtant ne pouvoir refuser á sa parente & son heritiere l'amitié, qu'elle m'a demandée. C'estoit, Monsieur, de vous vouloir mander, que Feu Monsieur [15] Swammerdam a marqué en quelque façon dans son testament, le respect, qu'il [17] vous portoit. L'extrait icy joint vous le dira: mais je vous dois dire qu'il manque encor quelque chose á la [20] traduction en latin, du traitté, dont il s'agit. On s'occupera á presser Monsieur Wingendorp, qui s'en est chargé, de l'achever le plustost qu'il sera possible. [40v] [41r] Je sçay trop ce que vaut t[missing text] [25] le Seigneur Swammerdam a en[missing text] dans l'anatomie, pour ne point [missing text] travailler de ma part, qu'un [missing text] ouvrage [soit] s'imprimé. Si vous jugez, Monsieur, que mes soins vous [30] puissent être utiles; je tacheray de vous faire convenir, que je ne suis pas trop indigne, que vous me regardiez, comme vôtre Tres humble & tres obeissant Serviteur. C'est

[35] J. Ortt De Nijenrode

Si vous me faictes l'honneur de me repondre; vous adresserez, s'il vous plait, vôte lettre á Monsieur
J. Ortt, Seigneur de Nyënrode & Breukelen
[40] Au château
De Nyënrode

[41v]¹

A Monsieur
Monsieur De Thevenot {&c}

a

[45] Paris

[fascicle 2, 1r]

⌘.²

Indien Name Godes Amen

in 't jaar naedegeboort te ons es heeren, en saligmakers Jesu Christi, een duisent, ses hondert tag
hen[d]tigh, den vijfentwintigsten Januarij des [5] middags de klok omtrent een uur,
compareen=[6]de voor mij Jacob Matham, notaris publicq bij den hove van holland geadmitteert,
residerende binnen Amsterdam, ende getuigen naer genoemt, d' heer Joannes [10] Zwammerdam,
medicinae doctor wonende op de agtergragt binnen dese stad, mijn notaris bekennt, sijnde van God
Almagtig besogt met een swaere sieckte, die hem alle ogenblicken met de doot dreigde, [15] dog
egter [{...}] zijn sinnen, memorie, verstand, en uitspraack Wel magtig, en bleek, de welke willende
{@p}

[19] Eijndelijk legateerde hij testateur aande [20] heer Melchisedech Thevenot; voor desen afgesant
van zijn koninklijke majesteit van vrangkrijk aan de Genuesen alle sijne originele handschriften,
[{...}] concernerende de natuure, en annatomie [25] der beijen, kapelle en voorts de [1v]
tekeningen tot twee en vijftig in 't getal berustende (volgens sekere specificatie onder zijn testateurs

1 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot. It might have served as an indication that the letter had been read.

2 "Joannes Swammerdam medicinae doctor Amstelaedami, anno 1680, 25 Januarii, lethaliter aegrotans, legavit Melchisedeo Thevenoto, legato quorundam Regis Galliarum ad Remp. Genuensium, omnia sua manuscripta originalia, quae spectant naturam, et anatomem apum, papilionum, et tabularum 52 numero quae omnia jam sunt penes Wingendorp. \tradenda legatario intra annum a morte testatoris./ Rogat ut tractatus de apibus etiam edatur Belgice: ad gloriam Dei, quia vere sapientiam, et omnipotentiam Eius irrefragabiliter demonstrat. Ipse excerpti ex apographo Notarii. Notato ⌘. Non ita diu post mortuus est. 16 17/2 80," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r.

eijgen hand) onder de heer Wingendorp, welken sijn Ed: [30] d' h:^r Thevenot binnen een jaar, of soo veel eer als 't doenlijk is nae sijn testateurs overlijden, sullen overgele[verd] [33] moeten worden, versockende sijn Ed. dat sijn testateurs tractaet van beijen [35] tot roem van God ook in het nederduits gedrukt mogte worden, alsoo het waerlijk sijne Wijsheit, en almagt [38] onweersprekelijk vertoont {*@p*}

Al het welke hij testateur verklaarde [40] te wesen sijn testament, en uitterste wille, willende etc: gepasseert binnen Amsterdam, ten huise vande testateur, ter presentie van Pieter Dommen, en Nikolaes Hoogvoorst [45] als getuigen hier overgeroepen.

Nae collatie is 't voorstaande
extract met de minute, onder mij
berustende, voor zo veel 't geextra=
heerde aangaat accorderende
[50] bevonden, bij mij

J. Matham

Nots Pub.

1680

[2r]

Au nom de Dieu ainsi soit il

[55] En l'année mil six cens quatrevingt de la naissance de nostre seigneur et sauver Jesus Christ, Le Vingtcinquieme janvier sur les Midy vers une heure Comparut pardevant moy jacob Matham notaire public admis par la Cour de Hollande, resident dans Amsterdam, et les temoins cy apres [60] nommez, Le sieur jean Zwammerdam Docteur en Medecine demeurant sur le Agtergragt en cette ville, connu a moy notaire, estant visite par Dieu toutpuissant d'une Grieve Maladie, qui le [60] menaceoit a tois momens de la mort, jouissant neanmoins \pleinement/ de ses sens, memoire et entendement, comme il paroissoit \constoit/ exte=[65]rieurement lequel voulant &c

[66] Finalement leguoit le dit testateur au sieur Melchisedech Thevenot cy devant envoyé de sa Majesté Roiale de france aux Genois, tous ses manuscrits originaux concernant la nature et anatomie des Abeilles, Kapelle, et au surplus les [70] desseins au nombre de cinquante deux estans (suivant certain estat de la main propre de Testateur) sous le sieur Wingendorp, Lesquels devront estre deliverez aud' s^r Thevenot dans un an, ou [73] autant plustot qu[']il sera faisable apres le deces du testateur [74] Le requerant que le traite des abeilles du Testateur puisse a la [75] Gloire de Dieu

estre aussi imprimé en flamend, puisqu[']il represente veritablement et incontestablement sa sagesse et [77] toute puissance &c

Tout quoi Le Testateur declaroit estre son testament en derniere volonte, voulant &c passé dans Amsterdam en la [80] maison du testateur en presence de pierre Dommen et nicolas hoogvorst comme temoins a ce appellees.

[2v]

[3r]

[3v]

Le Traité du scarabée nasicorne a ete composé apres celui des abeilles coe il paroît fol 39 de la traduction³

Testament de Mons.^r Swammerdham⁴

Commentary

Ortt writes to Thévenot (ll. 3–17) that Volckers – relative, heiress and one of the two executors of Swammerdam⁵ – asked him to inform Thévenot about the deceased's will.⁶ In fact, as seen in section 1.2.2.1.3.2, Thévenot most probably did not know that he had been bequeathed all of Swammerdam's manuscripts, having been informed by Guenellon, on 16 February 1680, that

3 Namely the translation of the treatise on the rhinoceros beetle, by the same hand of the French translation of the testament (French hand B). Cf. Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 10, 39: "[...] dans les poupées des abeilles, apres que j'eus déjà achevé leur histoire," and Swammerdam 1737–1738, 330: "In de Popkens der Byen heb ik deese dingen meede gesien, naa dat ik haar historie al voleyndigt hadde."

4 Written (apparently) by French hand R on the lower edge of the page on the right, perpendicularly with respect to the main text. This was certainly the external part of the enveloped sheets.

5 Born in 1648 (baptized on 18 August) in Harderwijk of the surgeon Volcker Gerrits and Geertruijd Corver, Margarita Volckers was a cousin of Swammerdam's, and lived in Amsterdam. She was a correspondent of Bourignon, and (according to Lindeboom) probably the girl whom Bourignon dissuaded Swammerdam from marrying. She married Daniel de Hoest at Leiden on 31 December 1680 (Hooglandse Kerk), as reconstructed by Lindeboom. The date of her death is unknown, but not before 1688, when she gave birth to Daniel de Hoest Jr. They also had two daughters: Elijsabeth (b. 1684), and Gertruid (b. 1686). See Swammerdam 1975, 19–20 and 171; De Baar 2004, chapter 11; Arnhem, Gelders Archief, archiefnummer 0176, inventarisnummer 828.2, 343; Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 508, 119; Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 22, 207r; inventarisnummer 224, 66v, 106r, and 158r.

6 According to Boerhaave's biography of Swammerdam (as reported above), this happened immediately after the funeral (which took place on 21 February): however, this is not explicitly stated in the letter itself. See also Boerhaave's biographical notes: "J. Ortt, Seigneur de Nyenrode, & Breukelen, rogatus a cognata, et haerede, H. Swammerdammii, scripsit 16 29/3 80, Melchisedeco Thevenoto, eum mortuum, & legasse illi sua manuscripta, quae Wingendorpius habet," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 8r.

Swammerdam had bequeathed Ortt his treatise on bees.⁷ Moreover, in their correspondence Swammerdam did not reveal to Thévenot his intention to bequeath him the manuscripts as their publisher. So that Ortt (ll. 17–) sends him an extract of the testament, informing him that someone is going to urge Wingendorp to complete his Latin translation. The letter is addressed and sealed.

To the letter there was certainly attached the Dutch version of the extract of Swammerdam's testament, whose original is now lost.⁸ In turn, the French version is certainly posterior to it, as it is by French hand C (as in Figure 29 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 2, 2r)): namely the hand of the French translation of the treatise on bees and of the treatise and explanation of the plates (27–30) on the rhinoceros beetle (as seen above). Made before the notary Jacob Matham (1645–1701), with two witnesses (Pieter Dommen and Nicolaes Hoogvoorst) whose identities could not be ascertained; according to it (ll. 19–33/66–73), the manuscripts of Swammerdam concerning the nature and anatomy of bees and butterflies (but in fact covering a much broader natural domain), along with 52 drawings (*tekeningen/desseins*, i.e. 52 plates including several figures each), all deposited at the house of Wingendorp – as stated by a specific inventory (*specificatie/estat*)⁹ by Swammerdam's hand – have to be delivered to Thévenot no later than one year after Swammerdam's death, or as soon as possible. Moreover (ll. 33–38/74–77), Swammerdam requires that his treatise on bees has to be published also in Dutch, because it testifies to the wisdom and omnipotence of God.¹⁰ As evident from the correspondence, however, these words were interpreted as referring to his whole *opus magnum*, of which Thévenot, De Volder and De Hoest started to organize the publication in Dutch.

As to Wingendorp, is worth providing here some information on him. He was born in 1608 in Schauenburg (near Kassel), and enrolled as a student of law at Leiden University on 24 August 1626 and again on 11 September 1627.¹¹ He certainly moved to Leiden with other members of his family, as different people with the same origin, surname and age range enrolled at Leiden in the

⁷ See *supra*, section 1, n. 167.

⁸ As discussed in Engel 1950.

⁹ This document could not be retraced. It was, most probably, the specific inventory (*specificatie/specification*) of Swammerdam's manuscripts and drawings repeatedly asked for by De Hoest and De Volder to Wingendorp during the affair (see letters 8, 9 and 11), and described as a *specificatie* written by Swammerdam himself and in possession of Wingendorp (letter 9). According to letter 10 such a *specificatie* could not be found among the items delivered by Wingendorp to the court clerk in November 1681, even if he delivered a *register* (letter 10) or *specification* of the plates (by Swammerdam's hand: letter 11) (also probably mentioned in letter 13) – now lost.

¹⁰ This was in accord with the physico-theological approach of Swammerdam: on it, see Jorink 2003; Jorink 2010, chapter 4.

¹¹ Du Rieu 1875, 193 and 203. He was 19 and 20 years old respectively. In a notary act of 9 December 1676 he declared to be 68 years old: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 916, aktenummer 102. In turn, in his letter to Ortt of 22 October 1681 (letter 7) he declared to be 75 years old. Therefore, he was born around November 1608. Notably, in a letter of his to Boyle of 1 May 1689 (see *infra*, n. 18) he declared to be 78 years old.

following years.¹² On 9 January 1631 he married Sara Barentsdr van der Willicxs, while on 21 February 1631 he became citizen (*poorter*) of Leiden. In 1639 they had a daughter (Lisabeth), while his wife probably died during or after the same year.¹³ He lived in the Leiden districts of Rapenburg, Burgstreng and Nieuwe Oosterlingplaats,¹⁴ and died during or after 1689.¹⁵ It was at least from 1640s that his financial problems started, as between 1642–1652 he owed money to his stepsons,¹⁶ and was sued for payments by various other people from 1643 onwards.¹⁷ Moreover, his financial problems are testified to by the entire correspondence presented here, as well as by a letter he addressed to Boyle on 1 May 1689, where he offered him his services as editor and proof-reader (apparently with no answer from Boyle).¹⁸ In fact, Wingendorp was also a writer himself (authoring a *Paraphrasis historica in prophetiam Danielis*, 1674, with a second edition in 1680), and was active as a translator in Latin and other languages,¹⁹ running a family business with his son Gerhard.²⁰ They both had a long-lasting working relation with Swammerdam. Hermann translated

12 A certain Mathias Wingendorf enrolled at Leiden on 6 January 1631 (23 years old) as student of mathematics. In turn, on 15 June 1640 Lodovicus Wingendorp, 24 years old, enrolled as student of theology. Eventually, on 4 April 1651 Ludovicus Wingendorf, 30 years old, enrolled as student of mathematics: Du Rieu 1875, 232, 315 and 411.

13 Sara was the widow of the goldsmith Gillis de Steur, whom she married in 1616; her testament dates to 6 June 1639. See Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 8, 148r; inventarisnummer 10, 216v; inventarisnummer 280, 55v (unnumbered); archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1267, 204r; archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20087.

14 Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 17, 245v; archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 6611, 24v; Swammerdam 1975, letter 19 (14 April 1678); Peltjes 1995; Peltjes 2005.

15 A letter of his to Boyle of 1 May 1689 (see *infra*, n. 18) is the last document testifying to his activities I could retrieve.

16 Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20088: *Verklaring over de behandeling van de kinderen van Gillis de Steur bij hun stiefvader Hermanus Wingendorp*; inventarisnummer 20090: *Overeenkomst tussen de voogden over de kinderen en hun stiefvader, 1641*; inventarisnummer 20091: *Sommatie's aan Hermanus van Wingendorp om het door hem verschuldigde te voldoen, 1642-1646*; inventarisnummer 20094: *Memorie met verklaring van hetgeen Hermanus van Wingendorp ten behoeve van zijn stiefkinderen op te brengen had, 23/25 maart 1647*; inventarisnummer 20095: *Staat van het door Hermanus van Wingendorp aan zijn stiefzoon verschuldigde, 16 mei 1652*; other documents date up to 1671: inventarisnummer 20096 to 20101.

17 On 23 April 1643 he was sued to pay 500 *rijksdaalders* (i.e. circa 1,250 guilders: I used Swammerdam's letter to Thévenot of December 1679 or January 1680 for the conversion (Swammerdam 1975, letter 40)) by a certain Ernst Landtwehr, from Hanover: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 541, aktenummer 42. On 1 and 7 December 1643 he was sued by Agatha Schuijers for 3,000 guilders. During the quarrel (which continued in August 1644, October 1653, April 1667, and January 1668), Lodovicus Wingendorp, certainly a relative of his (see *supra*, section 2, n. 12) occasionally served as witness: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 540, aktenummer 142 and 144; inventarisnummer 622, 96r–v; inventarisnummer 841, aktenummer 38; inventarisnummer 780, aktenummer 107; inventarisnummer 1034, aktenummer 5. Wingendorp was involved in another quarrel in December 1676, with Pieter Snaphaen from Haarlem: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 916, aktenummer 102.

18 “Quare, si quid istiusmodi in Nobilitatis tuae manibus est, quod vel recens edendum, vel jam antea editum, sed non omnibus obvium sit, per Deum te precor, praebe laboranti mihi auxiliatricem manum, et quod sine damno tuo fieri potest, petenti mihi ne denega, de idiomate non sum sollicitus, nam frequenti exoticorum scriptorum lectione necessariam linguae vestrae, et illarum, quae nunc in usu sunt, cognitionem acquisivi, [...] etiam illud suppliciter a te peto, si quid in recolendis notatis tuis sese obtulerit, quod conferre aliquid ad stabiliendas decrepiti senis res familiares quoquo modo possit, ejus mihi copiam facere non dedigneris,” Boyle 2001, volume 5, 290–291.

19 Letter 6.

20 No archival sources and precise biographical details could be retrieved on him.

into Latin and ordered printed Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae*,²¹ and proof-read the catalogue of the cabinet of Johannes's father Johannes Jacobsz. Swammerdam.²² Gerhard worked as engraver and publisher, and was active at least from 1653 (when he financed and organized the printing of Symmachus's *Epistolarum libri decem* at Leiden, printed by Severinus Matthaei),²³ to circa 1681, when the last book reporting his name appeared, namely Trolis Nielson Brink's *Beschryvinge van de artillerye*, of which he engraved the frontispiece (as reported on the frontispiece itself). Among his several works, he engraved the frontispiece of Swammerdam's *Tractatus de respiratione*,²⁴ while in February 1678 he was contacted by Swammerdam (probably through his father) about engraving again the three plates of his *Miraculum naturae* (originally published by Matthaei), as part of the attempt, by Thévenot, to get the plates of the works already published by Swammerdam, probably in view of a French edition of them (though these circulated among publishers and could not be retrieved by him).²⁵ After some delay,²⁶ Swammerdam received these three plates at the end

21 Letter 6.

22 See section 1.3.1.1 and letters 3 and 5.

23 Symmachus 1653, 461.

24 Swammerdam 1975, letter 18 (30 March 1678). As to his other works of engraving, see Hollstein et al. 1949–2010, volume 52, 167–191; Leonhard 2007.

25 According to a letter of Swammerdam to Thévenot of 30 March 1670 (Swammerdam 1975, letter 6), Swammerdam no longer had at his disposal the plates of his *Historia insectorum* – about which therefore Thévenot had asked him – as he gave them and all the prints of the book to his bookbinder, who promised him to translate it into French: Swammerdam, though, had doubts about this, and foresees that if a French edition were to be made, the plates would need to be re-engraved by De Hooghe (who therefore could have engraved the original plates) without the backgrounds and with some corrections. (Eventually, a French translation of Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* appeared at Utrecht in 1682 (published by Willem van Walcheren), without Thévenot's intervention; for this and for the subsequent editions published in the Netherlands, in French (Utrecht, Johannes Ribbius, 1685) and Latin (translated by De Hennin; Leiden, Jordaen Luchtmans, 1685; Utrecht, Ottho de Vries, 1693 and 1695; Leiden, Johannes van Abkoude, 1733) the original plates of the 1669 edition were used, which therefore circulated among the publishers). Later, according to a letter from Swammerdam to Thévenot dating between late September and early November 1677, Thévenot asked Swammerdam to obtain the plates of his published works after having been asked about them by someone (probably a publisher): however, Swammerdam was no longer in possession of any of them, as he had sold them to the booksellers. Hence (24 February 1678), Swammerdam was reported to have asked the publisher of his *Ephemeris vitae*, Abraham Wolfgang (active at Amsterdam), about its plates, which were offered to Thévenot for 5 ducats or in exchange for copies of his *Relations de divers voyages curieux* (1663–1672). Moreover, Swammerdam had asked also about the plates used in his *Tractatus de respiratione* – apparently at its publishers, Daniel, Abraham, and Adrian van Gaasbeeck (Leiden), but these were no longer retrievable, so that for Swammerdam they have to be re-engraved in a larger format by taking the frontispiece as sample, and in eight separate plates, in order for them to be inserted in a publication (a project which does not resurface in their correspondence; later, two further editions of his *Tractatus de respiratione* were published in the Netherlands, in 1679 (Leiden, Johannes van der Linden) – apparently without Swammerdam's intervention – and 1738 (Leiden, Coenraad Wishoff), for which was used the original plate of the frontispiece of the 1667 edition, which therefore circulated among the publishers). Eventually, Swammerdam communicated to Thévenot that he had written to someone at Leiden to have the plates of the *Miraculum naturae* re-engraved, certainly the Wingendorps: Swammerdam 1975, letters 14 (between late September and early November 1677) and 16 (24 February 1678). The original plates of this treatise were engraved by Bosboom, as reported on the plates themselves. These were re-used for the subsequent editions of this work which appeared in the Netherlands in 1679 (Leiden, Cornelis Boutesteyn; apparently without Swammerdam's intervention), 1717 (Leiden, Johannes du Vivié), and 1729 (Theodoor Haak and Samuel Luchtmans). Two other editions appeared at London in 1680 (Johannes Gellirrand and Robert Sollers) and 1685 (Samuel Smith): the former edition, whose frontispiece reports to be provided with new figures (“Figuris, ante hac erosis, tam accuratissime exsculptis”) could not be accessed during the preparation of the present book, while for the latter (reporting the same specification) plates engraved by Nicholas Yeates (1650–1681) were used, which

of 1678 or at the beginning of 1679, when he reported to Thévenot that he was going to keep them until further instructions from him.²⁷ One year later, namely in his last letter to Thévenot (December 1679 or January 1680), Swammerdam reported to him that three plates were (still) in his possession: for them he paid to Hermann Wingendorp 24 *rijksdaalders*, namely 60 guilders (20 guilders each), which Thévenot could remit.²⁸ As will be evident especially from letters 6 and 8, Hermann's translation and organization of the printing of Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae*, as well as the engraving of these three plates had an important role in the affair of Swammerdam's manuscripts, as Wingendorp cited their case as evidence that by giving him his manuscripts Swammerdam also renounced his ownership of them, as he did with those of his *Miraculum naturae* and its plates.

Eventually, both the Wingendorps were involved in the project of the publication of Swammerdam's *opus magnum*, as seen in section 1.2.2. According to his letter to Thévenot of 30

most probably were also used in the 1680 edition. A further edition, without figures, appeared as an appendix in Hoffman, Van Horne, and Swammerdam 1685. As to the plates of the *Ephemeris vitae* (which could be retrieved by Swammerdam from the publisher), see *infra*, n. 207.

26 First, on 14 April 1678 Swammerdam communicated to Thévenot that he could get the plates of the *Ephemeris vitae* (now in possession of Swammerdam: see *infra*, n. 207) and *Miraculum naturae* either from himself or from Hermann Wingendorp, whose address is provided by Swammerdam in the letter (accordingly, there had been no previous contact between Thévenot and Wingendorp), asking Thévenot to write to Wingendorp by enclosing his letter in a letter for him and vice-versa, so that they could deal with the matter together: Swammerdam 1975, letter 19 (14 April 1678). Hence (letter 20, 28 April 1678), none of his plates had yet been engraved by Gerhard Wingendorp, who was working slowly. Given the fact that in his letter to Thévenot of 30 March 1678 (letter 18) Swammerdam details having reached an agreement with Wingendorp about the editing of the *Biblia naturae* and the engraving of the plates by his son, to whom he gave some (unspecified) drawings, it is unclear whether in letter 20 (28 April 1678) Swammerdam refers to the plates of the *Biblia naturae* or to those of the *Miraculum naturae*. Though, since in letter 20 Swammerdam writes, referring to Gerhard, that “everything is in his hands now, it is no more at my disposal” (“alles nu in syn handen is, soo staat het niet meer tot myn dispositie”) while in fact the text and the drawings of the *Biblia naturae* were far from being finished, it seems that the reference is to Wingendorp's re-engraving of the plates of the *Miraculum naturae*. Alternatively, we can just suppose that the letter refers both to the plates of the *Miraculum naturae* and to those of the *Biblia naturae*: indeed, on 28 April 1678 Swammerdam certainly had already discussed with Wingendorp the plates of the *Miraculum naturae*, about which he wrote to him before 24 February 1678 (see *supra*, section 2, n. 25). In later letters of 1678, Swammerdam communicated to Thévenot to have forwarded Wingendorp a letter (Swammerdam 1975, letter 21, May 1678; in accord with letter 19, 14 April 1678), though afterwards he heard nothing from him, as Swammerdam had spent 5 weeks in the countryside with Ortt (letter 23, 7 July 1678). Eventually, in August Swammerdam wrote to Thévenot that Wingendorp had promised him a letter for Thévenot, which however did not arrive (letter 25, 11 August 1678). So that the communication between Wingendorp and Thévenot, with regard to the plates of the *Miraculum naturae*, was at best slowed down. See also *infra*, n. 207.

27 Swammerdam 1975, letter 32 (autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679).

28 Swammerdam 1975, letter 40 (December 1679 or January 1680). Moreover, Swammerdam acted as intermediary between Hermann Wingendorp and Thévenot with regard to the acquisition of a book by the latter, who was interested in a book on Tamerlane in possession of the widow of a lawyer at Leiden, a certain Sluijter, who had recently died: Swammerdam 1975, letters 24 (21 July 1678) and 31 (autumn 1678). He might have been Johannes Sluijter (d. 1678), mentioned as a lawyer at the Hof van Holland in notarial acts extant at Leiden, who (if they were the same person) had enrolled as a 22-years old student of law at Leiden in 1659: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1194, aktenummer 58; Du Rieu 1875, 473; moreover, Lindeboom reports that a certain Sluijter, a lawyer, had been buried on 16 July 1678 in the Pieterskerk at Leiden, as indeed reported in Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1325, 211v (unnumbered). The book was probably the *Vitae et rerum gestarum Timuri qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur historia* by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿarabshāh (1389–1450), namely an Arabic manuscript edited by Golius and published at Leiden in 1636. On the editorial history of this book, see Manger 1767.

March 1678, Swammerdam made an agreement with Hermann for the “whole work” (including therefore the Latin translation), while Gerhard, who “cuts excellently,” was going to engrave the plates. Also, in his letter Swammerdam announces to Thévenot that “[Gerhard] Wingendorp will also cut again all the plates of the book on the insects and I will perhaps omit the black backgrounds, and add there something, and make some figures better.”²⁹ Indeed, as discussed above, some of the plates of Swammerdam’s *Biblia naturae* were modified versions of those which appeared in Swammerdam’s *Historia insectorum*.³⁰ After Swammerdam’s *Biblia naturae* was finished, two plates had certainly been engraved by Wingendorp (probably Gerhard), each for 15 guilders. According to Swammerdam, the plates were excellent; however, since both he himself and Wingendorp (probably Gerhard) were sick, and Wingendorp made problems about the price, no agreement could be reached as to the remaining ones.³¹ It remains unproven, but it could be that not only the two plates of the *Biblia naturae* mentioned had already been engraved before Swammerdam’s death, but also other engraved plates were sent to Thévenot by Wingendorp, though how exactly is not known. As discussed in sections 1.2.2.1.2 and 1.2.2.1.2.1, indeed, among the items Boerhaave bought as part of Swammerdam’s *Nachlass* in 1727 there were 36 now lost copperplates (i.e. those used to print Swammerdam’s *Specialia experimenta*), and, besides claiming that Thévenot bought from Wingendorp Swammerdam’s plates (in letters 14 and 22), De Hoest was to deliver to him some unspecified plates around June–November 1683.³² In fact, Gerhard Wingendorp was no longer active after 1681, as his last known work of engraving (as seen above) was the frontispiece of Brink’s *Beschryvinge van de artillerye* (1681), and in that year he was severely ill and could no longer help his father Hermann – as reported in letter 7. So that he might just have had time to engrave 36 of the plates, before his health failed.

• *Letter 2: Wingendorp to Thévenot, undated (before 23 January 1681), (fascicle 1, 3r–v)*

[3r]

29 “Den ouden Wingendorp, heeft dit gansche werk, met plaaten en al aangenomen, en de jonge, snijdt curieus als hy tekening heeft, die curieus syn, gelyk ik hem gegeven heb. [...] Wingendorp, sal ook al de plaaten van het boek de insectis op nieuw snijden, en ik sal de swarte gronden mogelyk agter laten, en daar nog yts by doen, en eenige figuren beter maaken,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 18 (30 March 1678).

30 These are plates 1, 3, 12, 16, 31–33, and 37–39, all re-engraved by Van der Spyck. The plates used for the 1669 edition of Swammerdam’s *Historia insectorum* were not retrievable by Swammerdam during his lifetime; moreover, Swammerdam was thinking about re-engraving the plates without the backgrounds and with corrections as early as in 1670: see *supra*, section 2, n. 25.

31 Swammerdam 1975, letters 38 (autumn 1679) and 39 (30 November 1679).

32 As I discuss in my commentary to letter 31.

Illustrissime Vir,

ultimas Excell. Tuae, huius vel illius, sed ignoti amici opera mihi redditas, grato animo accepi: atque utinam illa rerum mearum ratio esset, ut quam me debere gratiam agnosco, referre statim possem. [5] Nunc quod praeter paratum ad obsequia animum promittam nihil habeo.

[6] Titulus operis erit:	tabulis illustrata, a
BIBLIA NATURÆ,	Johannes Swammerdammio,
sive	[15] Amstelod. Med. D.
Historia Insectorum	vel Johannis Swammerdammi,
[10] in certas classes redacta, [[et]] nec non	Amstelod. Med. D.
exemplis, et anatomico variorum	Biblia naturae etc.
animalculorum examine, aeneisque	

Quod reliquum est, Excell. T. me melius novit, quod in hoc passu desideretur, nec dubito, quin id, quod rebus meis maxime prodesse poterit, tuo tanti [18] promotoris beneficio consecuturus sim. Studia apud nos frigent, nec hactenus quod sciam huiusmodi quid apud nostros bibliopolas prodiit, quod curiosorum [20] oculis satisfaciat. Deus te, Illustris Vir, quam diutissime incolumem servet, id quod ex animo precatur et {fa} vet

Excell. T[u]ae

[missing text] {t eg Sun.}

[3v]

Commentary

The letter is also reproduced in Figure 8 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 3r). Part of the sheet of this letter has been ripped, so that the sender, the recipient and the date of writing are missing from the extant text; moreover, no address is provided, and there are no seals. The presence of the letter among these materials indicates that Boerhaave included it in the *Nachlass* to testify, most probably, to his use of the title *Biblia naturae*. In fact, the letter is a communication of the contents of the frontispiece of a planned publication (ll. 6–15), which in the 1737–1738 edition reads as (in the Latin version):

Joannis Swammerdamii,
Amstelaedamensis,
Biblia Naturae,

sive
Historia insectorum,
in classes certas redacta, nec non exemplis, et anatomico variorum animalculorum
examine, aeneisque tabulis illustrata.
Insertis numerosis rariorum naturae observationibus.³³

This title matches parts of both the titles given in the letter. Therefore, one might suppose that this is a letter by Gaubius, communicating to Boerhaave the contents of the frontispiece, and asking for his approval. Nevertheless, the hand seems to be that of Wingendorp.³⁴ Moreover, the writer refers (ll. 18–20) to the progress of the sciences and book-printers active in his own area, i.e. the recipient certainly lived in a city or country different from that of the writer. Since Gaubius was professor at Leiden, like Boerhaave, we can exclude him as the author of the letter. Rather, we can suppose that the sender was Wingendorp himself, that the recipient was Thévenot, and that the letter probably dates to a period in which the legal dispute over the manuscripts had not started yet, when Wingendorp was working on the Latin translation with Thévenot's permission (as revealed in letter 4). So that it can be dated after Swammerdam's death, and before the beginning of the affair, which we can assume as starting with letter 3.

The letter sheds some light on the origin of the title *Biblia naturae*, up to now believed to have been devised by Boerhaave on the basis of a phrase used by Swammerdam in a letter to Thévenot dating between late September and early November 1677.³⁵ In fact, Swammerdam never mentions a specific title for his *opus magnum* in his correspondence with Thévenot or in his testament. Nonetheless, the present letter shows that this title was already known by Wingendorp, who in turn most probably never read Swammerdam's letter to Thévenot, i.e. he could not have devised it: therefore, we might suppose that Swammerdam himself communicated it to him. Later, Thévenot and Boerhaave kept Wingendorp's letter in the *Nachlass* as testifying to Swammerdam's choice.

• **Letter 3: Guenellon to Thévenot, 23 January 1681 (fascicle 25, 3r–4v)**

[3r]

33 Swammerdam 1737–1738, title-page of the first volume.

34 See *supra*, section 1, n. 81.

35 “Ik wenste wel dat hy [Steno] nog was, als wanneer hy Godt inde bybel der natuur soght,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 14 (between late September and early November 1677). This title had already been used during the seventeenth century: Jorink 2010, 48–49.

N'estoit la maladie qui ma detenu depuis trois mois alietté, je n'aurois pas manqué de vous renouveler de temps en temps {et} mes [5] respects. dans le dernier mois d'Octobre lors que la freve qui a regné icy pendant quelq[ue] temps faisoit le plus de ravage, et quele.^t me donnoit pas d'occupation chez les malades que je ne pouvois supposer (n'estant pas encore [10] fait a de si rudes fatigues) elle ne m'esp{e}rgna pas, mais j'en fus si rudement attaqué. qu'a peine j'en suis delivré, ayant couru longtemps {risque} & a divers {retours}, risque de ma vie. je suis encore tellem.^t deffaict que vous [15] ne me reconnassiez pas. Cependant je vous peus assurer avec verité, Monsieur, qu'[un] de mes plus grands chagrins est que cela m'a empeche de satisfaire a ce que je devois a mes amis et particulierem.^t [20] a vous. Pour ce qui regarde vostre derniere. je me suis fait porter chez Mons.^r Ostome chez qui loge un certain Mons.^r de Hoest qui a eu depuis peu le manuscr.^t des affaires de Mons.^r Swammerdā [25] a l'occasion que son frere a epousé l'he=[26]ritiere du dict S.^r ce nouveau marié est medecin & apothecaire a Leiden & de la secte {du} deffunct. le frere qui est icy m'[a] asseuré [4r] qu'on ce n'estoit en estat de vous faire avoir [30] ce qui vous est deu par le [d]testam.^t, et qu'[il]s en pressent tous les jours Mons.^r Wingendorp qui a les papier{...}s en main, mais qu'[il] n'est obligé (a ce qu'[ils] disent) de les rendre [35] que dans le temps prefixé dans le testam^t de un an & sex sepmaines, et qui n'est pas [36] encore expiré. d'ailleurs ils vous supplient [37] qu'en cas qu'[il] se presente \de dela/ quelqu'[un] qui v{o}{missing text}eut acheter le cabinet du deffunct dele[missing text] du vouloir advertir & qu'[ils] le donne=[40]ront a un prix fort raisonnable. pour ce qui regarde le cabinet du pere peut estre avrez vous desja appris qu'[il] n'a vullu qu'[un] peu au dela de neuf mill[e] florins. ayant esté tousjours estimé par [45] le deffunct a quarante. Mais il se trouv[é] que le bon homme c'est laissé dupper en bien des rencontres, ayant achetté des pierres pour veritables qui ne le furent jamais entre autres la pietra del porco, qui [50] c'est trouvé fausse & artificielle. Je ne vous puis mander grand chose sur le faict des sciences, sinon qu'[elles] s'avilent icy de plus en plus. C'est a vos Mess.^{rs} a]] les relever qui sy prennent si bien, et qui en sont si bien [55] recompensez. on n'estime icy que ceux qui [56] [peuv]ent gagner de l'[a]rgent. je ne seray [3v]³⁷ pas si tost remis ou je continueray ma

36 "Hermannus Wingendorp habitabat Leydae, vertendo in varias linguas victum quaeritans, acceperat ea ab Autore, ut verteret Latine, vel in alias linguas: ut successive ederantur. \Etiam tractatum de Structura uteri muliebris pro Swammerdamio Latine prius verterat./ Christoffel van Wylandt, & Margarita Volckers (uxor Danielis de Hoest doctoris medicinae, & apothecarii Leydae \& haeredis Swammerdammi/) executores testamenti Swammerdammiani. Ipse excerpti ex apographo Notarii. Notato 2. & ex literis Guenelonii notatis 3," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r. Another annotation reports: "Thesauri patris modo consistere paulo plus quam f 9000 monetae Batavae. Guenellon ad Thevenot. Amstel. 16 23/1 81," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 8r. See *infra*, n. 36.

37 On this page the text begins on the short side of the sheet, i.e. the sheet has been turned counterclockwise by Guenellon, who began to write on 3r, continued on another sheet (i.e. on 4r) and then went back to 3v turning it. Eventually, he used 4v to write the address.

myotomie a l'hospital. les essais que j'en ay faict ont plus au³⁸ plus éclairé comme aussi les figures que j'en ay tirées, & qui feront voir [60] un jour le peu de valeur de celles qu'on pretend mettre en bref au jour avec les autres tables anatomiques du corps humain dont vous aurez sans doute entendu parler pour [63] les {denes} considerables qu'on y a employé. Je [{...}] voulois escrire au pere Malebranche & a Mons.^r Guide, [d] [65] qui m[']a escrit depuis peu, mais ma faiblesse me le {defie} a peine vois je le papier. ce sera pour un autre fois, et je vous prie de m'excuser auprez d'eux si vous les voyez. Je [70] suis avec un profond respect

Monsieur

Si vous souhaitez escrire a Mons^r de hoest a Leyde,
il loge rue du breestraet in't lant van belofte

Vostre tres humble, tres obligé & tres obeissant serviteur

P. Guenellon.

Amst. ce 23 de Janv. 1681:

[4v]³⁹

Monsieur

Monsieur Thevenot

rue S.^t Martin, au coin de celle

des vieilles estuves.

a Paris.

Commentary

Guenellon⁴⁰ informs Thévenot (ll. 1–20) that during the epidemic that ravaged Leiden in the last

38 Read: 'en'.

39 This page contains two seals and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

40 Son of the French physician Pierre, Pieter Guenellon, born around 1650, studied at Leiden in 1667–1668 and then at Padua, graduating in medicine in 1670. Hence, he stayed at Paris until 1679, working at the Charité hospital. After his return to the Netherlands, in the same year he asked Thévenot to intercede with Van Beuningen in order to be allowed to dissect corpses at the city hospital of Amsterdam (see the Appendix of the present book (i.e. the letter of Guenellon to Thévenot of 22 June 1679), and Swammerdam 1975, letter 37 (September 1679), and the second letter of his on Swammerdam's illness (16 February 1680: Swammerdam 1975, 167)). This permission was granted him in summer 1680. He authored the *Epistolica dissertatio de genuina medicinam instituendi ratione* (1680) and was a correspondent of Locke's. He died probably at Breda, where he was residing, in 1722. On him, see Thijssen-Schoute 1967, 97–99, and Kooijmans 2011, 157–158.

months,⁴¹ he was busy visiting the sick, and he himself has been sick for three months, in a way that prostrated him. Moreover (ll. 20–36), in replying to a letter of Thévenot (who likely asked him for information about Swammerdam’s manuscripts), Guenellon reports that he met, at the house of Mr. Ostome,⁴² a brother of Daniel de Hoest: this person informed him that it was impossible to deliver Swammerdam’s manuscripts to Thévenot, since these were still in the possession of Wingendorp, who has been urged about them, but is not obliged to consign them as the time prescribed by Swammerdam has not expired yet.

With this, Guenellon refers either to Nicolaas (1661–1709)⁴³ or Jan Hendrik de Hoest (1655–during or after 1717),⁴⁴ brothers of Daniel, another key figure in the affair of Swammerdam’s papers. As mentioned above, Daniel de Hoest was the husband of Volckers, heiress and one of the two executors of Swammerdam. Born in Leiden in 1648 of Daniel de Hoest Sr. (1613–1686) and Elisabeth Lestevenon (1629–1698), he was the descendant of a family of apothecaries, living in Breestraat.⁴⁵ After having graduated in medicine at Leiden with a *Disputatio medica inauguralis de vomitu* on 10 June 1670, he became an apothecary, and married Volckers on 31 December 1680 in the Hooglandse Kerk. He and his brother Jan Hendrik addressed trading letters (concerning mostly medical and natural-historical items) to August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) in 1698 – while Jan Hendrik continued the correspondence alone until 1717. Daniel died during or after 1698, his letters to Francke being the last evidence I could retrieve on him.⁴⁶

Moreover, (ll. 36–50) Guenellon informs Thévenot that Swammerdam’s heirs (thus referring

41 Guenellon certainly refers to the malaria epidemic of 1678–1682, which killed Swammerdam himself. On this, see Kohn 2008.

42 Certainly, Jean Ostome, merchant at Amsterdam, who married in 1668 Susanna Lestevenon (1646–1713), maternal aunt of the De Hoest brothers. See Scheffer 1878, volume 1, 16. Also mentioned in letter 34.

43 He was born in Leiden (baptized on 20 March 1661) of Daniel de Hoest Sr. and Elisabeth Lestevenon, and enrolled at the local University in 1675, graduating in medicine with a *Disputatio medica inauguralis de sputo sanguinis* (22 July 1689). He enrolled there again in 1697. He married Maria Krull in 1693, while in 1698 he became a citizen of Nijmegen, and died in Brussels. See Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 237, 65v; inventarisnummer 25, 234v; Du Rieu 1875, 594 and 747; Schimmel 1966, 236; Koole 2016. As to his parents, see *infra*, n. 45.

44 He was born in Leiden (baptized on 27 April 1655): Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 236, 90r. As to the year of his death, see *infra*, n. 46.

45 As to Daniel’s biography, see Swammerdam 1975, 171. He was baptized in the Hooglandse Kerk at Leiden on 15 March 1648. His date of enrolment at Leiden is unknown. As to his marriage, see *supra*, section 2, n. 5. His paternal grandfather Daniel (ca. 1584–1635) was born in Antwerp and was apothecary at Leiden: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 7, 177v; archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1319, 321v; Du Rieu 1875, 50 and 73; Van Zon 2020. As to his father Daniel Sr. and his mother Elisabeth Lestevenon, see Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 13, 249r; Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 464, 220; inventarisnummer 1131, 34r; Du Rieu 1875, 172 and 253; Koole 2016.

46 Their letters, dated 24 May and 26 June 1698 (as to those of Daniel) and 17/27 July and 9 August 1698, 9 April and 22 May 1700, 29 October 1703, 26 June 1714, and 19 October 1717 (as to those of Jan Hendrik), are now extant at Halle, Franckesche Stiftungen, Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Archiv und Bibliothek, Hauptarchiv, signature: AFS/H C 84.

to Volckers and her husband, and probably Swammerdam's brothers) sought for his help in selling the deceased's cabinet, which they are disposed to sell for a cheap price, and that the cabinet of Swammerdam's father (Johannes Jacobsz.) has been sold for just a bit more than 9,000 guilders, while it had been estimated by Johannes Swammerdam as worth 40,000 guilders.⁴⁷ Indeed, as Guenellon reports, Johannes Jacobsz. had been fooled and bought stones, such as the stone of the hedgehog ("pietra del porco"), which were mere forgeries.⁴⁸

Next, (ll. 50–56) Guenellon laments the state of the sciences in the Netherlands,⁴⁹ and reports (ll. 56–63) that he is not going to resume his dissecting activities at the hospital soon, given his health.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, he drew anatomical figures from his past activities: with these figures, he aims at showing the unreliability of some new anatomical figures that are going to appear in a book, together with other anatomical plates about which Thévenot should have already heard. As to this, Guenellon refers to an unpublished work which is mentioned also in his *Epistolica dissertatio de genuina medicinam instituendi ratione* (1680), where he reports to have inspected a forthcoming book, whose author "wanted to illustrate the human body with new figures," but in whose "eighty plates, which he completed, and which I inspected," one "will find [...] a rough and confused chaos, and [...] prejudices renewed by the figures," and laments that its author did not choose Steno as his advisor.⁵¹ Probably, Guenellon refers to the *Anatome ex omnium veterum recentiorumque observationibus inprimis Institutionibus b. m. parentis Caspari Bartholini: ad circulationem Harveianam, et vasa lymphatica quintum renovata: cum iconibus novis, et indicibus* of Thomas Bartholin (1616–1680), which was eventually published in 1686: indeed an edition "renewed" and provided "with new figures" of the *Anatomicae institutiones corporis humani utriusque sexus historiam et declarationem exhibentes* (1611) of his father Caspar (1585–1629).

At last, (ll. 63–) Guenellon reports that he wanted to write to Malebranche and to Mr.

47 See section 1.3.1.1. Johannes's cabinet is mentioned also in letters 4, 5 (mentioning also his father's cabinet), 8, 19, and 20.

48 Namely, the *Lapis malacensis*, extracted from the gall bladder of the hedgehog, of resinous consistency and bitter flavour, used for medical purposes: Swammerdam 1679a, 11 (item 149).

49 See also letters 2 and 5.

50 See *supra*, section 2, n. 40, and the Appendix of the present book (i.e. the letter of Guenellon to Thévenot of 22 June 1679).

51 "Quae fere omnia, nasutulum quendam, et se unice laudantem, aliosque calumniose prosequenter, anatomicum latere, non minus doleo quam miror. Postquam tam grandi supercilio, tantisque ausis, corpus humanum novis illustrare iconibus voluerit. Miseror sane eius vices, ubi in publicum prodierit magnificum illud opus, quod tantis et undique scatet mendis; sed quid miseror? Potius quam ut nulla foret sui memoria, temeritatis et ineptiae positum vult hocce monumentum. In octuaginta, quas circiter confecit, et quas perspexi, tabulis, vix ullibi reperias, vel minimae dexteritatis testimonium, sed rude et confusum ubique rerum chaos, et praeter alia commissa, plurimorum etiam antiquorum (mirare hominis ignorantiam) damnatorum diu et publice errorum, renovata figuris praeiudicia. [...] Utinam consultorem sibi elegisset Stenonium! Praeter modestiam, ab ipso didicisset, quam sit perniciosum, imperfectas partium nostrarum figuras in publicum producere, et praestare nullas exhibere, quam vitiosas," Guenellon 1680, 46–48. See Sobiech 2016, 24–25.

Guide,⁵² but he was too weak to do so. In a post-scriptum, he provides Daniel de Hoest's address (house 'Het Land van Beloften', at the corner of Breestraat and Pieterskerkchoorsteeg in Leiden). The letter is addressed and sealed.

• **Letter 4: De Hoest to Thévenot, 26 June 1681 (fascicle 25, 5r–6v)**

[5r]

†⁵³

Mijn Heer,

Dat UE.^e 't Manuscript van de Insecten UE.^e door de H.^r Swammerdam sal.^r gemaect noch niet gekregen hebt is niet door mijn nalatigheijt bijgekomen, veel minder dat die gedaghten bij ons zijn soudén van het te willen verduijsteren [5] en UE.^e noit behandigen. Mons.^r Wingendorp, die het alsnogh onder sigh heeft, is voor desen daer al verscheyde malen over aengesproocken; en 's daeghs voor dat de uwe mij wiert ter hant gestelt, was ick selfs bij hem om hem daer van te spreekén: maer also hij mij telckens seijde dat hij so aen UE.^e als aen de H.^r Steno daer over hadde geschreven, en dat UE het onder hem nogh [10] langer soudet laten, hebb' ick hem niet verder geperst; maer daght UE selfs te schrijven om uwe meijningh te weten; en, so die sodanigh was, van UE quittance te vorderen, ten eijnde ick daer door van alle namaninge en moeite altijt bevrijt moght wesen. So verre, Mijn Heer, is 't daer van daen dat ick UE niet soude recht doen, of UE in het minste onthouden willen [15] het geen U toekomt. De aghtingh, die ick wete dat d'overledene voor UE gehadt heeft, verplicht mij daer niet minder toe als de gerechtigheijt, die wil dat men aen ieder het sijn' geeft. Ghij hebt dan nient anders te doen als maer procuratie te sendén, en te ordonneren aen wien w' het alhier uwentwegen moeten behandigen, en wij sullen maecken, so veel in ons is, [20] dat het UE sal gewerden. Aengaende het Cabinet wij zijn UE danckbaer en seer

52 Probably Philippe Guide, correspondent of Locke. He was author of the *Experience de la vertu singuliere du vin rouge, pour guerir la retention d'urine* (1684). In his first letter on Swammerdam's illness (January or February 1680), Guenellon wrote to Thévenot to have asked Mr. Guide to give him a copy of his *Epistolica dissertatio*: Swammerdam 1975, 165.

53 "Reliquit J. Swammerd. 1. Mensam anatomicam \insectorum/ artificiosam confectam \ex cupro/ a Samuele Musschenbroek. Erat ex cupro, cum duobus brachiis aeneis, quorum uni microscopia, alteri insecta applicantur: ut pro libitu {... queant}. Hoest. 16 14/8 81 1 / 2. Anatomica praeparata. aestimata f 3000. / 3. Insecta, horumque iconae. f 1500. Iconae f 500. / Nullas tabulas anatomicas. aut si fuerint, testantur haeredes, se nescire, ubinam fuit? / Vidi in literis D. de Hoest ad Thevenotum. 16 23/10 81. Notatis † & [7] 16 26/6 81. †," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r. See *infra*, nn. 66 and 75.

verplicht voor de moeite en sorg die U.E. daer omtrent hebt gelieven te nemen; maer om het op so een voet overtesenden, kan men, immers voor als nogh, niet sien dat ons is te raden. Beter was het, na [5v] [6r] na ons[[j]] oordeel, dat 'er iemant was, die kenniss hebbende van saecken, het [25] van wegen dien H.^r alhier quam sien, en hem dan beright gaf hoe dat hij het was vindende. Voor mij ick twijffel' niet of 't sal altijd tot genoeghen zijn en verwonderingh beijde, allen den genen die haer maer gelieven sullen de tijt te geven van al het curieuse dat daer in is ter degen te overwegen: en niets, dunckt mij, sou meer te beklagen zijn, als dat en so veel jaren [30] arbeijt van so een beroemt persoon niet sou sien komen in handen van Lieden, [31] die het na sijn waerde soudén weten te aghten. De boecken zijn al over een tijt verkoght, so oock de overige instrumenten die hij niet gelagateert hadt, resterende daer van niet anders als de anatomiseer tafel der Insecten en nogh twee instrumenties, allen van koper, met de vergrootglazen die [35] hij daer op gebruijckte. Siet daer, Mijn Heer, dat ick UE hadde medetedeelen tot andtwoordt op uwe aengename van den 19.^e en met eenen om U.E. te betuijgen dat ick ben

UE.^d genege en Dienstbereijde

Leijden dese 26 Junij, 1681.

D. de Hoest.

[6v]

Commentary

In replying to a letter of Thévenot of 19 June, Daniel de Hoest apologizes (ll. 1–10) for not having yet delivered to him “the insects manuscript” (“’t Manuscript van de Insecten”) because Wingendorp, who had been addressed about it several times, refused to hand it over claiming that he wrote about it to Steno⁵⁴ and Thévenot himself, and that Thévenot let him keep it longer. Accordingly (ll. 10–20), De Hoest did not press Wingendorp further, and decided to ask Thévenot’s opinion and to require a receipt from him, as well as a procuracy and to designate someone to act on his behalf.⁵⁵

Next, (ll. 20–31) De Hoest mentions Swammerdam’s cabinet: he thanks Thévenot for his efforts, but at the same time informs him that they (certainly he himself and Volckers) decided not to deliver it immediately, as they deemed better that some expert could come on Thévenot’s behalf, and to report to him on its contents. According to De Hoest, moreover, it is necessary to sell it to someone who can give it proper attention, and appreciate its value. Apparently, therefore, Thévenot

⁵⁴ As to Steno’s relations with Swammerdam, see Jorink 2018.

⁵⁵ Letter 4.

offered himself to receive the cabinet at Paris – where Swammerdam himself hoped to sell it – and put some effort into easing its sale, as testified to also by letter 3.⁵⁶ In turn, De Hoest did not trust enough him as a seller, whilst admitting (probably in an attempt not to appear too harsh) that someone could come to see it on his behalf.

Eventually, (ll. 31–) De Hoest informs Thévenot that Swammerdam's books have already been sold, together with all his instruments, with the exception of an anatomical table to dissect insects and two copper instruments with magnifying glasses (viz. two microscopes).⁵⁷ The letter has no seals and no address, so that it was probably delivered by someone on De Hoest's behalf.

• *Letter 5: Le Moine to Thévenot, 12 August 1681 (fascicle 25, 38r–39v)*

[38r]

Si vous voyé monsieur
De Laet, je vous pri
de l'asseurer de mes tres humbles
services.⁵⁸

Monsieur

J'ay vû M. Hoest, et je me suis entretenu avec luy de votre affaire. Nous souhaitons passionnement l'un et l'autre qu'on vous donne [5] la satisfaction qui vous est due; mais nous prevoions bien que celui qui est saisi de vos manuscrits, est un homme qui les gardera aussi long tems qu'il luy sera possible. jl chicane et incidente sur tout. Tantost il s'en prend a la qualité de M. [10] Hoest. tantost a celle de sa femme, tantost il allegue l[']intention et l'ordre de M. Swamerdam, et tout cela pour gagner tems, et pour empescher qu'on n'imprime les ecrits dont il est question, dont il voudroit bien quelque jours avoir l'honneur et le profit. Ce n'est [15] point un homme a reverir par la douceur, et par des honnestetes. jl n'y a que la riguer de la justice [17] qui le puisse flechir, et si vous le souhaités M. Hoest [38v] m'a bien promis de le pousser tout autant qu'il pourra, et pour moy je

56 See Swammerdam 1975, letter 13 (2 December 1677), and section 1.3.1.1.

57 See section 1.3.1.2.

58 This note by Le Moine – apparently a post-scriptum – is written upside-down in the letter, and has not been included in the line numbering.

vous promet de voir [20] les juges, et d'employer tout mon petit credit pour obliger cet homme de vous faire raison. si je peux retirer les manuscrits, je vous les renverrai quand vous m'en donnerés la commission, et j'espere que vous me la donnerés bien plus prontement que [25] vous n'avies fait celle par la quelle vous me deviés enjoindre de vous renvoyer le paquet que vous m'avies baillé pour M. Swamerdam. je vous assure qu'il est encor das mon coffre, et que je ne fait qu'attendre que vous me prescrivies la maniere dont vous voules que j'en [30] dispose. vous m'avies autrefois ecrit que j'eusse a le vendre et a vous en acheter quelque livres. Mais il n'y a personne icy a qui cette marchandise soit propre, et avec m^r [33] de Swamerdam est morte la curiosité. On a vendu le cabinet de son pere, mais on n'en a pas fait autant [35] d'argent qu'un avoit espéré d'en faire; et si l'on vende celui du fils, asseurement qu'on n'en tirera [39r] [37] pas tout ce qu'il vaut, et ce qu'il luy a cousté. jl ne faut plus parler icy de choses qui soient un peu hors du commun. On y cultive les arts et les [40] sciences avec un soin fort mediocre, et si l'on n'y donne pas ordre, toute cette grande réputation que les Lettres autrefois aquirent a ce pays pourroit bien [43] s'évanouir. je ne doute pas que vous n'ayés vû un des jllustres de cette Academie qui se nomme m. de volder. [45] C'est un excellent philosophe, et un esprit fort agreable. Si vous pouvés quelque chose, en sa faveur, ne \le/ luy refusés pas s'il vous plait, et obligés le de ces honnetes offices qui font quelquefois a des etrangers, le plus grand plaisir du monde. je suis bien marri que je n'ay pû l'accompa=[50]gner; j'aurois vû et embrassé volontiers a Paris, bien des personnes qui j'y estime, et que j'y honore parfaitement. mais bien des raisons m'ont détourné de faire ce voiage, et vous avés raison de dire que le tems n'[{...}]est gueres propre pour me donner en France le plaisir que j'y voudrois [55] bien avoir. j'en aurois un fort grand si l'occasion se presentoit de vous temoigner, que je suis et de tout mon coeur

Votre tres humble et tres
obeissant serviteur

Monsieur

12 Aoust 1681.

Le Moyne

[39v]⁵⁹

A Monsieur
Monsieur Thevenot
a Paris

59 This page contains one seal.

Commentary

Le Moine⁶⁰ writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–17) after having discussed the affair with De Hoest. He informs him that Wingendorp will keep the manuscripts as long as he can, and that only the law can force him to release them. Moreover (ll. 17–33), he promises Thévenot that De Hoest will put all his efforts into the resolution of the affair, while as to himself he promises to intercede with the judges and to take and deliver the manuscripts to him, if provided with a commission by Thévenot. This Le Moine hopes Thévenot will provide him with faster than in the case of the one concerning a package Thévenot gave him for Swammerdam, and still in his possession. Le Moine does not specify its contents, and reports that Thévenot wrote to him to sell it and to buy some books with the money. He deems it difficult to sell, as only Swammerdam could appreciate its contents: it might have been an unspecified item mentioned in a letter of Swammerdam to Thévenot of 20 January 1678, where he wrote that “I never received the things from Mr. Moyne.”⁶¹

Hence (ll. 33–37), Le Moine reports that the cabinet of Swammerdam’s father has been sold for a cheap price (as seen also in letter 3), and that Swammerdam’s cabinet will probably be sold for less than its actual value and what it cost him. Also (ll. 37–43), Le Moine laments the state of the sciences in the Netherlands, and (ll. 43–) informs Thévenot about the presence, at Paris, of De Volder, whom, according to Le Moine, Thévenot had certainly already met.⁶² Le Moine asks Thévenot to help him, if possible, and notes that he could not go to Paris with him. As Le Moine (a French protestant pastor) reports that once Thévenot deemed it not good for him to visit France, he probably refers to the Dragonnades, i.e. the persecutions of the protestants taking place in France from 1681 onwards.⁶³ In an addition to the main text of the letter, Le Moine asks Thévenot to give his regards to Mr. De Laet (whose identity could not be ascertained).⁶⁴ The letter has no reference mark by Boerhaave, though he mentions it in his biographical notes.⁶⁵ The letter is addressed and sealed.

60 Born at Caën in 1624, Étienne Le Moine studied theology at Sedan under Pierre Du Moulin (1568–1558) and oriental languages at Leiden until 1650, when he became preacher at Geffosse, and later at Rouen, while in 1675 he became vice-president of the Normandy provincial synod. After having been invited to settle in the Netherlands by Van Beuningen, in 1676 he moved to Oxford, where he got a doctorate in theology, and then to Leiden, where he became professor of theology in the same year. In 1682 he became minister of the Walloon church at Leiden (see letter 20), where he died in 1689. On him, see Knipscheer 1937.

61 “De dingen van M^r Moijne heb ik noit ontfangen,” Swammerdam 1975, letter 15 (20 January 1678).

62 See section 1.3.2.

63 McCullough 2007.

64 He could have been Daniel de Laet (b. 1627), son of the geographer and director of the VOC Johannes de Laet (1581–1649). See *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*, archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 232, 242v (unnumbered).

65 “Wingendorpius omni artificio curabatur sibi retinere Swammerdamiana manuscripta, millena frivola causatus, nec, nisi lege cogeretur, redditurus. Thesauri patris Swammerdamii vendita nullo modo reddidere pretium expectatum. Le Moyne ad Thevenot. 16 12/8 81,” *Hist. Nat.* 102, fascicle 1, 8r.

• *Letter 6: De Hoest to Thévenot, 14 August 1681 – and copy of notarial acts of 6 and 9 August 1681 (fascicle 25, 7r–11v)*

[7r]

γ⁶⁶

Mijn Heer,

Wanneer mij uwe laeste aengename behandicht wiert, hebb' ick aenstonts besorght dat beyde de ingeslotene so aen de H.^r Le Moyne als aen Mons.^r Wingendorp bestelt zijn. 'k Hebb den laetsten met eenen noghmael doen aensprecken om het uwe, [5] maer hij weijgerd' het al weder, of schoon men hem voorhieldt, dat U.E. sigh niet lan=[6]ger met woorden kost laten paeijen. 'k Ben oock selfs bij hem gegaen, sonder dat ick [7] al me'e iets opdee. 'k Wierd daerom te rade tot mijn eijgen verseeckeringh, en uwe gerustheijt, hem door Notaris en getuijgen \het/ te doen afvorderen op so een wijze, als U.E. [9] uijt het nevensgaende sien kont. Hij pretendeert nu, aflatende van 't geen hij voor de[...]{...}]sen [10] heeft voorgewendt, dat de H.^r Swammerdam sal.^r het hem in eijgendom gegeven heeft; dat hij dienvolgende geen maght hadt het hem weder t' ontnemen, en, tot zijn nadeel, het aen een ander te maecken. 'k Versoght hem, dat hij ons daer blijck van geven sou, dogh dit was in zijn maght niet, dewijl hij het niet heeft; waerom hij oock in zijn antwoord niet anders doet, als het gepasserde tusschen hem en ons te ontkennen; niet [15] als woorden voorttebrengen; en de wegh van de justicie op te willen, waer bij ick [16] niet kan sien dat hij iets sal vorderen anders, als dat hij tijt sal winnen. Want de uijtterste wille van de Overledene leght daer, en is klaer: dat S.^r Wijlandt, in zijn leven mede-executeur, bij hem in April 1680 geweest is om hem te spreeken, kan oock getoont werden: dat hij het Extract uijt het Testament, 't geen wij hem gesonden [20] hebben, ontfangen heeft, bekent hij selver: waer tegen hij niet met allen hebbende waer mede hij het sijne kan bewijzen, 't process', na reght en billickheijt, noot=[22]saeckelick moet verliesen. Gelieft het U.E. nu dat ick de saeck verder brenge en (als eenige Executeur in dat Testament, overmits het sterven van den ander) uw reght voor den Reghter vervordere, 'k biede mij aen om U.E. daer in te [7v] [11r] [25] he[...]{b}]]lpen, so veel in mij is. D'onkosten, die ick daerom sal moeten doen, sullen alleen weren voor uwe reeckeningh, gelijk ook al het voordeel dat daer van sal komen. De moeite sal voor mij zijn. Of wilt ghij liever het hier bij laten rusten, en het hem laten behouden tot dat hij

66 See *supra*, section 2, n. 53 and *infra*, n. 75.

het U.E. goetwilligh geve? So als 't U.E. sal gelieven so sal 't mij wel zijn. 'k Versoeck alleen een lettertie antwoord, waer bij ick weten magh [30] waer na mij te righten.

De anatomiseer tafel der Insecten, daer ick U.E. voor desen van schreef, is een instrument van Koper met twee kopere arme; d'een, daer men de vergrootglazen aen vast maeckt en d'ander waer aen het tafelke is op [[d]]het welcke men de Insecten legt om die beijde dan in het anatomiseren te kunnen draijen, buijgen en brengen waer, en hoe dat men wil. [35] Dit is te koop met alle de vergrootglazen die daer op gebruijckt zijn. Oock resten d'er nogh 2 instrumenties, mede van koper, dogh van wat naem of nuttigheijt die zijn [37] is mij tot nogh toe onbekent.

[38] Wat de wercken van Goedart belanght bij dewelcken de H.^r Swammerdam verscheyde dingen geteijckent heeft, en wat 'er van dien aert meer bij de een of ander zijn moght [40] daer na sal ick, wanneer de Vacantie uijt sal zijn, wel eens vernemen en laten U.E. mijn wedervaren weeten, onderwijlen blijv' ick die ben

Mijn Heer

UE^e genege en Dienstbereijde D^r

Leijden dese 14 Augustus 1681.

D. de Hoest.

[11v]

[8r]⁶⁷

ב.⁶⁸

Copije

De originele minute staet op het kleijn zegel van 12 sts.

Op huijden den 6.^e Augusti A.^o 1681 compareerde voor mij Engel van Haestenraadt, openbaer Notaris, bij den Hove van Hollandt op de nominatie van die vande Gereghte der [5] Stadt Leijden geadmitteert, binnen deselve stadt residerende, ter presentie van de naer=[6]genoemende getuijgen, d E.^e Daniel de Hoest, doctor medicinae binnen deser stede, als getrouwet hebbende \juffr./ Margarita Volckers, mede-executrice van den Testamente van Sal.^r D.^r Johannes Swammerdam; versoeckende hij comparant door mij Not.^s gedaen te werden aen den persoon van S.^r Herman Wingendorp, Translateur in verscheijde talen, binnen [10] deser stede woonaghtigh, de volgende insinuatie en protestatie. Als te weeten;

[11] Dat zijnde de gemelte S.^r Herman Wingendorp geinsinueerde, door wijlen S.^r

67 The line numbering has restarted in the transcription of this attachment.

68 See *supra*, section 2, n. 36.

Christoffel van Wijlandt, mede executeur van den bovengemelte testamente, van Sal.^r D.^r Joh: Swammerdam, op den 8.^e Aprilis 1680 bericht, hoe dat deselve D.^r Swammerdam, in sijne uijterste-wille, gedisponeert hadde over sijne manuscripten, con=[15]cernerende de Nature en eigenschap van de Bijen, Capellen &c. met de teijckenningen daer toe behorende, tot 52 in 't getal, alle onder hem geinsinueerde berustende, ende dat gemelte D.^r Swammerdam deselve hadde gelegateert aen de H.^r Melchizedeck Thevenot, met begeerte, dat die aen sijn E: binnen een jaer, ofte so veel eer als doenlick: in handen geleverd souden moeten werden; welcke voorgemelte bekendmaeckinge naderhant, [20] in de Maent van Maij, desselven jaers, \door/ [[do]]opgemelte Margarita Volckers aen hem geinsinueerde op nieuws gedaen is, met ernstigh versoeck, dat hij, geinsinueerde, het werck dogh so veel doenlick geliefde te vorderen, 'twelcke hij geinsinueerde beloofde te sullen doen, eijsschende met eenen copije van 't bovensts. uijt den Testamente, dat oock door S.^r Wijlandt aghtervolgens sijne geinsinueerdens begeerte gesonden, [25] en door sijn Insinuants Broeder hem geinsinueerde is ter handt gestelt.

[26] Ende aengesien de geprefigeerden tijt nu so veel maenden overstreecken is, ende hij Insinuant den geinsinueerden verscheijdemalen, dogh vruchteloos, om gemelte [28] schriften, so selver als door sijn Insinuants Broeder, heeft aengemaent, so is hij Insinuant de selve schriften noghmael bij desen afeijsschende, ten eijnde hij die aen [30] den voorgemelte Heer Thevenot (die deselve met alle instantie vordert) ofte sijne ordre [8v] ordre overlevere, en also alle moeite en schade voorkome; en in gevalle hij gein=[32]sinueerde voortvaert die te weijgeren, blijvende die onder hem behouden, so protesteert hij Insinuant van sijne genoeghsame gedane debvoiren, waerschouwinge en advertentie als mede van alle kosten, schade, en interesse die daer uijt souden mogen komen te [35] ontstaen, en voorts van alles wat hij Insinuant tot sijn non-prejudicie in desen ee=[36]nighsints protesteeren kan of magh.

[37] Welcke voorgaende insinuatie den voorgemelte S.^r Wingendorp geinsinueerde door mij Notaris in presentie van naegenoemde ge=[39]tuygen voorgelezen zijnde, hij geinsinueerde daer jegens gedaen [40] heeft de volgende \schriftelicke/ antwoord en contra protestatie (alvorens beken=[41]nende het voorgemelte Extract van den Testamente ontfangen te hebben.)

[42] De geinsinueerde, sonder den voorgemelte Heer Insinuant anders te kennen als mandata=[43]ris van de H.^r Thevenot, overslaende 'tgeen ter saecke niet dient, gaf tot antwoord:

Dat hij bij vrijwillighe, pure, en ongelimiteerde overgifte van wijlen den H.^r [45] Auteur, meester geworden zijnde van de voorgemelte manuscripten, en den gevolge van dien, om die bij hem geinsinueerde in 't Latijn, en, naer goetduncken in andere talen overgesteld, en succesivelicken

gedrukt te werden, de voorschr. Autheur, hem geinsinueerde, na dato van die onbepaelde overgifte, niet vermoght aen seeckere precise tijt te binden, veel min aengaende den eigendom van de voorschr: Chartres [50] in prejuditie van sijne (des geinsinueerdens) gedane moeite, en verkregen reght, [51] te disponeren: verklarende niettemin de geinsinueerde om genoegswille wel te mogen lijden, als de voorseijde manuscripten, volgens sijn concept, sullen weren gedrukt, ende hij sijn wille van voorschr: Chartres sal hebben gehadt, dat alsdan en niet eerder, deselve sullen mogen gaen, daer het voorschr: Heere Thevenot [55] believeen sal: en sustinerende met die gedane verklaringe te mogen volstaen, protesteert in der bester forme van alle interesse, onkosten en schade die hij desen [57] aengaende soude mogen komen te lijden, en te dragen.

Versoeckende hij Comparant ende Insinuant, alsmede de voorgemelte geinsinueerde hier van bij mij Not.^s gemaect, ende uijtgegeven te werden een ofte meer acten in behoorlijcke [60] forme. Aldus gedaen binnen de voorsch. stadt Leijden present Nicolaes Curtis en Jacobus vander Wiele, als getuijgen benefens mij Notaris ten desen versoght.

't welck ick bevestige

E. Haastendraadt Not.^s publi.

[9r]

De originele minute staet op het kleijn zegel van 12 sts.

[64] Op den 9.^{den} Augusti des voorschr: Jaers 1681 \is/ jegens de antwoorde van den voorschr: geinsinueerde, bij mij Notar.^s, ten versoecken van den Insinuant, gedaen de volgende replijcque, als,

[67] Dat hij Insinuant in deesen geensints is agerende, en sulcks by den geinsinueerden ten onreghte ¶ { ... } ¶ aangemerckt werd ¶ { en } ¶, als mandataris van de H.^r Thevenot, maer (nomine uxoris) als executeur van de uijtterste wille van Sal.^r D.^r Swammerdam; zijnde bereijt [70] daer van aen hem geinsinueerde, 't sijner begeerte, sufficient blijck en verklaringe te geven tot volkomen genoeg.

//⁶⁹ Aengaende dat de schriften, die door hem Insinuant van den geinsinueerde geeijst zijn, door wijlen den H.^r Swammerdam aen hem, gein=[73]sinueerde, op sodanige wijze, als hij, geinsinueerde, allegeert, gegeven soude weren, verklaert hij Insinuant niet te kunnen aennemen, ofte overeenbrengen met het [75] vorige gepasseerde; aengesien hij geinsinueerde noit voor desen nogh mondelingh op haerluijder (Executeuren) notificatie en aanmaningh, noghte schriftelick op het extract uijt den Testamente hem geinsinueerde geleverd, geprotesteert heeft, ofte iets geuijttet, waer uijt men eenighsints nemen kost, dat hij geinsinueerde t' onreghte daerom wiert aengesproocken, maer wel het tegendeel; als, seggende hij geinsinueerde [80] of, dat de tijt niet om was, die de overlede in sijn geinsinueerdens faveur genoemd hadt: dat hij, geinsinueerde, het voorreght hem

⁶⁹ This is a separation mark.

daer bij gegeven, genieten most en sou: Ofte, dat hij geinsinueerde over die saecke aen de H.^r Thevenot selver geschreven, ende door anderen doen schrijven haddet, dat hij sijn Legaet niet soude eijsschen, en so [84] voort.

[85] Dienvolgende dat hij Insinuant des geinsinueerdens nu eerst gepretendeerden eigendom aen de opgemelte schriften, en de gevolgen van dien, niet anders kan houden als voor voorwentselen, die nul zijn, en van geener waerde: 't en ware dat hij geinsinueerde hem Insinuant toonde behoorlick en genoeghsaem bewijs ('t welck hij Insinuant bij desen met allen ernst vordert) waer uijt dat moght blijcken, dat gemelde D.^r [90] Swammerdam, oit, die Manuscripten, hem, geinsinueerden, in handen gegeven heeft, sonder aen sigh de volkomen eigendom te behouden, ende dien volgende de maght omme bij hem daer over te disponeeren naer sijn welgevallen. Welcke dispositie van gemelte D.^r Swammerdam door hem, geinsinueerde, insgelijcks abusivelicken geinsimuleert werdt, als werende gedaen tot preijuditie van hem ge=[9v] [95] geinsinueerde, nademael hij Testateur bij deselve hem, geinsinueerde, so veel tijts gegeven heeft, en meer, als hij, geinsinueerde, van noden hadde om het werck voorts overtesetten in 't Latijn, ofte oock wel, om het geheel in t nederduitsch te copieren, en met die copij sijn geinsinueerdens welgevallen te doen, 't zij om het in meer andere talen te [99] translateeren, of anders, so als hij geinsinueerde best te raden werden moght. //

[100] Op welke jegenwoordige verklaringe en insinuatie hij, Insinuant, betuijghd de begeerde openingh van hem, geinsinueerden, met den eersten te sullen verwaghten, ofte, bij gebreck van dien de schriften selver. Protestereende anders in de kraghtighste maniere hem doenlick van alle kosten, schade, en interessen die hij Insinuant dies aengaende eenighsints soude hebben te doen ofte te lijden, en voorts [105] als na reghten.

[106] Welcke voorgaende replique van den Insinuant bij mij Notar.^s den voorgemelde geinsinueerde in presentie van den naergenoemde getuijgen voorgelezen zijnde, hij geinsinueerde daer op schriftelicken gedaen heeft [109] de volgende duplique:

[110] De geinsinueerde, horende aen de eene sijde spellen van een medeexecutrice sonder dat de principael of tweede executrice op het toneel komt; ende aende andere zijde uijt des Heeren Insinuants eijgen ende sijn Broeders monde verstaen hebbende dat bij de H.^r Thevenot geordonnert was een wettelicke Insinuatie te doen; dunckt dat in so een mijsterieuse saeck niet dolen kan, mits te vatten [115] 'tgeen 't apparentste is, en den H.^r Insinuant te kennen als Mandataris ter tijt [116] en wijlen toe, dat het werck sijne volkomene leeden sal hebben gekregen. Ende nopende de saecke ten principalen, overslaende alle impertinente illatien voeght dit tot meerder elucidatie van sijn geposeerde, daer bij: Dat hij de voorschr: manuscripten in 't voorgaende narreé vermeldt, op den eijgenste [120] voet van den Autheur ontfangen heeft als sijn tractaet De muliebris Uteri

Structurâ, bij hem geinsinueerde mede overgeset en doen drucken, waer van het Manuscript nogh tegenwoordigh onder hem is bersutende, sonder dat den Autheur hem oit in den tijt bepaelt, ofte aengaende het voorschr: manuscript eeninge preten=[10r] pretensien geformeert heeft, hebbende selfs in 't laeste de platen tot dat [125] werck behorende voor reeck. van de H.^r Thevenot van hem geinsinueerde gekoft.

[126] Waerom dan de voorschr: geinsinueerde onnodigh aght in een klare saeck veel woorden te maecken, en denegerende het verder gedichteerde van den H.^r Insi=[128]nuant in voegen en so dat gedichteert is, reserveert sijn selven de volkomen maght omme ten dage dienende te seggen, 't gunt geseght dient, en hier mede inhererende [130] sijne voorgaende sustenue en gedane verklaringe protesteert als voren.⁷⁰

Aldus gedaen in jegenwoordigheijt van voorgemelde
Nicolaas Curtis en Jacobus van der Wiele als getuijgen
benefens mij Notaris hier toe versoght.

'Twelcke ick bevestige

[135] E. Haastenraadt.

Not.^s Publ:

[10v]

Insinuatie en protestatie

tusschen

Den E.^c Daniel de Hoest. Med. D^r

en

S:^r Herman Wingendorp.

Datum 6 Augusti A.^o 1681

nevens het Replijcq en duplijcq.

in dato den 9.^c Augusti A.^o 1681.

Commentary

⁷⁰ Wingendorp's autograph text of this *duplique* (from "De geinsinueerde" to "voren") is included, along with its copy, in the *minuutakten* i.e. minutes of the notary. See *supra*, section 1, n. 81, and Figure 10 (Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1243, aktenummer 112, unnumbered attached sheet).

De Hoest writes (ll. 1–7) that he delivered to Le Moine and Wingendorp the two letters Thévenot included in his last letter to him (so that letter 5 was probably Le Moine’s answer to this letter by Thévenot), and that he addressed and visited Wingendorp, without results. Therefore (ll. 7–9), he devised to have the manuscripts and the drawings demanded from Wingendorp by a notary and witnesses, filing an *insinuatie en protestatie*, namely a formal request and allegation against him: the copy of which, including Wingendorp’s and De Hoest’s replies and counter-replies, is attached to the letter.

Moreover (ll. 9–16), De Hoest reports that Wingendorp claimed (contradicting his previous statements) that Swammerdam left in his property such materials, so that he had no power to take them back or to give them to someone else. De Hoest asked Wingendorp to prove his claim: however, he was unable to do so, and just denied what transpired between him and De Hoest, letting the affair be solved by legal means: by which, according to De Hoest, he can just gain some time. In turn (ll. 16–25), De Hoest reports that it can be proven that the co-executor of Swammerdam’s will, namely the late Christopher van Wyland,⁷¹ visited Wingendorp in April 1680, and that Wingendorp received an extract from Swammerdam’s testament and acknowledged its receipt. According to De Hoest, therefore, Wingendorp is going to lose the trial against him. As far as the legal expenses are concerned (ll. 25–30), De Hoest informs Thévenot that any payment he will make will be on account of Thévenot himself, who will receive the advantage (*voordeel*) of the trial, while De Hoest will only be disturbed by it. Alternatively, for De Hoest, Thévenot can wait until Wingendorp releases Swammerdam’s legacy on his own: about which De Hoest asks Thévenot to communicate his decision as what to do.

Hence (ll. 25–37), De Hoest provides again information about Swammerdam’s instruments, namely on the anatomical table mentioned in letter 4, which he describes as composed of two copper arms, one of which serves to hold the lenses, and the other to dispose the insects. This instrument is for sale together with the lenses; moreover, De Hoest reports the existence of two other copper instruments, about which he admits his ignorance. Eventually, (ll. 38–), he promises to get information and then to report to Thévenot, after the holidays, about what appears to be a copy of the *Metamorphosis et historia naturalis insectorum* (1662–1669) of Johannes Goedaert (1617–1668) on which Swammerdam intervened with drawings (and which is now lost), as well as on

71 He was one of the three children of Jacob, an Amsterdam widower who married Lysbeth Indischeraven, cousin of Swammerdam (daughter of Gerrit Indischeraven and Neeltje Swammerdam, sister of Johannes’s father Johannes Jacobsz.). A sister of Christopher van Wyland, Catharina, married in 1667 Johannes Swammerdam’s brother Jacob. Van Wyland married Anna Brugmans in 1669 and died between April 1680 and August 1681 (as evident from this letter). His date of birth could not be retrieved. See Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 493, 81; Engel 1950; Swammerdam 1975, 18.

similar, unspecified items.⁷² The letter has no seals and no address.

As reported in the copy (by De Hoest's hand) of the notarial acts attached to the letter,⁷³ on 6 August 1681 he filed at Leiden, in front of the notary Engel van Haastenraadt (d. ca. 1693) and two witnesses (Jacobus van der Wiele and Nicolaas Curtis, whose identities could not be ascertained) an *insinuatie en protestatie* against Wingendorp. In it (ll. 11–25), De Hoest reports that on 8 April 1680 Wingendorp was notified of the last will of Swammerdam by Van Wyland; this notification was repeated in May by Volckers, who also requested Wingendorp to continue with his work (which Wingendorp promised to do), pursuing her request with a copy of the testament of Swammerdam. A copy of the testament, moreover, was sent to Wingendorp by Van Wyland and delivered to him by one of Daniel de Hoest's brothers. Afterwards (ll. 26–28), De Hoest and his brother repeatedly urged Wingendorp to consign the manuscripts, albeit in vain. So that De Hoest (ll. 28–36) requests Wingendorp to transfer them to Thévenot, and, in the case of persistent refusal, protests for the “efforts, admonitions and warnings” (“debvoiren, waerschouwinge en advertentie”) against Wingendorp, as well as for all the “expenses, damages and interests” (“kosten, schade, en interesse”) which might arise from it.

After having read De Hoest's *insinuatie en protestatie*, and before admitting to have received an extract from Swammerdam's testament (ll. 37–41), Wingendorp filed on the same day an answer and counter-protest (ll. 42–57) against De Hoest, whom Wingendorp recognized only as an emissary of Thévenot. According to it, Swammerdam transferred to him the ownership of the manuscripts, in order for them to be translated into Latin and other languages, and to be published. Therefore, Swammerdam had no right – after this transfer of property – to bind Wingendorp to a certain deadline, or to dispose the property in the manuscripts in prejudice to his efforts and the right acquired to them.

In turn (ll. 64–84), on 9 August De Hoest filed a reply to Wingendorp, before the same notary and witnesses. In it, he claims to be acting not just as an emissary of Thévenot, but rather as executor of Swammerdam's testament on behalf of his wife, and explains that he cannot accept Wingendorp's reply, for various reasons: (1) Wingendorp never protested his rights either orally upon the notification and reminder by Volckers and Van Wyland, or in written form upon receiving the extract from the testament; (2) nothing testifies that he was sued wrongly. Quite the contrary, Wingendorp stated that the time conceded him by Swammerdam has not expired yet (as reported indeed in letter 3), and that he shall enjoy this privilege accorded him; (3) Wingendorp himself (as

⁷² See *supra*, section 1, n. 292.

⁷³ The original *minuutakten* are now extant at Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1243, aktenummer 112.

well as others) wrote to Thévenot that he was not going to claim Swammerdam's legacy for himself. Accordingly (ll. 85–99), De Hoest rejects any valueless pretension by Wingendorp to the ownership of the manuscripts: he concedes that Wingendorp has shown him evidence that Swammerdam delivered the manuscripts to him, without, however, reserving to him their complete ownership. In turn, the testamentary disposition of Swammerdam, according to De Hoest, was wrongly deemed by Wingendorp as having been made against him: in fact, Swammerdam gave Wingendorp a lot of time to to translate these manuscripts into Latin or to copy them in Dutch and then use this copy for his translation.

On the same day, Wingendorp filed his counter-reply, in handwritten form (ll. 106–109). According to it (ll. 110–116), having heard that he was dealing with a co-executor without the presence of the main or second executor (Volckers), and having understood from the De Hoest brothers that Thévenot gave orders to file an *insinuatie* against him, he can only deem De Hoest to be an emissary of Thévenot, until the completion of his work. Moreover (ll. 116–125), according to Wingendorp the manuscripts were given to him by Swammerdam as he previously did with the manuscript of his *Miraculum naturae*, which had been translated and ordered printed by Wingendorp, and which is still in his possession, without Swammerdam making any pretension to it. According to Wingendorp, indeed, the plates of this treatise were bought from him by Swammerdam on Thévenot's account (as discussed above).⁷⁴ Therefore (ll. 126–130), Wingendorp deems it unnecessary to continue to discuss the matter and, rejecting all De Hoest's claims, reserves to himself the power of saying at the trial what is needed for his defence.

• **Letter 7: Wingendorp to Ortt, 22 October 1681 (fascicle 25, 70r–71v)**

[70r]

Copie

Edele Eerentfeste Heer,

[3] Myn Heere, Uw Ed^{ts} aangenamen hebbe te rechte ontfangen, en 'tis my van harten leet [5] dat ik d'eere en occasie niet gehadt hebbe om met Uw: Ed^t over dat bekende werck te confereren, alsoo ik niet twyfele of daar soude het een of het ander middel hebben kunnen worden gevonden dat ik voor schade bewaart ware, ende d'Heere [10] Thevenot een redelyk genoeg gehadt hadde. [11]

⁷⁴ See *supra*, section 2, n. 28.

Nu moet ik lyden dat D^r de Hoest my van d'eene Vierschare tot d'andere Sleept. Met een woort, ik ben d'ongelukkigste mensch van de Werelt: want eerst ben ik siek geweest, ende [15] daarop is gevolgt de doot van mynen waarden Vrient. Jk hebbe van 1800 gulden, tot dit werck gedestineert, boven 't verlies van 't Capital, nogh [18] groote onkosten toe gehadt, et ne quid dee\ss/et ad cumulum calamitatum, myn Soone die my [20] seer hadde kunnen dienen, is à copioso vomitu^m sanguinis tot de geel en watersucht vervallen, soo dat ik inter dolores et gemitus mynen tyt loco Solatii, in het translateren versleeten [70v] hopende 't werck soodanig te disponeren dat myn [25] overleden Vriend daar van post fata eere en resp[ekt] hebben, en ik min of meer voordeel genieten mog[t]. [27] Quid porro futurum sit, Deus novit; id scio, indie[n] d'Heere Thevenot die Voet hout, syn Edelhei[t] synde een man van middelen en conditie, sal da[ar] [30] mede in 't graff nemen, dat hy een Man van 75 jaren buyten noot uyt syn geleege[n]heid [32] gestooten hebbe. Uw: Ed^t ben ik met hart en sin, ten respecte van die boleefde. Offerten, ver=[34]bonden, wenschende de capaciteit ende gelegent=[35]heid te mogen hebben van myn danckbaar gemoet in der daat te mogen betoonen. Dan daartoe soo weinig kants siende, moet my vernoegthouden met Uw Ed: en de gantsche aansienlyke familie God te beveelen, altoos blyvende

[40] Edle Heere

(onderstond)

Leyden 22 Octob:^r

1681.

Uw Ed^t dienstschuldige

Herman Wingendorp.

[71r]

[71v]

Copia

Edle Eerenveste

Heere

Mijn Heere N: van Nijenrode

tot Utrecht aan de Breu=

kelsche Schuijt en soo voorts

te bestellen op het Casteel

van Nijenrode
port tot Utrecht is betaalt

[copy of a seal, given as two letters: “J S” (partially readable)]

Commentary

In this letter, which is extant in the *Nachlass* as a copy most probably sent by Ortt to Thévenot (but whose hand could not be identified), Wingendorp reports (ll. 3–10) to have received a letter from Ortt, lamenting to him that he could not talk with him about his work: in that case, it could have been possible to find a way to save himself from any damage and at once to grant Thévenot “a reasonable satisfaction” (“een redelyk genoeg”). Moreover (ll. 10–17), he complains that De Hoest is taking him “from one tribunal to another” (“van d’eene Vierschare tot d’andere”) and portrays himself as the “most unhappy man in the world” (“d’ongelukkigste mensch van de Werelt”) as he has been sick, he lost his friend (certainly Swammerdam), and incurred for his work expenses for which, apparently, he used the whole capital (unquantified – probably some money paid him in advance by Swammerdam) plus 1,800 guilders. Also (ll. 17–25), his son, who could have helped him (viz. Gerhard, as seen above), became sick with blood vomiting, jaundice and dropsy, so that instead of being relieved, Hermann Wingendorp now consumes his time in translating, and in painful conditions, hoping to be able to arrange his work in such a way that Swammerdam can have posthumous honour and respect, and that he can get some advantage from it. Eventually (ll. 26–31), Wingendorp harshly claims that Thévenot, a wealthy man, will regret that he has thrown him, a 75-years old man, “out of his state” (“uyt syn geleegeentheid”). The letter is concluded (ll. 31–) by some honorific formulas. The original letter was sealed and addressed.

- ***Letter 8: De Hoest to Thévenot, 23 October 1681, and copy of the eijsch of 22 October 1681 (fascicle 25, 12r–13v and 14r–15v)***

[12r]⁷⁵

Mijn Heer,

⁷⁵ The original of the letter, at 14r, contains a reference mark by Boerhaave on the top of the page: “ṛ / Mijn Heer”; see *supra*, section 2, nn. 53 and 66.

Lief was het mij geweest, indien ick U.E. hadde mogen berigten, dat wij met de saeck van Mons:^r Wingendorp haest een eijndt soudén hebben. Ick hadd' daerom gedaght, het voor de Universiteit allhier te brengen, alwaer men spoedigh geholpen [5] kan werden, en sonder dat'er van die Vonnissen appell gedoocht werdt; dogh dat in 't werck stellende, heeft hij daer tegens geopposeert, en sigh dat reght onttrocken, niet tegenstaende hij mij voor desen gesecht hadt, ick moght hem roepen waer dat ick [8] wilde. Om dan met geen onnodige disputeren van de wettigheijt des Reghters en tijt en gelt te quisten, hebben wij aenstonts de saeck voor Schepenen hier aengegeven, [10] en zijn wij, geassisteert door de H.^r Le Moijne, maendagh besigh geweest om te sien, of men het onder een derde gearresteert kon krijgen; hoewel dat dat, voor als [12] nogh, niet geluckt is. Evenwel so verre is het gebraght, dat hij \[de]/ behoorlicke specifi=[13]catie van alle de Schriften en teijckeningen in handen van den H.^r Griffier sal leveren, met beloften, dat hij niet voor dat het proces sal zijn geeijndicht, de schriften alleen [15] of eenige van die, van hier sal brengen. 't Is mij sonderlingh [[brief]] aengenaem, dat U.E. alrede aen Mijn H.^r De Grave d'Avaux over dese saecke heeft geschreven; de voorspraeck van die Heer kan seer groote dienst doen, en was, mijns oordeels, ten hooghsten nodigh, dat sijn Excellentie, hoe eer, hoe liever, bij missive aen de Heeren Schout en Schepenen op het ernstighste versoght, datse dogh gelieve de schriften en teijckeningen [20] tot de tijt en wijle toe dat de saeck volkome gedecideert zij, in haer bewaringe te nemen, en voor alle ongemack te verseecken; dewijl dat U.E. daer ten hooghsten aengelegen leght; en voor de rest het werck op t spoedighste doenlick te termineren en sodanigh uijttespreecken, als sij na reght en billickheijt sullen vinden te [24] behóren. Wij sullen het alles met de H.^r Le Moijne overleggen, en door sijn E.^o aen [12v] [25] aen dien Heer bericht doen, hoe best gedaen dient. Hier door sal U.E. kort reght krijgen, dat anders maenden duren sou, tot uw nadeel: want ick vreese dat hij alle uijtvlughten soecken sal, so veel hem doenlick, en na gegeven vonniss light aen het Hof in den Haeg sal appelléren, om so, tot sijn voordeel, U.E. van 't genot van uw goet so veel tel langer te versteecken, want daer zijnde, kan hij het jaren houden sleepen. [30] Dogh daer sal hij so light niet toe resolveren, bij so veer de dingen uijt sijn handen [31] waren, en op de Griffie of ergens anders bewaert ende gesloten wierden. Ick sende [32] U.E. hier ingesloten den eijsch so als die voor schepenen op gisteren gedaen is. Ick mejne niet, of het sal U.E. wel behagen. 't Antwoort hebben wij de naeste woensdagh, waer opdan so drae mogelick sullen replicéren: onderentusschen sal 't mij lief zijn [35] dat U.E. ons in desen geliefde te assistéren met uwe advis en oordeel, also seer gaerne soude hebben, dat alles niet alleen met uwe kennisse toegingh, maer oock [37] met UE.^{ts} raet en goetvinden. Wat de onkosten aengaet, 't is waer, 't behoorde dat hij daer in verweren wierdt,

gemerckt sijne redenen frivoool zijn, en van geender waerde. Dogh of het so even uijtvalen sal, en dencke ick niet; en dunckt mij, dat ick, die het [40] minste voordeel altoos daer van niet hebbe, zijnde dat altemael voor U.E.^e, oock geen deelgenoot in de kosten zijn most, indien s'er vielen. Dogh wetende, Mijn Heer, met wien dat ick te doen hebb', sal ick met U.E. daer over niet twisten, maer stellen aen uwe edelmoedigheid, als van dewelcke ick niet anders waghte, dan 'tgeen dat [44] reght is.

[45] De Anatomiseer tafel daer ick U.E. van schreef is geen maecksel van de H.^r Swammerdam, maer van dien vermaerde werckmeester in koper, Samuel [47] Musschenbroeck.

[48] Wat het Cabinet belanght, is sint sijn E.^s sterven niet verslimmert; maer behoerlick gade geslagen, en bestaet uijt sijn anatomische preparatien; uijt Insecten, [50] en teijckeningen der selven. Teijckeningen \of diergelijcke/ van de deelen des Menschen lighaem zijn d'er niet, oock weet ick niet, so s'er geweest zijn, onder wie dat die berusten [13r] Het andere wort op f 5000. gehouden; als f 3000. de Anatomica; f 1500. de Insecten; en f 500 de teijckeningen. Ongelijck meer is 'er voor desen voor geboden geweest, en is het nogh waerdigh, maer dewijl de Erfgenamen gesint zijn te verkopen [55] so stellense het minder, en souden, geloov' ick, op een genereus bodt het light [56] laten springen, met de registers, en wat des meer is, daer toe behorende.

De 3 platen de Uteri muliebris fabricâ berusten onder des Overledens goederen, dogh hoe s'er komen, en wat 'er van is, en weet ick niet. Indiense de uwen zijn gelieft het mij te laten weten, en wij sullen d'er uwe ordre mede volgen. 't Sou [60] wel konnen zijn, dat dat een streeck was van Wingendorp, om U.E. sijne platen, so hij d'er heeft, op t duerst te doen betalen; want hij is listigh, en seer geset op [62] sijn voordeel.

De tijt laet voor ditmael niet toe dat ick iets anders hier bij doe, dan dat ick UE.^d verseeckere dat ick ben

[65] Mijn Heer

UE genege en D.bereijde D.^r

Leijden dese 23 Octob. 1681.

D. de Hoest.

Copije van den Eijsch gedaen voor Schepenen 22. Oct. 1681.

Cornelis van Scherpenbrant, als gemaghtigh van D^r D. de Hoest, [70] no: ux: Executeur in den Testamente van Sal.^r D.^r Johannes Swammerdam

Eijsscher

contra

Hermanus Wingendorp, gedaeghde,

Concludeert dat bij vonnisse van U.E. Aghtbare Collegie de gedaeghde sal werden ge=[13v] [75] gecondemneert, omme aenstonts, en sonder langer uijtstel, aen handen van hem eijsscher, gaef, ongeschonden, en wel geconditioneerd over te leveren alle de originele hantschriften, en teijckeningen, van de H.^r Joh: Swammerdam, concernerende de nature en anatomie der Beijen, Capellen &c. egeene uijtgesondert, \soals/ [[dewelke]]deselve, volgens specificatie onder hem Swammerdams eijgen handt, bij den gedaeghde zijn [80] berustende, en welcken allen bij uijtterste wille van den H.^r Autheur, door de doot bevestigt, jegenwoordigh in eigendom competéren aen den E.^c H.^r Melchizedek Thevenot, en den selvige al sint Maert 1681 in handen geleverd hadden moeten werden. En ten minsten dat deselvige schriften & c. bij provisie ter griffie werden geleverd; maeckende eijsch van kosten & c.

[15v]⁷⁶

Commentary

The letter is extant in the *Nachlass* in two exemplars (12r–13v and 14r–15v), both by De Hoest's hand. Only the exemplar at 12r–13v contains a transcription of the *eijsch* or claim of De Hoest. The other (at 14r–15v) contains a reference mark by Boerhaave and is sealed – but without an address. Moreover, the exemplar at 14r–15v contains some insertions and corrections, so that the other text (at 12r–13v), in which these corrections are included in the main text, is certainly a copy of it. Also, as De Hoest writes that the copy of the *eijsch* is included in the letter (ll. 31–32), he probably provided it as a separate paper – now lost – attached to the exemplar at 14r–15v. As evident from letter 9, De Hoest thought that Thévenot did not receive this letter, so that the copy at 12r–13v was most probably sent to him by De Hoest together with letter 9. In my transcription I have used the copy (12r–13v), given that it contains the text of the *eijsch*, without reporting the variants with respect to the original (14r–15v), which concern only spelling and punctuation. The original contains a Hebrew letter by Boerhaave.⁷⁷

De Hoest writes Thévenot (ll. 1–8) that he cannot report to him the end of the affair, and that he had attempted to resolve it by bringing it to the University, where it could have been concluded

⁷⁶ This page contains two seals.

⁷⁷ See *supra*, section 2, n. 75.

in a short while and without the possibility of an appeal by Wingendorp.⁷⁸ However, the latter, still busy with his work, did not accept De Hoest's proposal, even though earlier he had told De Hoest that he would accept being summoned to wherever De Hoest wished. So that (ll. 8–12) in order to avoid unnecessary disputes over the legitimacy of the court at which to resolve the affair and wasting money and time, De Hoest ("wij" – probably he and his relatives) decided to bring the matter to the Leiden aldermen (*Schepenen*), having on 22 October filed an *eijisch* against Wingendorp, in which Cornelis van Scherpenbrant acted as De Hoest's attorney (*procureur*). Moreover, on Monday (i.e. on 19 October) he ("wij") asked, with the assistance of Le Moine, to have Swammerdam's manuscripts kept under a third party, albeit without success. In any case (ll. 12–15), he obtained that Wingendorp should deliver to the court clerk (*Griffier*)⁷⁹ a specific inventory (*specificatie*) of the manuscripts and drawings,⁸⁰ and promise that he will not remove anything from them before the end of the trial.

Moreover (ll. 15–24), De Hoest reports to be pleased that Thévenot informed the Count D'Avaux (namely Jean-Antoine de Mesmes, 1640–1709, the French Ambassador in the Holland)⁸¹ about the affair: his mediation, according to De Hoest, could be of great help in coming to a resolution of it. In particular, for De Hoest the Ambassador can write to the Leiden magistrates (*Schout en Schepenen*) and convince them to keep the manuscripts and drawings in their custody until the conclusion of the quarrel, in order to procure their safety, as well as to put an end to the affair itself as soon as possible. De Hoest reports (ll. 24–37) that he ("wij") will discuss this with Le Moine, and that he will communicate to the Ambassador what is to be done through Le Moine himself. Accordingly, justice will be done in a short time: otherwise, it will take months, given that Wingendorp will use any excuse to keep the manuscripts, and even after a sentence (*vonniss*) he will appeal to the Hof van Holland in The Hague, where the matter could take years to be resolved. On the contrary, if the manuscripts are taken out of his hands, and kept at the court clerk's office (or somewhere else), he could not take that step easily. An answer from the aldermen is expected for the next Wednesday (29 October), to which De Hoest is going to reply as soon as possible – asking, in any case, Thévenot's advice as to what to do.

As to the legal expenses (ll. 37–44), De Hoest states that even if it is true that these have to be paid by the defendant (Wingendorp), since his reasons are valueless, he doubts that this will ever

78 Leiden University had an academic tribunal: on it, see Molhuysen 1924.

79 Namely Pieter van der Maersschen: see *infra*, n. 101.

80 See *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

81 In fact, he was never Count of Avaux, as the title was held by his brother Jean-Jacques (1640–1688). Jean-Antoine served as diplomat at Venice (1672–1674), at the negotiations for the Peace of Nijmegen (1675–1678), at The Hague (1678–1689 and 1701), and at Stockholm (1692–1699). Moreover, he was with James II of England (1633–1701) during his expedition to Ireland (1689–1690). On him, see Gisselquist 1968.

happen. So that in his previous letter to De Hoest, Thévenot certainly refused to repay them to him (as De Hoest asked in letter 6), asking instead to have them paid by Wingendorp. In addition, De Hoest notes that since he is not going to have any advantage from the affair, which will be all for Thévenot (as claimed also in letter 6), he should not have to share any of the expense of it. Still, he is confident in Thévenot's generosity, expecting to have acknowledged what is owed to him.

In the second part of the letter, De Hoest (ll. 45–47) again provides information on the anatomical table of Swammerdam, mentioned in letters 4 and 6, reporting that it was not built by Swammerdam, but by the copper craftsman Samuel van Musschenbroek.⁸² As to Swammerdam's cabinet (ll. 48–56), De Hoest informs Thévenot that it is still complete, and consists of anatomical preparations, insects and the drawings of them. De Hoest could not find drawings or like things of the parts of the human body, and does not know whether they actually exist and are at someone's disposal. The cabinet is worth 5,000 guilders, namely 3,000 for the anatomical preparations, 1,500 for the insects, and 500 for the drawings. De Hoest reports that much more has been previously offered for it, certainly referring to the proposal of Cosimo de' Medici to buy it for 12,000 guilders in 1668, which was refused by Swammerdam. However, since his heirs want to sell it, they are disposed to give it for less than its actual price, and to agree to sell it complete in the case of a generous offer.⁸³

Eventually (ll. 57–62), De Hoest reports to Thévenot that the plates of Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae*, of which he does not know the provenience and the contents, have been found among Swammerdam's belongings. De Hoest asks Thévenot what to do with them, and suspects that Wingendorp mentioned them (in his counter-reply of 9 August, as seen in letter 6) as a trick to make Thévenot to pay the highest price for them, in the case that he has them, as he is cunning and looks for his advantage. Probably, De Hoest thought that Wingendorp tried to get Thévenot to pay him for these plates, even if (as seen above), these had already been paid for by Swammerdam shortly before his death.

Concerning the *eijsch* of 22 October before the Leiden aldermen,⁸⁴ in which Van Scherpenbrant acted as attorney for De Hoest, in turn executor *nomine uxoris* of Swammerdam's testament, according to it, it is asked that the defendant (Wingendorp) be condemned by a sentence of the aldermen to deliver immediately to the claimant all the manuscripts and drawings, deposited

⁸² See section 1.3.1.2.

⁸³ See section 1.3.1.1.

⁸⁴ The original of this document could not be accessed during the preparation of the present book; it might be at Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0508, inventarisnummer 44L: *Dingboeken van grote zaken, 1646-1811, 44L L. 1679 maart-1683 juli. 1679-1683*. See also *infra*, n. 99.

at Wingendorp's house (as reported in the *specificatie* written by Swammerdam)⁸⁵ which should have been delivered to Thévenot at latest in March 1681. Or, at least, that such materials must be provisionally deposited at the court clerk's office. Moreover, Wingendorp is required to pay the legal expenses ("maeckende eijsch van kosten").

• *Letter 9: De Hoest to Thévenot, 19 November 1681 (fascicle 25, 16r–v)*

[16r]

Mijn Heer,

't Zijn nu 4 weecken, dat ick U.E. dese voorgaende brief toesondt, sonder dat ick tot noch toe eenigh antwoord op deselve hebbe, dat mij doet dencken, datse opgehouden, en tot U.E.^t niet gebraght is. Het welcke, indien het so is, U.E. ongetwijffelt [5] verdrietigh sal maecken, en mogelijk doen dencken, dat het aen onsen iever en sorghvuldigheijt hapert, dat U.E. aen het uwe niet en kont geraecken, 't Schort evenwel hier niet, Mijn Heer, weest des vrij verseeckert, want alles wat in mijn vermogen geweest is, hebb' ick getrouwenlick voor U.E. aengeleght, sonder, mijns [9] wetens, iets te versuijmen. 'k Ben tweemaal, wanneer ick sagh dat wij hier te swack [10] wierden, en datmen het futselboecke soght, na den Haag geweest, om mijn H.^r de Grave d'Avaux, door middel van de H.^r Le Moijne, van tnodige te verwittigen, en sijn E.^{ts} voorspraeck aen de Heeren van Leijden te versoecken, en daer door getraght te maecken, dat U.E. spoedigh aen een eijndt moght komen, en voor al dat sijlieden dogh de schriften en teijckeningen, met de specificatie geschreven door de H.^r Swammerdam [15] onder haer souden nemen, en voor alle ongemack verseeckeren. Want ick sie te gemoet, en ben met allen ernst bedught, dat, so deselve onder Wingendorp blijven, dewijl hij gantsch quaetwilligh is, dat hij, na gegeve vonniss, lichtelick die elders heen sal voeren, en daer door beletten, datmen hetselve, al heeftmen het tot sijn voordeel, niet sal kunnen executeren; te meer, dewijl hij, een eenlopigh persoon [20] zijnde, het hem evenveel is, waer dat hij woont. Of, so hij dat al niet en doet, dat hij van dat vonnis sal appelleeren aen een hoger Reghter, en daer door tijt winnen, om ondertusschen met die schriften, dewijlse in sijn maght zijn, te doen so als 't hem sal gelieven; 't zij met die in het nederduijts te laten drucken waer doorse [16v] [24] gewisselick sullen komen te verslimmeren, of oock wel \met die/ in 't geheel te verduijsteren[.] [25] Dit sie ick te gemoet, Mijn Heer, en daer en is geen middel om dat te beletten, 't g[missing text]

⁸⁵ See *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

ware dat alles bij provisie op de griffie gebraght, en aldaer bewaert wiert: waer ick so veel arbeijts gedaen hebb'. Ick vrees' evenwel dat de Reghters, in weerwil van al de moeite, so door ons, als door de H.^r Le Moijne, ende H.^r Ambass.^r van Vrank=[29]rijck daer om aengewent [[is]]; ons dat niet sullen toestaen, te meer, dewijlse, na dat [30] de versoghte provisie gisteren was bepleijt, geen vonniss daer over hebben gelieven t[e] geven; maer geordonnert hebben dat men aenstaende Dinghsdagh de saeck ten [32] principalen sal disputeren. Waer op ick gelove dat een sententie volgen sal, wae[r] bijse U.E. de schriften wel sullen toewijzen, maer de geeijchte provisionele be[wa=][34]ring ontseggen; waer door U.E. alle de ongemacken sult hebben te waghten, w[missing text] [35] van ick hier boven gewagh gemaect hebb. Voor mij ick hope tsal anders uijtvalen, als ick mij inbeeld', immers altijt ick sal niet nalaten aenstaende donderdagh U.E. te laten weten, hoe dat het daer mee slaet; want ghij kont ver=[38]seeckert zijn dat ick waerlick ben,

Mijn Heer

UE.^{ts} Dienstbereijde en ge[missing text]

Leijden dese 19 [[O]]Novemb. 1681.

D. de Hoest

Commentary

De Hoest writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–9) that after having sent him his last letter four weeks before (i.e. letter 8), he has had no answer from him. Therefore, he presumes that this letter has been lost,⁸⁶ and re-assures Thévenot that he is putting all his efforts into the resolution of the affair, which Thévenot might think was not yet concluded because of carelessness on his part. Accordingly (ll. 9–15), he informs Thévenot that since they have little power at Leiden, and Wingendorp is trying to make excuses, he has been twice to The Hague to keep the French Ambassador informed of the affair – with the intermediation of Le Moine – and to ask him to intercede with the Leiden authorities (“Heeren van Leyden”) to come to a rapid conclusion of the affair, and to take the manuscripts and drawings into their custody, “together with the specific inventory written by Mr. Swammerdam” (“met de specificatie geschreven door de H.^r Swammerdam”).⁸⁷ Indeed (ll. 15–24), De Hoest fears that if they were at his disposal Wingendorp will take these materials elsewhere after a verdict, so that the latter will not be executed. Moreover, he will try to gain time by appealing the sentence to a higher court,⁸⁸ and will therefore be able to do what he wants with them, such as publishing them in Dutch. Accordingly (ll. 25–32), for De Hoest only their provisional delivery to the court clerk’s

⁸⁶ As seen in letter 8, in fact, De Hoest probably attached a copy of it to the present letter.

⁸⁷ See *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

⁸⁸ Letter 8.

office can prevent all this. However, he doubts that Wingendorp will ever be forced to do so, for the reason that despite all his efforts and those of Le Moine and the French Ambassador, the day before the judges, after the deposit (*provisie*) of the manuscripts to the court clerk was pleaded, did not issue any verdict, and postponed the discussion of the main suit in the affair (“de saeck ten principalen”) to the next Tuesday (viz. 25 November).⁸⁹ De Hoest fears (ll. 32–) that the judges will acknowledge the property in the manuscripts to Thévenot, without, however, arranging for the requested provisional custody (“provisionele bewaring”). In any case, he hopes that things will turn out differently, and announces to Thévenot that he will write again to him on Thursday (namely on 27 November). The letter has no seals and no address.

• *Letter 10: De Hoest to Thévenot, 21 December 1681, and a copy of an extract of the trial proceedings of 5 November–3 December 1681 (fascicle 25, 17r–20v)*

[17r]

Mijn Heer,

Met mijne laeste schreef ick UE.^d dat de versoghte provisienele bewaringh in advis gehouden was, en geordonneert dinghsdaghs daer aen de saeck ten principalen te bepleijten: dogh naderhant wiert die tijt, [5] op 't versoeck van Wingendorp, door de Heeren Schepenen nogh 8 dagen [6] verlengt, en uijtgesteld tot den 2.^{de} December. Onderentusschen zijn de H.^r Le Moijne en ick selver boven gegaen, en hebben in persoon bij de Reghters aengehouden, dat dogh het vonnis over de geeijste provisie moght werden geuijt, aengesien het belangh dat U.E. [10] daer bij hadde, groot was. Wij obtineerden het eghter niet, maer werden uijtgesteld tot de bovengenoemde dagh, op dewelcke de saeck ten principalen sou werden bepleijt; als wanneer de Heeren Leyden, te sullen recht doen, 't zij op de provisie, of anders, so als sij alsdan souden vinden te behooren. De 2 December zijnde gekomen was het (na mij [15] onsen Advocaet beright heeft) extraordinarij vergaderingh, die men Vroetschap noemt, waer door de saeck voor alsdoe niet kost werden [17] geeijndight. Op den derde, deelt Wingendorp door sijn Procureur presentatie van de schriften en teijckeningen bij provisie boven te sullen leveren, mits dat men hen \nogh/ voor een tijt acces daer toe [20] sou gunnen. En heeft het onsen Procureur (na het schijnt) liever geweest [17v] geweest het \so, als/ seeckerder, te nemen; da[...], onseecker hoe der bij den Reghter sou werden gedisponeert, vonnis

⁸⁹ Letter 10.

aftewaghten, en perijckel te loopen va[n] alle de bewusten ongemacken die d'er stonden te komen, so d'er alsdan niet op de provisie, maer ten principalen, recht gedaen wierdt. Hoewel [25] mijns oordeels, d'er nu gevaer is dat men geen condemnatie van kosten [26] krijgen sal, twelcke anders ontwijffelbaer hadt moeten volgen.

[27] Niet tegenstaende dit accoordt so wierd[en]t eghter door Wingendorp 't bovenbrengen van de schriften uijtgesteld, en ick gelove, hadt ons[...] de H.^r de Volder niet geassisteert (door wiens hulp ick vertrouw dat nu wel [30] voort te recht sullen raecken) wij waren nogh deselfde. Nu zijnder eer=[31]gisteren een deel schriften met de teijckeningen boven gebraght, dogh of s'er allen zijn sou de specificatie van de H.^r Swammerdam moeten uijtwijs[en,] die d'er tot nogh toe niet en is, en die ick, in weerwil van al de moeite die ick doe, niet en kan krijgen. Men wil ons de register van de ordre [35] der platen daer voor doen aennemen; en men protesteert, dat 'er anders [36] niet en is, als datte; dogh ick, daer mede gantsch niet te vreden zijnde, sal hem (so 't daer nu nogh niet is) mergen of overmergen voor Schepen[en] doen citëren, op dat hij, so hij bij dat seggen persisteert, aldaer dan met gestaefde eeden verklaren, dat hij alles wat hij van den Overleden [40] ontfangen heeft, en waer van in den Testamente is gemelt, getrouwe=[41]lick heeft overgelevert. Siet daer dan alles wat wij daer omtrent kunnen doen, en waer mede wij dan sullen moeten rusten. Hier ingeslote sende ick U.E. copije van het proces uijt het boeck van de H.^r Griffier; waer uijt U.E. sal komen sien, het geen d'er gepasseert is. Ten [20r] [45] v⁹⁰ principalen sullen wij, so drae de vacantie sal zijn geeijndicht, de saeck voort=[46]setten so veel in ons vermogen zijn sal; op dat U.E. sigh eenmael magh versadigen met het genot van het geene, waer na U.E. so langh met [48] verlangen gewaght heeft.

[49] 't Verdriet mij en mijn vrouw, Mijn Heer, die na ick hore tgeluck gehadt [50] heeft van U.E. \hier te landt zijnde/ meermalen te sien en te spreeken, dat wij voor d'eerste mael dat wij gelegentheijt hebben iets voor U.E. te verrichten daer in so geluckigh niet en zijn, als wij dat wel wenschten. En seecker de aghtingh die de H.^r Swammerdam voor U.E. altijd gehadt heeft, en die wij oock hebben heeft ons begerigh gemaect om U.E. bij alle voorvallen te [55] mogen dienst doen, en, waer 't mogelick, daer door de eere te erlangen, van deel te mogen hebben aen uwe vriendschap. 't Portrait van den Overeldene isser niet, anders kon U.E. sigh daer van bedienen, tot uw genoegen. De platen sal ick U.E. met gelegentheijt senden, 'k hoop met de boven=[60]gemelte schriften. Met de brief aen de H.^r van Beuningen is aenstonts uwe ordre ge=[62]volght, en valt'er iets meer voor daer in ick U.E. kan dienen U.E. kan sigh verseecken dat ick ben

90 "Icon defuncti nunquam picta fuit. In Hoestianis 16 21/12 81. Notatis v," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r.

Mijn Heer

Leijden dese 21 December 1681

UE D.bereijde D.^r

D. de Hoest.

[20v]

[18r]⁹¹

Grootdinghboeck L fol: 216verso.

Extract

Cornelis van Scherpenbrant gemaghticht van D^{ct}. Daniel de Hoest executeur, no.^e ux. van den Testemente van sal.^r D.^{ct} Johannes [5] Swammerdam, Eijsscher

Contra

Hermanus van Wingendorp, gedaeghde.

De voornoemde eijsscher doende eijsch concludeert dat de gedaeghde bij vonnisse van dit Ed. Aghtbare collegie sal werden gecondemneert [10] omme aen handen van den eijsscher in desen gaef, ongeschonden, en wel geconditioneert aenstonts, en sonder langer uijtstel overtelevren alle de originele handschriften en teijckeningen van de H.^r Johannes Swammerdam concernerende de nature der Beijen, Capellen &c. gene uijtgesondert, so als deselve bij gemelte D^{ct}. Swammerdam, volgens specificatie [15] onder sijn, Swammerdams, eijgen handt, aen den gedaeghde zijn geleverd, ende jegenwoordigh bij uijtterste wille van de voorschr. Swammerdam, door de doot bevertight, niet alleen in eigendom competeren aen den Hr. Melchisedek Thevenot, voor desen Afgesandt van sijn Konincklike Maj.^t van Vranckrijck aen de Genuesen, maer dewelcke die in Maert [20] 1681 in handen geleverd hadden moeten werden. Ten minsten dat deselve bij provisie ter griffie sullen werden geleverd. Maeckende, in cas van proces, eijsch van kosten, ofte tot anderen, &c.

D. van Toornvliet voor den gedaeghde, alvorens te antwoorden, excipie=[24]ren, of ander versoeck te doen; versoeckt copije van 'tgene daer op [18v] [25] de provisie werdt gefondeert.

Corn: van Scherpenbrant seght onder de gedaeghde te berusten copije van 't Testament van wijlen de H.^r Swammerdam, of extract van dien, waer op de provisie werdt gefondeert, 'twelck partijen oock is genotificeert. Sustineert derhalven dat het versoeck sal werden ontseijt, en den gedaeghde [30] geordonneert staende vierschaer, ten minsten op de provisie, te antwoorden.

D. V. Toornvliedt persisteert bij sijn versoeck, maeckende eijsch van [25] kosten van desen

91 The line numbering has restarted in the transcription of this attachment.

incidente.

C. V. Scherpenbrant insgelijcks, den 5. 11. 1681

Schepenen ordonnereern dit incident te bepleijten op vrijdagh ten 9 uren. [35] Actum den 5.11.1681

Dirck Toornvliedt voor den gedaeghde concludeert ten fine van niet ontfanckelick, en, bij ordine, dat den Eijsscher sijnen eijsch en conclusie mitsgaders de versoghte provisie sal werden ontseijt, cum expensis.

C. v. Scherpenbrant persisteert voor replick so ten principalen als [40] bij sijne versoghte provisie.

D. Toornvliedt voor duplick.

Schepenen ordonnéren partijen dese saecke te bepleijten op Dinghsdagh den 18.^e desen maent, 'smergens ten 9 uijren. Actum den 12.11.1681.

Schepenen partijen gehoord, gesien 't geproduceerde, op alles gelet, houden [45] dese saeck, nopende de versoght provisie, in advis, en ordonnéren partijen in de saeck ten principalen voort te procederen, en deselve te instruéren na=[19r] naer stijle, dogh sonder di[[{...}]laj, om op huijden over 8 dagen bepleijt en getermineert te mogen werden. Actum bij alle de Schepenen den 18.11.1681.

C. V. Scherpenbrant dient van productie onder inventaris den 19.11.1681.

[50] D. V. Toornvliet tijt om te dienen, eod.

D. V. Toornvliet dient insgelijcks als onder inventaris den 21.11.1681.

Schepenen hebben op 't versoeck van wegen de gedaeghde gedaen dese plaijdoije gecontinueert 8 dagen, en sulcks tot dinghsdagh den 2. X^b sonder langer dilaj. Actum den 21.11.1681.

[55] Dirck van Toornvliedt seght te vreden te zijn binnen tweemael 24 uijren bij provisie ter Griffie te brengen, en aldaer in bewaringh te laten de gerequireerde originele handschriften en teijckeningen, bij eijsch vermelt, volgens specificatie van de H.^r D.^r Johannes Swammerdams eigen handt, onder den gedaeghde berustende, behoudelijck dat alle deselve ter griffie [60] bij provisie sullen blijven ten dienst en gebru[[c]]ijck van partijen wedersijts, so dat de gedaeghde tot de selve voor eenigen tijt nogh sal hebben vrij en onverhindert acces.

C. V. Scherpenbrant versoeckt daer op condemnatie.

Schepenen condemnéren partijen wederzijde volgens de gedane presentatie en [65] acceptatie. Actum bij de H.H. Aar, Wittens en Hooghmade. Den 3 December 1681.

Naer gedane collatie is dese (voor so veel 't geertraheerde belanght) met

sijne principale bevonden te accordéren. Den 3. X^b. 1681.

was getuijckent

[60]Pr. V {E} Maersschen.

[19v]

Commentary

De Hoest writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–6) that in his previous letter (viz. letter 9) he reported to him that the provisional custody of the manuscripts had been taken into consideration, and that the pleading of the main suit in the affair had to take place on Tuesday (25 November). However, at the request of Wingendorp, this pleading *ten principalen* was postponed for 8 days, until 2 December.⁹² In the meantime (ll. 6–17), De Hoest and Le Moine appeared before the judges in order to obtain a verdict on the requested deposit of the manuscripts. They did not obtain anything, and the discussion of their request was postponed to 2 December, too. Eventually, on that day there took place an extraordinary meeting of the Leiden city council (*Vroedschap* – of which the aldermen were part), as reported to De Hoest by their lawyer (namely the *advocaet* Adriaen Thielen),⁹³ so that they could not discuss the affair. Eventually (ll. 17–26), on 3 December Wingendorp gave an offer (*presentatie*) through his attorney (Dirck van Toornvliet),⁹⁴ according to which he was going to provisionally deliver the manuscripts and drawings to the court clerk’s office, upon the condition that he could still have access to them. De Hoest’s attorney eagerly accepted this as a solution safer than waiting for a verdict and undergoing all the risks which could arise in case justice was done not on the deposit of the papers, but on the case *ten principalen*. Nevertheless, according to De Hoest this solution is going to make it more difficult to obtain a condemnation of Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses, which should otherwise have easily followed. Notwithstanding the agreement, however (ll. 27–36), Wingendorp postponed the delivery of the manuscripts and drawings until apparently two days before (19 December), and only the assistance of De Volder could secure this. Still, since De Hoest could not find the specific inventory (*specificatie*) of Swammerdam among them,⁹⁵ he is not sure whether Wingendorp delivered everything to the court clerk’s office. In turn, Wingendorp wanted De Hoest to accept the “inventory of the order of the plates” (“register van de

⁹² This happened, however, on 21 November (Saturday): see below, in the legal proceedings.

⁹³ Letter 34.

⁹⁴ See the legal proceedings below. The act of procuracy, of 4 November 1681, is in Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1350, aktenummer 172.

⁹⁵ See *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

ordre der platen”) and protested that there was no other inventory than this.⁹⁶ De Hoest (ll. 36–48), not completely satisfied, thus decided to summon him before the aldermen in the next two days (viz. 22 or 23 December), to make him swear that he had delivered all the materials he received from Swammerdam, and that were mentioned in his testament. As far as the discussion of the case *ten principalen* is concerned, this will continue after the winter holidays.

In the final part of the letter (ll. 49–), De Hoest reports that he and his wife (who met Thévenot in the Netherlands),⁹⁷ are sorry that they have the occasion to help him but without the success they wished for. Also, that there are no portraits of Swammerdam, but that if one is extant, Thévenot can use it, and that he is going to send him the plates (certainly those of the *Miraculum naturae*, mentioned in letter 8, in which De Hoest asked Thévenot what to do with them), hopefully with the manuscripts. Eventually, De Hoest refers to a letter of, apparently, himself for Coenraad van Beuningen,⁹⁸ maintaining that he accomplished an order of Thévenot with it. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

To the letter, De Hoest attaches an extract of the proceedings of the trial from the book of the court clerk.⁹⁹ It contains a copy (by De Hoest’s hand) of the *eijsch* against Wingendorp (already given in letter 8), as well as reports of the hearings which took place on 5, 12, 18, 19 and 21 November, and on 2 and 3 December.

On 5 November, Van Toornvliet (Wingendorp’s attorney) made, first of all, a request for a copy of what the deposit of the manuscripts was founded on (“D. van Toornvliet [...] versoect copije van ’tgene daer op de provisie werdt gefondeert”). In turn, Van Scherpenbrant (De Hoest’s attorney) maintained that Wingendorp was in possession of a copy of Swammerdam’s testament or of an extract of it, upon which the request of the deposit was based, and which had been notified to the parties. Therefore, he claimed that Wingendorp’s request had to be rejected, and that he had to be ordered to give an answer at least about the provisional deposit. In turn, Van Toornvliet reiterated his request, and requested that Wingendorp should not pay the legal expenses of the issue (*incident*), while Van Scherpenbrant requested that he should pay them. Eventually, the aldermen ordered that the issue was to be pleaded on Friday (7 November) at 9:00.

96 Mentioned also in letter 11, according to which it was by Swammerdam’s hand.

97 Probably in 1668 or 1670, when Thévenot visited Amsterdam: see sections 1.2.1 and 1.3.2.

98 See *supra*, section 2, n. 40, and the Appendix of the present book (i.e. the letter of Guenellon to Thévenot of 22 June 1679).

99 The original is extant at Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0508, inventarisnummer 44L, 216v and following: it could not be accessed during the preparation of the present book. It might be that further legal proceedings relevant to the present study are extant in it, or in the following fascicle, containing the actions in the civil proceedings dating from March 1683 to March 1689: Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken, archiefnummer 0508, inventarisnummer 44M.

On 12 November (as no action on 7 November is reported), Van Toornvliet argued for the non-admissibility of De Hoest's requests, and asked that his *eijsch*, as well as the requested deposit and the payment of the expenses have to be rejected. In turn, Van Scherpenbrant replied by continuing to pursue the case *ten principalen* as well as with regard to the deposit, while Wingendorp's attorney counter-replied ("D. Toornvliedt voor duplick"). Eventually, the aldermen ordered the parties to plead the case on Tuesday (18 November) at 9:00. On that day, the aldermen, after having heard the parties and considered everything, took the deposit into consideration ("Schepenen partijen gehoord, gesien 't geproduceerde, op alles gelet, houden dese saeck, nopende de versoght provisie, in advis"), and ordered the parties to continue legal proceedings focusing on the main suit, and to issue proceedings according to the current jurisdiction, without further delays, so that it could be pleaded and terminated within 8 days.

On 19 November, Van Scherpenbrant submitted documents (listed in the court's inventory), while Van Toornvliet was given a deadline for this. On 21 November he did the same. On the same day, the aldermen – at Wingendorp's request – postponed the pleading for 8 days, until 2 December. Eventually, on 3 December Van Toornvliet declared himself satisfied with provisionally bringing, to the court clerk's office, within 48 hours, the manuscripts and drawings mentioned in the *eijsch*, and deposited at Wingendorp's house (according to Swammerdam's *specificatie*),¹⁰⁰ provided that they will be available to and useable by both the parties, so that Wingendorp can have access to them. In turn, Van Scherpenbrant asked for Wingendorp's condemnation thereupon, accepting in fact his proposal. Accordingly, on that day the aldermen (Aar, Wittens and Hoogmade)¹⁰¹ ordered both parties to follow the "offer and acceptance" ("presentatie en acceptatie") they made.

• *Letter 11: De Volder to Thévenot, 1 January 1682 (fascicle 25, 46r–47v)*

[46r]

Monsieur

Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez desia receu et ma lettre, et l'offre de monsr de Ri=[4]berolles

¹⁰⁰ See *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

¹⁰¹ Certainly Nicolaas van der Aar, Cornelis Wittens (1646–1709), and Gerrit van Hoogmade (ca. 1633–1682, known as art collector). The conformity of the copy of the proceedings to their originals was confirmed by the court clerk (*Griffier*), namely Pieter van der Maersschen or Maersche (apparently a former student of Frans van Schooten Jr. (1615–1660) at Leiden). See Honkoop and Honkoop 1684, 1 (unnumbered); Naumann 1981, 189; Prak 1985, 60; Maanen 1987, 203–204.

Merchand a Paris, de payer a Monsr [5] Tu {rr}etti selon vos ordres. Car j'ay desia [1]receu lettres de Rouen, en qui on mes mande qu'on a donné les ordres necessaires pour [8] cela a Paris. Excusez moy, Monsieur, que je vous ay repondu a la vostre si tard, [10] puisq[ue] cela est arrivé non par ma negli=[11]gence, mais par le desir, que j'avoit de vous apprendre quelq[ue] chose d'asseuré sur l'af=[13]faire des manuscrits de Monsr. Swammer=[14]dam. Apres que je vous ay escrit, j'ay receu [15] des lettres de la part de Monsr. Guenellon me priant de faire tout mon possible en cette affaire. je vous supplie tres hum=[18]blement, Monsr, de vous persuader qu'il n'y a rien qui me soit plus a coeur, \que/ de m'aquitter [20] un peu des grandes obligations, que je vous ay et que rien m'y puisse porter plus ardemment que le seul desir de faire mon devoir, en em=[23]ployant et moy et mes amis a vostre service[.] [46v] [24] Monsr. Hoest avec qui j'ay veu les papiers dans [25] la greffe trouvait a propos, puis qu'il n'y avoit d'[[e]]au=[26][[s]]tre specification de la main de mons. Swammerdam que des figures, d'exiger de mons. Wingendorp un serment solennel de n'en avoir plus. je me suis donc adressé premierem[[{t}]]ent a un des juges et [30] apres a toute leur assemblé, qui m'ont as=[31]seuré, qu'ils l'envoyeroient querir, et exige=[32]roient de luij ou un autre specification, ou par faute de cellecy un serment de n'\[[en]]/ avoir jamais receu autres escrits de la part de mons [35] Swammerdam. Cela est arrivé la semaine passé. j'ay este contraint d'abandonner pour quelques jours la ville, et d'aller a Amsterdam. Mais non obstant cela, on a fait [1]ce qu'on m'a promis. et on me mande aujourd'huy, que Monsr. [40] Wingendorp hier a presté le serment requis. Il sera maintenant necessaire de poursuivre un arrest definitif en nostre faveur, ce qu'[il] [43] faut differer jusques a la fin de ces vacances [44] mais cependant il faut que je vous dise que [45] Monsr. nostre avocat m'a dit que Monsr. Win=[46]gendorp luij a promis de ceder a vous la proprie=[47]té de ces manuscrits, pourveu qu'on n'exige p{as} de luy les frais et depenses de la justice. En cet estat, Monsr., sont vos affaires, {en} f[missing text] [50] je vous prie derechef \de croire/, que je feray tout ce que dependra de moy. En finissant je [47r] prie Dieu, qu'il luy plaise de vous donner toute prosperi[[{...}]]té dans cette nouvelle année et demeure avec une sincere reconnoissance de vostre bonté [55] envers moy

Monsieur

Vostre tres humble et tres obli=
gé serviteur

B. De Volder.

Amsterdam. I Ianvier

1682

A Monsieur.

Monsieur Thevenot

sur le quay neuf proche de la Grève

A Paris

Commentary

De Volder writes (ll. 1–8) that he is sure that Thévenot received his previous letter, as well as the offer of Mr. de Riberolles, merchant at Paris,¹⁰³ to pay Mr. Turretti (whose identities could not be ascertained): indeed, De Volder heard, from Rouen,¹⁰⁴ that Thévenot made an order for this payment (about which no further detail could be ascertained). Moreover (ll. 8–23), he informs Thévenot to have waited to answer him until he had some news of the affair, in which he was asked to help by Guenellon, in some letters he received after having answered Thévenot. Most probably, therefore, De Volder had been involved in the affair by Thévenot himself at Paris or immediately afterwards, and then also Guenellon asked for his help. As to this (ll. 24–35), he inspected, together with De Hoest, the papers deposited at the court clerk’s office, but since “there was no other specific inventory by Swammerdam’s hand than [that] of the figures” (“il n’y avoit d’autre specification de la main de monsr. Swammerdam que des figures”),¹⁰⁵ De Hoest proposed to require from Wingendorp to swear that he did not receive any other paper from Swammerdam. De Volder asked about this first to one of the judges, and then to their whole assembly, and was reassured that they were going to summon Wingendorp, and to require from him either another *specification*, or, in the case that this was missing, an oath to this effect. This had happened the previous week (i.e. 22–28 December 1681): afterwards (ll. 35–43), De Volder had to go for a few days to Amsterdam, but this notwithstanding the judges kept their promise and Wingendorp, as reported to De Volder, gave his oath the day before (31 December 1681). According to De Volder, the next move is to pursue “a definitive sentence” (“un arrest definitif”) against Wingendorp; however, this can be done only after the winter holidays. In any case (ll. 44–), according to their lawyer, Wingendorp promised him to transfer the property of the manuscripts to Thévenot, provided that he is not going to be charged of

102 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

103 Mentioned also in letter 18.

104 This was a point of passage of the postal shipping between Leiden and Paris, as evident from letter 19.

105 This could have been the “inventory of the order of the plates” (“register van de ordre der platen”) mentioned in letter 10. See also *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

the legal expenses. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 12: De Volder to Thévenot, undated (after 19 January and before 23 April 1682), (fascicle 25, 66r–67v)*

[66r]

Mon Sieur,

Vos lettres me sont bien rendues, et je croy, que vous aurez receu ma reponse a celle dont vous [4] craignez la p[er]te [le] lendemain de vostre derniere [5] de 19 Ianvier. je vous ay escrit en celle la combien nos imprimeurs demandent pour chaq[ue] feuille de 500 examplaires caractere Cicero in 8. car vostre premiere lettre marquoit ce livre, et j'ay pensé que vous parlassiez des lettres de Cicero imprimée [10] in 8. par Monsr. Hackius. Mais aprez vostre derniere d[an]s laquelle vous parles de Cicero in 12, et de S^t Augustin in fol. je me suis adressé a Monsr. Boom [a] Imprimeur a Amsterdam, qui m'a donne la response [14] que vous voyez dans ce billet. Il me fa[c]sche fort [15] que je ne \vous/ puis encore ecrire, que l'affaire de Mons. [16] Swammerdam est achevée. Car quoy que Monsr. Hoest et moy ayons fait, pour en voir la fin nous n'avons pas encore peu obtenir, nostre deman=[19]de. Ceux qui ont les affaires de Monsr. Win=[20]gendorp es [sic] mains se servent de tous les detours imaginables pour retarder, ce qu'ils savent fort bien de ne pouvoir pas empescher tout a fait. Pour quoy je me suis encor une fois adressé a deux des juges qui sont de mes amis, pour leur [25] faire comprendre le tort, qu'on faisoit et a vous et aux belles lettres, et a leur reputation mesme par ces sortes de dilayemens. Ils m'ont donné une response fort favorable, et [s]je n'y man=[29]queray point de les sommer sur leur parole, [30] s'ils n'excutent bien tost ce qu'ils m'ont promis. [66v] [31] Quant a la peinture des animaux de monsr. Hermans, j'ay fort esté en peine pour trouver icy a Leyde un peintre assez habile a cela. Et enfin j'en ay trouve un, le fils de [m] feu Monsr. Miris, ce celebre peintre [35] de nostre ville, qui vous est sans dout connu par renommé. Mais il met sa peine a trop haut pri[s]x. Il a fait ces trois desseins, deux de la [eruca] \Locusta/ foliacea{,} un de Locusta cucullata[.]. Dans la deuxiesme figure elle est situee su[er] le dos, pour montrer la plus [40] grande feuille qui fait comme le corps de cet ani=[41]mal, dont les deus autres sont comme des ailes. Il m'a falu luy donner pour ces trois desseins trois ducaton, c'est a dire un peu moins que quatre escus de France. Il ne veut pas moins par jour [45] que deux ecus, et il a presq[ue] employé a ces trois figures, que je vous envoyer maintenant, [p]deux jours. Si nous

estons ou [[1]]a Amsterdam, ou a [[Leyde]] la haye, on pourroit avoir un autre a meilleur prix. Mais icy je n'en ay trouvé jusques icy un au=[50]tre ou plus habile ou a meilleur marché. Je vous envoie ce que'il a depeint, [[a]]afin que vous en puissiez mieux juger, et m'envoyer vos ordres [53] plus particulièrement.

[54] Pour vous faire avoir les ecrits de Monsr. Swammer=[55]dam, je ne scay pas encor un moyen plus assuré que par mer. Il me faudra dans peu de jours aller a La Haye, ou je m'informeray plus exactement s'il y a moyen de les vous envoyer par quelq[ue] [59] voye plus assuré.

[67r] [60] J'ay ecrit a monsr. de Raey qui m'a repondu comme vous verrez dans ce memoire Monsr. son pere adjouste [[qu'il m'e fera ecrira tout ce qui]] \que son fils/ a desia tant de marques de ce monsr. jclmer, qu'il est presq[ue] impossible de ne trouver pas, et qu'il me fera scavoir, ce que son fils [60] pourra connoistre de luij.

je vous prie de me faire cette grace de m'employer a vostre service en tout ce que pourra aucunement dependre de moy et je vous assure que je seray tousjours fort sincerement

Monsieur

Vostre tres humble et tres obligé Ser=
viteur B. De Volder.

Je vous remercie tres humblement de la peine que vous prene[[s]]z de mon pendule. et certes j'ayme mieux de l'attendre plus long temps et de l'avoir fort ex=[70]act que de l'avoir bien tost, s'il y manquoit quelq[ue] chose a l'exactitude, ce qui sans doute gasteroit tout.

[67v]

Commentary

This undated letter has to be dated after 19 January 1682, given that De Volder replies to a letter of Thévenot of 19 January (ll. 4–5), while the year can be inferred by the fact that it deals with the efforts of Thévenot to publish the works of Swammerdam in the Netherlands, which was pursued only in 1682. Most probably, this letter was written in late January or in February. In any case, since in the letter De Volder reports that the affair has not been yet concluded (ll. 14–16), it can be dated before 23 April 1682, when, according to De Hoest, Wingendorp accepted to transfer the property of the manuscripts to Thévenot (letter 16) and definitely before 30 April, when De Volder himself reported to Thévenot that the affair had been concluded (letter 15).

De Volder (ll. 1–14) communicates to Thévenot to have received his letters, and reports the contents of a previous letter of his (henceforth: letter A), which he deems as having been received by Thévenot shortly afterwards Thévenot wrote his last letter, dated 19 January (“vostre derniere,” henceforth: letter B). By this letter A, De Volder replied to a first letter of Thévenot (“vostre premiere,” henceforth: letter C), that Thévenot deemed as lost (probably in letter B). In letter A, De Volder reported to Thévenot that he had asked for information about the printing costs for 500 copies of Cicero in 8° size,¹⁰⁶ because in letter C Thévenot mentioned a book which De Volder believed to be the edition in 8° of Cicero’s epistles.¹⁰⁷ In letter B, however, Thévenot referred to Cicero in 12° and Augustine *in folio*, so that De Volder asked for information from Mr. Boom at Amsterdam: most probably Hendrik Boom (1644–1709), who had been the publisher together with his brother Dirck (ca. 1645–1680) of Cicero’s *De officiis libri tres* in 12° (Amsterdam, 1669) – whereas the other reference might be to Augustine’s *XXII boecken vande stadt Gods*, published *in folio* at Amsterdam by Joost Hartgerz in 1646 and by Abraham de Wees in 1660–1661, or even to the *Editio Lovaniensis* (1576–1577) or the *Editio Parisina* (started to be published in 1679) of Augustine’s works. Probably, Thévenot wanted to get information about printing Swammerdam’s works *in folio* – a format of publication for his manuscripts already mentioned in Swammerdam’s letter to him of 20 June 1678,¹⁰⁸ in letter 18, and later chosen by Boerhaave for his 1737–1738 edition – using the font size of Cicero’s *De officiis*. Boom’s estimation was forwarded by De Volder to Thévenot in a now lost attachment to this letter.

Also (ll. 14–30), De Volder reports that the affair is not yet concluded, despite his and De Hoest’s attempts, as the result of the diversions of “those who have the affairs of Mr. Wingendorp in [their] hands” (“ceux qui ont les affaires de Monsr. Wingendorp en mains”): probably his creditors, also mentioned in letter 18. However, De Volder obtained from two judges, friends of his,¹⁰⁹ the promise that it will be resolved soon. In fact (as reported in the final part of the letter: ll. 49–59), he is going to seek information at The Hague about the shipping of the manuscripts to Thévenot, deeming sea as the safest way.

The letter also concerns other topics.¹¹⁰ De Volder (ll. 31–53) sends Thévenot, as samples,

106 I.e. 4.5 mm.

107 Certainly, Cicero’s *Epistolarum libri XVI ad familiares*, edited and commented by Joannes Georgius Graevius (1632–1703), and printed at Leiden by Pieter and Cornelis Hack and by Daniel Elsevier at Amsterdam in 1676–1677.

108 Swammerdam 1975, letter 22.

109 The reference is probably to Gerrit van Hoogmade (see *supra*, section 2, n. 101): indeed, a member of the Van Hoogmade family, i.e. Jacob van Hoogmade (d. 1700), medical doctor at Leiden, is reported in the eulogy of Jakob Gronovius (1645–1716) for De Volder as a physician and a friend of his: Gronovius 1709, 29–31; LePoole 1905, 50–53.

110 See section 1.3.2.

three drawings or figures (now lost) of two kinds of insects from Ceylon: namely the *Locusta Zeylanica foliacea* (an insect imitating the cinnamon leaf), and the *Locusta Zeylanica cucullata viridis* (an insect imitating the lemon leaf), specimens of which were conserved in the *Ambulacrum* of the Leiden botanical garden around 1680.¹¹¹ Indeed, the drawings were depictions of the “animals of Mr. Hermans” (“la peinture des animaux de monsr. Hermans”) namely of the botanist Paul Hermann, director since 1679 of the Leiden botanical garden, after having been employed with the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, VOC) in Ceylon in 1672–1677.¹¹² De Volder had them made by one of the sons of the famous painter Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–1681): either Jan (1660–1690) or Willem (1662–1747),¹¹³ to whom he reports he paid 3 ducats, i.e. circa 4 French *écus*, two for each day of work. A quite expensive sum (in fact, circa 10 guilders in total),¹¹⁴ but the best price for this quality of drawings at Leiden, whereas at Amsterdam or The Hague he could have them made for a cheaper price.

Moreover (ll. 60–65), De Volder reports to be attaching to the letter a *mémoire* (now lost) by Johannes de Raey Jr.,¹¹⁵ namely the son of Johannes de Raey (1620 or 1622–1702), a foremost Dutch Cartesian and in 1682 professor of philosophy at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre.¹¹⁶ De Raey Jr. was the author of a *Dictionarium geographicum ofte Schat- en woordt-boeck des aerdt-rycks* (1680),¹¹⁷ and Thévenot shared with him, not surprisingly, interests in geography.¹¹⁸ Indeed, De Volder also reports that De Raey Sr. communicated to him that his son has already many records about Mr. Jelmer, about whom it is thus impossible not to find any information, which his son will communicate to Thévenot through his father.¹¹⁹ De Volder refers to Cornelis Jelmersz Kok, who in 1664 discovered the Jelmerland, namely a land south-east of Nova Zembla, during an exploration led by Willem de Vlamingh (ca. 1640–1698), while a further exploration by Kok and his brother Jakob Jelmersz was undertaken in 1669. Apparently, the first to publicly report this discovery was

111 *Musaei Indici index*, items 67, 73, 162, 233, and 234.

112 On him, see Heniger 1986, 148–150; Van Andel 2018. Mentioned also in letters 15, 18, 19, 21, 25, and 33.

113 On them, see Naumann 1981.

114 I calculated the price in guilders using letter 13.

115 He was born probably around 1646 (as his father married Cunera van Lennep on 18 November 1645), and enrolled *honoris causa* at Leiden on 19 February 1665 (without indication of his age); Petrus Francius (1645–1704) published a poem for him in 1697, from which it results that he died: Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 462, 404; Francius 1697, 448; Rabus 1700, 118–122; Du Rieu 1875, 520. A certain Johannis de Raij is reported as buried at Amsterdam on 20 October 1689, in the Zuider Kerk: Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 1092, 106.

116 On him, see Strazzoni 2011; Strazzoni 2015. De Raey, father or son, is also mentioned as an acquaintance of Thévenot in Swammerdam 1975, letter 8 (1671). Notably, in 1674 Jan Baptist van Lamzweerde (ca. 1657–1700) – incited by Blasius – attacked both Swammerdam’s theory of respiration and De Raey Sr.’s theory of logic: Van Lamzweerde 1674; Kooijmans 2011, 127–134.

117 The second edition (1700) was edited by Blankaart, according to the preface opening it: De Raey 1700, *Aan de leeser*. Further editions appeared in 1709 and 1710.

118 See also letters 15, 18, and 28.

119 See also letter 15.

Dirck Rembrandtsz. van Nierop (1610–1682) in his *Tweede deel van enige oefeningen, 'twelk is in geographia ofte aertkloots- beschrijvinge* (1674), who provides a very simple map of Jelmerland.¹²⁰ This map was re-used by Thévenot in his 1681 *Recueil*, where he provides an very brief account of the discovery and reports to have talked with the organizers of the 1669 expedition.¹²¹ Eventually, the full story of the discovery was provided by Nicolaes Witsen (who discussed it with Van Nierop by letters)¹²² in the second edition (1705) of his *Noord en Oost Tartarye* (1692).¹²³ In any case, Jelmerland is not mentioned in De Raey's *Dictionarium*.

Eventually, in a post-scriptum De Volder thanks Thévenot for his efforts concerning the acquisition of a pendulum (which, as evident from letter 18, was being built under De Volder's direction),¹²⁴ the delay in the delivery of which is due to the necessity of having it made as precise as possible. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

• **Letter 13: De Hoest to Thévenot, 11 February 1682 (fascicle 25, 21r–22v)**

[21r]

Mijn Heer,

Aghtervolgende tgeen ick U.E. in mijne laeste beloofde, hebbe niet nagelaten, so veel mijn doenlick geweest is, uwe saeck voorttesetten: Wingendorp daer entegen arbeijt na sijn vermogen dat te verhinderen. Ten dien eijnde, heeft hij, over 4 weecken [5] bij mijne Heeren de Schepenen beginnen aentehouden, dat hij soude mogen van de schriften, in December laest vrijwillingh door hem op de Griffie gebraght, om daer [[te]] \bij provisie te/ blijven, eenige weder lighten en tot sigh nemen; onder pretext, dat hij die nodigh hadde, om sijne oversettingh daer tegens te collationeren: en dat hij, als [9] hij die gebruijckt hadde, \die/ telekens weer bove sou brengen. Ick [[hebbe]] \wierd'/ da[[t]]er op [10] [[g]]boven ontboden, en mij wiert gevraeght, of ick daer in consenteerde; also de Heeren seijden daer in niet te willen doen, sonder onse toestemmingh. 'k Hebbe het gantsch afgeslagen, en daerenboven aen haer E. verthoont, dat het alles maer gemaecte uijtvlughten waren;

120 Van Nierop 1674, 22–23, 38, and 46–48.

121 Thévenot 1681, unnumbered sheet usually bound after page 43.

122 Witsen to Van Nierop, 15 January 1679, Van Nierop to Witsen, between 15 January and 10 April 1679, and Witsen to Van Nierop, 1 August 1681, in Van Nierop 2012, 259–260 (letter 60), 260–262 (letter 61), and 266–267 (letter 64) respectively.

123 Witsen 1705, 902–903. On him, see Peters 1994.

124 Mentioned also in letter 15.

dat men uijt Wingendorps brieven, aen de H.^r Swammerdam van dese geschreven, konde en soude tonen, dat hij al in t jaer 1679 [15] de schriften niet meer nodigh hadde: en genomen hij hadde die nogh al nodigh, dat hij, dewijl hij op sijn tijt de begeerte van de H.^r Swammerdam in dese geweten heeft, de tijt, hem gestelt, hadt moeten waer nemen; dat het niet reght was, dat, bij so veer hij dat niet gedaen heeft, dat sijn versuijm U.E. tot nadeel zijn sou. [19] Hier op wiert, by vonnisse interlocutoir, de saeck, ten fine van accordt, geren=[20]voijeert aen 2 van de Heeren.

Comparérende op de gestelde dagh protesteerde ick niet te kunnen accordéren, gemerckt het een saeck was, die niet mij, maer U.E.^t raeckte; en dat U.E.^{ts} laeste brief niet anders was, dan een nieuw versoeck om reght en jus[tit]ie te vorderen, en een betuijgingh van de hoop, die U.E. hadde, [24] dat de saeck nu, sonder lang[[i]]er uijtstel, uijtterslick getermineert sou werden. [25] Gevende met eenen ordre aen onsen Advocaet, dagh te versoecken, om de saeck ten [21v] ten principalen te bepleijten, zijnde daer niet anders in te doen, dewijlse geheel is voldongen. Hier op is door die 2 gemelte Heeren aen t volle collegie van Schepenen rapport gedaen, dat wij niet konde accordéren, maer reght versoghten; en \dat/ Wingendorp bleef persistéren in sijn versoeck, om de dingen [30] bij sigh in huijs te mogen hebben, dewijl hij, een out man zijnde, alle dagh niet konde boven op de griffie komen; dat hij oock 'snaghts meer arbeide als 'sdaeghs, [32] en thuijs sijne boecken [[b]] en alles bij een hadt. 'k Ben daer op, op gisteren middagh weer boven ontboden, en wiert mij belast dat ick U.E. daer over eens sou schrijven, en onderstaen of U.E. oock soude komen resolveren, en daer in genoeghen [35] nemen, dat hij Wingendorp van de Griffie soude mogen lighten een vel 2 a 3 teffens onder recepisse, en die weder brengende, weder anderen tot den eijnde van het werck toe; dat hij in 2 maenden een eijndt daer van sou maecken, en U.E. dan niet langer ophouden, maer 't alles laten volgen, mits compense=[39]rende de Kosten. En was meijningh der Heeren Schepenen, dat, U.E. [40] dit aennemende, eerder en gemackelicker aen het uwe soudt geraecken, als bij de wegh van de Justitie; aengesien de saeck bij appell sou kunnen devolveeren aen een hoger Reghter, en het so heel langh trainéren, eer U.E. aen een eijndt soudt komen. Dat sijlieden oock beloofden, datse, tot uwe verseecke=[44]ringh, so drae sij souden komen te horen, dat hij, Wingendorp, sieckelick wiert, [45] aenstonts de Schriften, die hij moght hebben, soude weder doen halen, op dat [46] U.E. daer omtrent geen scha'e sou lijden. 'k Hebb' dat dan mijn pligh geaght U.E. bekend te maecken, en met eenen Copije der reeckeninge \van d'onkosten van 't proces/ te senden, belopende tsamen ongeveer f 170. –, zijnde in frans gelt 68 escus, tot uwe narightingh. U.E. gelieve dit nu ter degen [50] te overwegen, en laten ons op het alderspoedighste in een lettertie antwoord weten, wat dat uwe geliefte in desen is, om aen de Heeren [22r] Schepenen rapport te doen: of anders konde U.E. (so het UE geliefde,) daer over een brief [53] \aen de H.^{ren} Schout en Schepene schrijven, en daer in uwe meijningh uijtdrucken./

[54] Aengaede de 52 Teijckeningen, die boven op de Griffie zijn, daer in is het, [55] gelijk U.E. schrijft, elck van die heeft verscheijde figuren; oock is het werck de Ranis & Limace daer oock, en, so veel als ick wete, ontbreekt 'er \nu/ niet van het geen wij uijt het Testament, en uijt de specificatie van de H.^r Swam=[58]merdam konnen sien dat 'er zijn moet.

[59] Hoe veel platen dat 'er onder Wingendorp al gesneden berusten (want anders [60] zijnder geen) en weete ick niet, [[dogh]]maer gisse, niet sonder reden, dat hijse allen heeft. Dogh daer hij de sijnen heeft laten snijden, soudens[[{...}]]e nogh eens na die eigenste voorbeelden, en voor [[{...}]]so \een/ prijs, konnen werden gemaect, so U.E. resolveerde, gelijk wij hopen dat U.E. doen sal, twerck int nederduijts alhier te laten drucken, op dat de uijtterste wille van den overledene oock in desen [65] also volbraght werde. En ick verseecker' UE, Mijn Heer, dat U.E. daer mee aen alle liefhebbers allhier een aengena[[{...}]]em werck doen sult, dewijl d'er vele [67] zijn die daer al na verlangen. Dogh U.E. moet het niet laten drucken op uw kosten, also daer uijt voor U.E. niet anders sou te waghten zijn als enckel schade. Daer zijn wel wegen om dat te verrichten dat U.E. daer nogh voord[missing text] [70] van sou hebben. Wanneer als ick wete dat U.E. genegentheijt volkome sodanigh is, so sal ick niet nalaten na U.E. meeste voordeel omtehren, en geven U.E. dan volkome bericht, hoe best gedaen dient. Ick mejne niet of soude het sodanigh weten te stellen dat U.E. \volkome genoegens soudt hebben, en/ in der waerheijt [[soudt]] bevinden dat ick ben

Mijn Heer

P.S: de H.^r de Volder niet hebbende
voor ditmael aen U.E. te schrijven
doet U.E. \seer/ groeten. De tijt is te kort, om die reeck.
voor ditmael te senden, geschiet de naeste reijs.

UE Dienstbereijde D.^r

Leijden dese 11 Februarij 1682.

D. de Hoest.

[22v]¹²⁵

Commentary

De Hoest writes (ll. 1–9) to Thévenot that he continues his efforts in the affair, in accordance with what he promised him in his last letter, while Wingendorp, in order to prevent its resolution, four weeks before started to ask the aldermen to be allowed to take some of the manuscripts he

125 This page contains two seals.

voluntarily (and provisionally) delivered to the court clerk's office in December, in order to collate them with his own translation, and to give them back once he finishes using them. The aldermen (ll. 9–19) summoned De Hoest, as they did not want to grant this request without his approval. De Hoest, in turn, decidedly rejected it, and demonstrated to them that according to some letters of Wingendorp to Swammerdam (now lost) he no longer needed the manuscripts as early as in 1679, and even if it were the case that he did still have need of them, he (knowing in due time the will of Swammerdam) should have respected the time that was allotted to him, it not being right that his negligence was to the disadvantage of Thévenot. The discussion of Wingendorp's request was deferred (ll. 20–24) – by an “interlocutory judgment” (“vonnisse interlocutoir”) – to two of the aldermen, in order for an agreement to be reached. On the day set for its discussion De Hoest reiterated his refusal, since in his last letter Thévenot expressed again his will “to demand right and justice” (“recht en justitie te vorderen”) and to terminate the affair as soon as possible. Moreover (ll. 25–32), De Hoest gave an order to their lawyer to request a day to plead the case *ten principale*. The two aldermen reported to their full assembly that De Hoest (“wij”) refused the agreement, and that Wingendorp persisted in his request, lamenting that he, being old, could not come to the court clerk's office every day, that he is used to working more at night than during the day, and that he has his books and materials at home.

Eventually (ll. 32–39), De Hoest was summoned again by the aldermen the day before (10 February), and requested to write to Thévenot, and to find out if he will come to resolve the affair personally, and if he allows Wingendorp to take two or three sheets at a time, under receipt (“een vel 2 a 3 teffens onder recepisse”), and to bring them back, taking others, till he has completed his work, which was to be finished in two months. Afterwards, everything will be delivered to Thévenot, provided that Wingendorp is pardoned the expenses. The aldermen (ll. 39–46) deemed this a faster and easier way to conclude the quarrel, rather than pursuing a condemnation of Wingendorp, and thus avoiding a deferral of the case to a higher court. Moreover, they promised – for Thévenot's assurance – that as soon as they know that Wingendorp is sick, they are going to immediately take back the writings he could have, in order to avoid any damage to Thévenot. So that De Hoest asks him (ll. 46–53) to give him a reply as soon as possible, or to write to the judge and the aldermen themselves. Moreover, De Hoest reports to be sending Thévenot a copy of the bill of the legal expenses, amounting to 170 guilders, i.e. 68 French *écus*. (As he clarifies in the post-scriptum, however, he eventually could not manage to do so).

All this, actually, roughly fits with the contents of letter 12, according to which the resolution of the affair was hindered by “those who have the affairs of Mr. Wingendorp in [their]

hands” (while in the present letter only Wingendorp is mentioned), and in which De Volder reports that the judges promised him that the affair was going to be resolved soon: apparently, they planned to offer such a solution to De Hoest after having talked with De Volder.

Next (ll. 54–58), De Hoest – certainly answering a question from Thévenot – informs him that he saw that the 52 drawings deposited at the court clerk’s office included more figures each, as Thévenot himself wrote to him, and that the manuscripts, which included a treatise on frogs and the slug (*De ranis et limace*),¹²⁶ seem to encompass everything mentioned in Swammerdam’s testament and *specificatie*: probably (as evident from letter 11), the *specificatie* of the figures only.¹²⁷

Moreover (ll. 59–67), De Hoest addresses a question from Thévenot concerning the plates, namely how many have already been engraved and are in Wingendorp’s possession: De Hoest suspects “not without reason” (“niet sonder reden”) that Wingendorp has all of them (though, as discussed above, he probably was in possession only of the mentioned 36 plates), and that besides these no others are extant. Moreover, according to De Hoest “since he had his own engraved, they would be made once again after the first samples, and for such a price as you decided” (“Dogh daer hij de sijnen heeft laten snijden, soudense nogh eens na die eijgenste voorbeelden, en voor so een prijs, konnen werden gemaect, so U.E. resolveerde”), as they hope that Thévenot will have Swammerdam’s work(s) printed in Dutch, in Holland (“twerck int nederduijts alhier te laten drucken”), fulfilling the deceased’s last will. In any case (ll. 67–), for De Hoest this edition has not to be paid for by Thévenot, as in that case it would only be of disadvantage to him, and suggesting to him that there are other (unspecified) ways to get some benefit from this publication. In the case that Thévenot’s intention about the publication “is completely as such” (“U.E. genegentheijt volkome sodanigh is”), De Hoest will take information about his maximum advantage, and will report to him what needs to be done. In fact, as evident from letter 12, Thévenot had already started to take information about the printing of Swammerdam’s manuscripts in Holland before 19 January 1682, and involving De Volder. In this letter, however, De Hoest wants a ‘complete’ confirmation from Thévenot about his intentions. It could be, therefore, that De Volder did not keep De Hoest informed about his dealing with Thévenot about the publication: in fact, it was De Volder himself, according to letter 14, that eventually reassured De Hoest about Thévenot’s publishing plans.

In the post-scriptum, De Hoest reports De Volder’s greetings to Thévenot, and informs him that he was not in time to send him the bill of expenses, so that he will send it the next time. The letter is sealed and without address.

126 The reference is in fact to the separate treatises on the frog and snails.

127 See also *supra*, section 2, n. 9.

• *Letter 14: De Hoest to Thévenot, undated (March 1682 or after 11 February and before 15 July 1682), (fascicle 25, 35r–36v)*

[35r]

Mijn Heer,

Mondelingh ben ick over een geruijmen tijt, wanneer ick twiffelende was of U.E. oock de wercken van de H.^r Swammerdam sal.^r, UE^t ge=[4]legateert, in 't neerduijts alhier soudt laten drucken, daer van door [5] de H.^r de Volder volkomen verseeckert: het welcke U.E. mij oock met uwe laesten heeft bevestight schriftelick; en naderhant nogh eens mondelingh door een fransch Edelman, die ons uwentwegen quam spreecken, en versoecken, men soude het werck dogh vorderen, en, boven de onkosten, alleen 30 exemplaren voor U.E.^t, bij [10] den boeckdrucker, bedingen. Op alle welcke betuygingen wij niet hebben durven twijffelen aen de opreghtigheijt van uwe meijningh in desen: dienvolgende hebben wij niet nagelaten den een d'ander daer over te spreecken: zijnde het oock niet sonder vrucht geweest tgeen daer in gedaen is, also \een/ goede gelegentheijt tot het drucken ons niet [15] ontgaen sal, so drae wij maer de schriften in handen hebben.

Wij hebben oock, volgens uwe ordre, getraght met Wingendorp te accordeeren over het gebruik van de platen, dogh also UE.^t, sint UE deselvige, nevens de latijnse versie, van sijn E. gekoght heeft, en [19] U.E. sulcks nu meester is van het geheele werck, so kan dat [20] niet wezen; maer is nu het naest[{\dots}]e dat U.E. ons so veel gedruckte ex=[35v] [36r] exemplaren van de platen t zij vijf a ses hondert of so veel meer als U.E. goetvindt hoe eer hoe liever ter handt doedt stellen, welcken hebbende wij op het spoedighsten sullen macken dat U.E. een eijndt krijght, en dat wel tot uw meeste voordeel. Niet twijffelende [25] of UE.^t sal sigh in den gevolge, gelijk tot nogh toe, over onse arbeit in het bevorderen van uw' interest niet hebben te wandancken, maer {...} konnen verseeckeren dat ick waerlick ben

Mijn Heer

UE.^{ts} Dienstbereijde en genege

D. de Hoest.

A monsieur

Mons^r M. Thevenot, sur le Quay

neuw'

a

Paris

Commentary

This undated letter by De Hoest can be certainly dated after his letter of 11 February 1682 (letter 13), for the reason that in this letter he declared not to be sure whether Thévenot was going to have the manuscripts published in Dutch in the Netherlands. In the present letter, in turn (ll. 1–5), De Hoest reports to have been “completely assured” (“volkomen verseeckert”) orally about this by De Volder (information also given in his letter of 3 May 1682 (letter 16), according to which Thévenot was persisting in this decision and which therefore was most probably posterior to the present letter). Moreover, it was certainly written before 15 July 1682, because in his letter to Thévenot of this date (letter 19) De Volder reports to have communicated to De Hoest his decision to have the manuscripts delivered to France. Probably, in any case, this letter was written just after De Hoest received from Thévenot the answer to his letter of 11 February (letter 13), i.e. around March 1682. Indeed, according to the present letter (ll. 5–10) De Hoest has not only been orally reassured by De Volder about Thévenot’s plans after a long time during which he doubted whether Thévenot was going to publish, but this decision was confirmed by Thévenot himself by his last letter (probably his answer to letter 13), and, orally, by a French nobleman who came to speak on Thévenot’s behalf, and who requested that the publication process should go on, and that besides the expenses for printing (evidently, to be paid by Thévenot) only 30 complimentary copies shall be negotiated for Thévenot with the publisher (“men soude [...] boven de onkosten, alleen 30 exemplaren voor U.E.^t, bij den boeckdrucker, bedingen”). In turn, in his letter of 3 May (letter 16) De Hoest reports Thévenot not to have written to him for a while: so that the present letter can be dated somewhat before this letter 16.

Upon such declarations from Thévenot (ll. 10–19), De Hoest and De Volder (“wij”) started to organize the publication process, which they are going to finalize as soon as they can get the

128 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

manuscripts themselves.¹²⁹ Following Thévenot's order – which probably came after he read letter 13, where De Hoest reported that Wingendorp was in possession of engraved plates – moreover, they tried to reach an agreement with Wingendorp about their use. However, they could not do that, because, as De Hoest put it, “Your Nobility [Thévenot] has bought from his Nobility [Wingendorp] the same [plates], besides the Latin translation, and Your Nobility is now master of the whole work” (“sint UE deselvige, nevens de latijnse versie, van zijn E. gekoght heeft, en U.E. sulcks nu meester is van het geheele werck”).¹³⁰ Information which, as evident from letter 21, was however not immediately shared by De Hoest with De Volder. So that (ll. 20–) for De Hoest it is now up to Thévenot to send them as soon as possible 500 or 600 printed copies of the plates (“gedruckte exemplaren van de platen” – namely a number of prints matching the number of copies mentioned in letter 12), with which they can conclude their work, with maximum advantage to Thévenot. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 15: De Volder to Thévenot, 30 April 1682 (fascicle 25, 49r–50v)*

[49r]

Nobilissimo Thevenotio S. P. De Volder

Eo animo hucusq[ue] responsum ad tuas distuli quod putarem me paucorum dierum moram nuntio
[[pa]]transacti tandem nego=[4]tiii de M.S. Swammerd. facile compensaturum. De qua re [5] sic
habe. Eo adductos esse adversarios, ut contentionem deposuerint, manuscripta tibi deberi fateantur,
id unum solummo=[7]do non jam pro jure suo, sed precibus et summae pauper[[p]]tatis obten[[p]]tu,
(quam tantam faciunt, ut si vel maxime adjudicatae tibi forent, unde peteres, \dicant/ non esse[[t]])
rogant, ut impensas illi [10] generose condonare velis. Nunc tuum erit expendere, an

129 Such efforts are testified to also in letter 16 – even if De Volder already spoke with some publishers in January, as seen in letter 12.

130 This information, in fact, might suggest that the letter was written in June rather than in March 1682: indeed, it was precisely De Hoest's claim that Thévenot reached an agreement with Wingendorp about the use of the plates that caused Thévenot's harsh reprimand of him, mentioned in letter 23 – where the present letter is referred to. Accordingly, it might have been the present letter which caused Thévenot's decision to have the manuscripts delivered to France, taken in June 1682 (as testified to by letter 19). Generally speaking, in any case, the evidence to date the present letter to March 1682 seems to be more relevant: indeed, De Hoest cooperated with De Volder in the preparation of the publication of Swammerdam's writings, and was reassured by him about Thévenot's persistence in his decision to publish them in the Netherlands in April–May (see letters 15 and 16), so that he could not seriously doubt, in June, that Thévenot did not want to have them published in the Netherlands, and needed a further reassurance from De Volder, Thévenot and Thévenot's spokesman about this.

Win=[11]gendorio gratificari hac in re velis, an vero tuum jus rigide persequere. Qua de re certius quidpiam determinare poteris, ubi impensa=[13]rum summam videris, quam simulac collegerit, [p]ocys ad te mittet [14] D. Hoest, et simul luculentius quid in causa gestum sit exponet. [15] Typographum quod spectat, scripsimus ad Amstelodamensem quendam qui antehac se ad hanc rem sat ostenderat avidum, verum ille aliis in libris \curandis/ ita se occupatum respondit, ut huic vacare non pos=[18]sit. Enim aliis antequam agamus, necesse est ut sciamus de figuris quid fieri velis; easne tuis an [Dip] Bibliopolae sumptibus sculpsen=[20]das existimes. Verum hoc de omni negotio latius propediem quoque [21] ad te scribet Hoestius. Quae de pendulo et micrometro scribis, scias me ea quidem avidissime [exe]desiderare, sed tamen tem=[23]poris quoddam dispendium, facile pati, modo id ἀκρίβεια resarciatur. Pudore profecto suffundor cum de Borellio cogito, qui hactenus [25] jam ante semestre ipsi decretum redhostimentum nondum accepit, quanquam ea in re nulla mea culpa est. Bene equidem habet, quod de negligentia ejus cui ea res commissa est, ad te scripsi. Neque enim licet sexcenties commonuerim hominem impellere hactenus potui, hac in re ut officium [30] praestaret {sinum}, sive id sollenni ejus eveniat incuria sive peculiari quadam, cujus aliunde indicia habeo sat evidentia, in me malevolentia. [p]i [Borellio/ equidem est quod gratias habeam [49v] [pa] quod altero me beare voluerit vitro. Nec deero {quin} et per littera{[...]}s, et [34] reipsa si occasio se [e]obtulerit gratum animum tester. Prioribus tuis acce=[35]ptis litteris scripsi continuo ad D. de Raey, a quo ante triduum re=[36]sponsum demum accipi, quod hisce inclusum vides. Distulit ille scrip[37]tionem redditum frustra expectans ejus ex quo s[q]perabat se plu=[38]ra de terra jelmensi auditurum. Nec, ut ad me scribit, in mora erit, quin simulac quidpiam expiscatus fuerit, id tecum [40] communicet. Prodit de novo praeter libellos quos D. de Raey enumerat, iter Nieuhof, quem simul cum illis quos illa notat libellis \si eos nondum hac habeas/ prima quavis occasione data, ut habeas efficiam. Si per quempiam ex amicis id commodum fieri possit, utar ea via[,] [44] sin minus, utar mari. Quaesivi ex D. Hermans [q]de Mene=[45]lai[e]de et Iager, et accepi Menelaidem ad Regem Persarum ab Nostris missum illic medici functum officio, sed cum nimia arroganta [sic] in offensionem Regis incurrisset profugisse ad Magnum Mogolem, a quo \cum/ missus esset ad Praefectum nostrae Societatis, qui Guzuratiae morbo laborat gravissimo, nolui\[/sse] accedere nisi exciperetur¹³¹ iis honori=[56]bus quibus legati solent. Quo licet aegre impetrato adii[d]t Praefectum, nihil[ue] aliud solatii ei attulit, quam ut mortem sat ruditer denuntiaret confestim[ue] non rediturus discesse=[59]rit. Qua de re cum conquere/rentur nostri Regis indignationem effugere non potuit, imo necesse habuit clanculam fugam in Bataviam adornare. Hinc in Persiam navigavit,

131 Read: 'excipietur'.

[[d]]patriam revisurus, sed [[j]]prope mortem Libanum morbo correptus periit, librosq[ue] suos et scripta omnia monasterio quod illic est reliquit. Operam primario dederat linguarum inquisiti=[60]oni et Religionis, quibus tamen nonnulla ad res naturales [61] spectantia intermiscuit. [62] De jager haesit in ora Coromandel, qui licet linguis et religioni scrutandis plurimum etiam operae navarit, in rerum tamen naturalium indagine longe praestitit Menelaide. [65] [[S]]Vitam agit dissolutam admodum, veneri et vino deditus. Illius scripta ipse cum in vivi{s} sit habet, sed multas observationes communicavit cum quodam Clavio Concionator[[is]]e apud nostros in Batavia, qui eas suo quem parat, libro inspersit. [50r] [69] uterq[ue] vixit ut ipsi Indi solent. Linguas Indorum addiscendi occasio desuit¹³² [70] nostro Hermans, praterquam Cingalensium qui libros de plantis habent sed non adeo magni momenti. Confirmavit insuper Hortum Malabaricum deberi P. Matthaeo, sed delineationes et descriptionem correxisse Casearium, quidquid autem de viribus scribit id omne P. Matthaei esse. Addidit deniq[ue] eundem P. Matthaecum, multas suarum observationum [75] misisse ad [[Gallium]] Golium, quae [[in]]ab Italis retentae pervenere in manus Giacomo Zanoni qui in sua historia Bottanica impressa Boloniae 1675 ejus et multarum plantarum ab eo depictarum mentionem facit, et inter eas quoq[ue] plantae Bakili dictae, quem noster nunquam vidit. Quod si sine tuo incommodo delineationem ejus habere possit, [[noster]] [80] gratum ei erit. Nec detrectabit vices rependere, si tibi non ingratum futurum sit mittendo ad te fragmenta ut et descriptionem plantae [82] periformis quam vocat, Europaeis nostris incognitae. Ex amicis defuncti Heinsii quendam rogavi num sciret quid cum illa descriptione Moscoviae factum foret, qui non gravate respondit se ejus exemplar possidere [85] et mecum communicaturum. Quae tamen spes vana fuit, cum postmodum mihi responderit se illud frustra quaesivisse. Non despero tamen quin illud habere possum ab eo qui curam ejus Bibliothecae gessit, et qui intra paucos dies huc venturus est. Si nactus fuero, ut habeas [89] curabo. Golii libri apud Haeredes haerent et emptorem desiderant. [90] Descriptio Phosphori, nescio an meo an descriptionis vitro mihi tentanti non successit. Si commodior via Phosphoros efficiendi inventa sit est quod gratulemur promotae re[[i]]rum naturalium cognitioni, praesertim si eo res deducta sit ut Lucernas sive veras sive fictas sepulchrales veterum aut imitari, aut nunc primum conficere possimus. Qua [95] de re si quid porro inaudieris gratissimum erit si communicare digneris[.] Vale et festinantis calami vitiis ignosce. Latino usus sum sermone, {...} sensa mea si non sat pure, commodius certe quam Gallico possem exprimere. Iterum vale.

Pridie Calend. Maii, 1682.

132 Read: 'defuit'.

A Monsieur,
Monsr. Thevenot sur le
quay neuf proche de La Greve
A Paris.

Commentary

De Volder announces to Thévenot (ll. 1–14) that he waited to answer his last letter, as he expected to be able to announce to him the end of the affair. In fact, he can now report to him that Wingendorp accepted to drop the controversy and acknowledged that the manuscripts belong to Thévenot. Wingendorp asks Thévenot, however, to pardon him the payment of the legal expenses, under the pretext of his extreme poverty. So that now it is up to Thévenot whether to accept this offer, or to strictly pursue his rights. In turn, De Hoest is going to write to him in a short time about the expenses, as soon as these have been calculated.

Moreover (ll. 15–21), De Volder informs Thévenot that he and De Hoest (as evident from letter 16) wrote to a publisher in Amsterdam who had previously expressed interest in the printing of Swammerdam's works (probably Boom, as seen in letter 12). However, this publisher became busy with other books. In any case, before they can proceed further with the publication they have to know whether Thévenot is going to pay himself for the engraving of the figures, or whether these have to be charged to the publisher (so that Thévenot probably negated that he had bought those in possession of Wingendorp, mentioned in letters 13 and 14, and as he was to harshly negate in letter 23). A matter about which De Volder announces to Thévenot that De Hoest is going to write to him about more extensively.

Next, De Volder (ll. 21–34) mentions again the pendulum (as in letter 12), as well as a micrometer, of which De Volder was the purchaser on behalf of the University (as evident from letters 25 and 33). As appears from the present letter, both the instruments were still under construction, and De Volder expects their completion. Also, De Volder mentions "Borellius," who is reported not to have received, after six months, the remuneration established for him – through no fault of De Volder. As detailed in section 1.3.2, De Volder refers to the chemist and instrument

133 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot

builder Jacques Borelly, who had built the Observatory lens A.¹³⁴ According to De Volder, this delay was caused by Borelly's negligence, and remarks that it is good that he wrote to Thévenot about this, as he cannot constantly remind Borelly to accomplish his duty: being unsure whether Borelly's delay is caused by his negligence, or by a certain malevolence of his towards De Volder. In any case, De Volder expresses gratitude to Borelly as he wants to build another lens for him ("altero me beare voluerit vitro," namely lens B, for De Volder's personal use), and his intention to thank him by letter or in person.

Next (ll. 34–44), De Volder reports that after having received Thévenot's letter, he immediately wrote to De Raey (probably De Raey Jr.), from whom he got an answer three days before, forwarded to Thévenot as an attachment (now lost). De Raey waited to answer De Volder as he was expecting the return of the man (whose identity is not specified) from whom he could obtain information on the Jelmerland: however, in vain. As soon as he receives any information, in any case, De Raey will communicate it to Thévenot. Moreover, De Volder reports that in the attachment De Raey mentions some newly published books: in addition to them, De Volder announces the publication of the *Iter Nieuhof*, certainly Johan Nieuhof's *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense zee- en lant- reize* or to his *Zee en lant-reize door verscheide gewesten van Oostindien*, both published in 1682 (and often bound together), which De Volder will send to Thévenot at the first occasion, if Thévenot does not have them, either through friends or by sea.¹³⁵

Moreover (ll. 44–61), De Volder reports that he asked Hermann about Aeneas Menelaides: namely Minnes Loenen (1623–during or after 1667), from Harlingen, who studied from 1640 at Franeker, Utrecht, Leiden (under Golius), and Franeker again, where he graduated in medicine in 1646.¹³⁶ As reported by De Volder, he was sent by the VOC to the Shah of Persia (either Shāh 'Abbās II, ruling in 1642–1666, or Shāh Sulaymān I, ruling in 1666–1694), as physician. But having offended the Shah (for some unspecified reason), he took refuge with the Mogul of India (Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr I, ruling in 1658–1707), by whom he was sent to Surat, where a director of the VOC was lying sick. However, he refused to take this office unless he received the treatment of an ambassador. Having obtained this, he did not provide any other relief to the VOC director, than (ironically) roughly announcing his death, and departed immediately without any plan of returning. Once the VOC complained about this, he could not avoid the anger of the King – apparently the Mogul – and had to secretly prepare his escape to Batavia. From there, he moved back to Persia, aiming to return to Holland: however, being sick, he died in Lebanon, and left all his books and

134 See also letters 19, 20, 24, 27, and 28.

135 Letters 18, 19, 20, and 21. On Nieuhof, see Ulrichs 2003.

136 On him, see Engels 2012.

writings to a monastery. Most of his writings were devoted to languages and religion, which he kept detached from natural-philosophical considerations.

De Volder's report is a precious source of information on Menelaides. He left Holland around 1650, and spent 16 or 17 years in Persia before moving from Surat to Batavia through Ceylon in 1667. Once in Batavia, he asked the general governor and the councils of the Indies to be allowed to go back to Holland, which he was granted by paying 50 *rijksdaalders* (i.e. ca. 125 guilders)¹³⁷ for the freight. In November 1654, moreover, he was reported to have come to the port of Bandar Abbas (Persia, where the VOC had an office) with the intention of travelling to Hindustan (India). In 1664 he was reported as living in Agra (India), where he was keeping a "filthy and shameful life," and where "no one trusts him anymore in medicine," having been thrown out the service of the King – probably the Mogul – four years since (i.e. in 1660), and in the course of being expelled from India. It remains unclear to which Lebanese monastery he left his books and writings. In any case, in 1658 an inventory of his books (viz. those he left in Harlingen) was made at the house of his deceased stepmother Aeltie Dirckxdr.¹³⁸

Besides Menelaides, De Volder reports (ll. 62–69) to have asked Hermann about Herbert de Jager (1634–1694), Dutch naturalist and orientalist who studied at Leiden under Golius, *protégé* of Witsen, and since 1662 employee of the VOC in Batavia (until 1665), Bandar Abbas and Isfahan (1666–1670), and on the Coromandel coast (India, 1670–1680), before returning to Batavia and then to Persia again (1681).¹³⁹ De Volder reports that De Jager was in Coromandel, devoting himself to the study of languages, religion and nature – in which field he was superior to Menelaides. He is labelled as a dissolute, and, being still alive, as having his writings with him. However, he communicated his observations to a certain Clavius Concionator, living in Batavia, who inserted them in a forthcoming book: certainly Servatius Clavius (ca. 1625–1691), Dutch preacher living in Batavia, who however did not publish any book, but prepared a handwritten description of Ceylon.¹⁴⁰ According to De Volder, moreover, they both lived like the Indians do: in fact, De Jager he was praised by Rijckloff van Goens (1619–1682), Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, for his "affable intercourse with the natives."¹⁴¹

137 I used Swammerdam's letter to Thévenot of December 1679 or January 1680 for the conversion (Swammerdam 1975, letter 40).

138 Engels 2012.

139 On him, see Leupe 1862; Vogel 1954.

140 Peters 1994. Mentioned also in letter 18. A description of Ceylon, about which Thévenot asked information from Swammerdam, is mentioned as being in press in two letters of Swammerdam to him dating to 1671 (Swammerdam 1975, letters 8 and 9): namely the *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon* (1672) by Philippus Baldaeus (1632–1671).

141 Vogel 1954, 20.

Also (ll. 69–82), De Volder reports that Hermann did not study the languages of India, with the exception of Sinhalese, in which books on plants have been written, even if these are not very relevant. Moreover, he reports that Hermann confirmed that the *Hortus Malabaricus* (1678–1693) was conceived first by Father Matthaeus, i.e. the Carmelitan Matteo di San Giuseppe, (born Pietro Foglia, 1612–1691), who wrote everything concerning the properties of plants, while the figures and the descriptive apparatus were corrected by Johannes Casarius (ca. 1642–1677).¹⁴² Also, Hermann added that Matteo sent many of his observations to Golius: these were however “held by the Italians” (“ab Italis retentae”) and eventually came in the hands of Giacomo Zanoni (1615–1682), who in his *Istoria botanica* (1675) mentions Matteo as well as many of the plants he depicted.¹⁴³ Among these, De Volder reports that Zanoni mentions the *Bakili* plant,¹⁴⁴ which was

142 The *Hortus Malabaricus* was a description of the flora of the Western Ghats in India, which contained the contribution of a large group of botanists and learned men (including Hermann), and was published at Amsterdam in 12 volumes between 1678 and 1693. It was prepared under the directorship of Hendrik Adriaan van Reede (1636–1691), governor of Dutch Malabar in 1669–1676, and was conceived in 1674 by Matteo, who spent most of his life in the East (Persia, Indies, Africa), as recognized by Van Reede in his preface to the third volume (1682): Van Reede et al. 1678–1693, volume 3, *Praefatio*, 7 (unnumbered). In 1674, indeed, Matteo asked Van Reede’s help in preparing a work on the flora of Malabar, in return for his services as physician. After Hermann’s criticisms of Matteo’s drawings and descriptions, Van Reede involved a large numbers of collectors and experts in Malabar, with Matteo maintaining the role of general assistant. For a thorough account, see Heniger 1986. On Casarius, see Meijer 1908. It was Swammerdam himself who sent Thévenot the first volume of the *Hortus*, and announced to him the printing of the second: Swammerdam 1975, letters 23 (7 July 1678) and 34 (30 March 1679).

143 As reconstructed by Johannes Heniger, indeed, about 1662 Matteo aimed at publishing his collection of handwritten observations and drawings known as *Viridarium orientale*, asking for help with this from Golius, who in turn addressed the directors of the VOC. On 25 August 1663, in letters, these required the VOC governors at Ceylon, Coromandel, Persia and Bengal to find Matteo’s manuscripts. However, Matteo eventually gave them to Bishop Giuseppe Maria Sebastiani (1620–1689), on his way to Rome, still with the purpose of having them delivered to Golius. Sebastiani left Surat – where Matteo gave him the manuscripts – on 10 April 1664, while the letters of the VOC arrived there on 11 April: Heniger 1986, 38–41. As reconstructed in the biography of Matteo published by Gaetano Lorenzo Monti (1712–1797) in 1742, Sebastiani could not forward them to Golius, as the latter died in 1667. Instead, the manuscripts were given to his brother Petrus (Pieter van Gool, 1604–1676), himself a Carmelitan (with the name of Celestino di Santa Liduina), since 1660 professor of Arabic at the Seminario delle Missioni in San Pancrazio in Rome, who in 1644–1648 had been the Superior of Matteo at the Missione di Sant’Elia on Mount Lebanon, with whom he shared interests in botanics, and who had put him in contact with his brother Jacob. Another smaller part (*libellum*) of the manuscripts, in turn, was sent by Matteo to the Carmelitan Michele di Sant’Eliseo at Milan, who sent it to Zanoni (see Zanoni 1675, 16–17 – according to Monti in 1669). Eventually, a last part (viz. some *commentarii*) was directly given to Zanoni in 1672 by the Carmelitan Valerio di San Giuseppe (see Zanoni 1675, 24 – according to Monti, who refers to this page, in 1671, on his way to Rome through Bologna), who received it directly from Matteo in Malabar. As he knew this, Celestino wrote to Zanoni, and encouraged him to undertake the edition of Matteo’s *Viridarium orientale* on which he was working, adding to it the figures received by Valerio from India, on the condition that Zanoni was going to pay the costs of publication if he could receive in a short time the manuscripts of Matteo from Celestino, as well as Celestino’s own annotations. At the beginning they agreed to do so, while Matteo was being kept informed by Zanoni. However, difficulties soon arose, and Zanoni sent to Celestino all the papers he received from Valerio, asking him to insert in the edition some figures which had been already engraved for the *Istoria botanica*. However, some of their descriptions contained errors, given that when he was preparing his *Istoria* he no longer had in his possession the commentaries of Matteo he received from Valerio, which he could get back only in 1675, namely three years after what Monti thought to be the death of Celestino (actually in 1676): Monti 1742, 4–5 (unnumbered). In turn, the edition of the *Viridarium orientale* was never completed, while Zanoni used the materials he received from Michele and Valerio for his *Istoria*. A copy of Celestino’s version of the *Viridarium orientale* is now extant at Paris, Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle, MS 1764.

144 In Zanoni 1675, 16–17. I could not identify this.

never seen by Hermann. So De Volder asks Thévenot if it is possible to get its figure from Zanoni, to whom Hermann would be grateful.¹⁴⁵ In turn, Hermann will not omit to repay Thévenot by sending him the fragments and a description of a certain *planta periformis*, that according to Hermann is unknown to Europeans.¹⁴⁶

Moreover (ll. 82–89), De Volder reports that he asked one of the friends of Nicolaas Heinsius about the fate of his (handwritten) *Descriptio Moscoviae*.¹⁴⁷ After having claimed that he was in possession of it and that he was going to give it to De Volder, he informed De Volder that he could no longer find it, so that De Volder hopes to get it from the man taking care of Heinsius's private library, who is coming to Leiden in a few days. As evident from letter 20, and from the *Bibliotheca Heinsiana* (1682), where it is not mentioned, however, this *Descriptio* was not to be retrieved.¹⁴⁸ Also, De Volder informs Thévenot that the private library of Golius (namely his collection of oriental manuscripts) is on sale.¹⁴⁹

Eventually (ll. 90–), De Volder communicates to Thévenot about the failure of his attempt to produce phosphorus by following the guidelines given in a certain *Descriptio phosphori*, which could have been due to a defect of the glass described in this text, or by the one he used. De Volder probably refers to Boyle's *The Aerial Noctiluca or Some New Phaenomena, and a Process of a Factitious Self-Shining Substance* (1680), which is mentioned in letter 25.¹⁵⁰ The letter is addressed and sealed.

• **Letter 16: De Hoest to Thévenot, 3 May 1682 (fascicle 25, 23r–24v)**

[23r]

π¹⁵¹

Mijn Heer,

145 Actually, Zanoni died later in the same year (1682).

146 See also letters 18 and 19. I could not identify this plant.

147 See also letters 18 and 20. On Heinsius, see Blok 1949.

148 On Heinsius's private library, see also letters 18, 20, 25, 27, and 29.

149 Golius's private library was first put on sale in 1668, when two sale catalogues appeared: one of western books (and related materials) and one of oriental manuscripts; however, only the former collection was auctioned: Hack and Lopez de Haro 1668; Elsevier 1668. After a quarrel between his heirs, the oriental collection was put on sale in 1696: Du Vivié 1696a (second edition of Elsevier 1668); Du Vivié 1696b (abridged version of Du Vivié 1696a). See Frederiks 1892; Witkam 1980, 65–71; Der Weduwen, Pettegree and Kemp 2021, 4. See also letters 21, 24, and 28.

150 Phosphorus is mentioned in a letter of Swammerdam to Thévenot of April 1678: Swammerdam 1975, letter 19.

151 “Animi erat Thevenoto, curare, ut ederetur sermone Belgico, hic in Hollandia: vidi in literis Volderi ad Eum 16 28/5 82 notatis π. & ex Hoestianis 16 3/5 82 notatis π,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r. See *infra*, n. 154.

In lange hebbe ick U.E.^t niet geschreven, dewijl het traineeren van uw' saeck, dat tot de voorlede weeck geduert heeft, mij geen stoff verschafte. t Sal onnodigh zijn U.E.^t alhier te verhalen al het gepasserde sint mijne laeste; [5] gemergkt ick niet en twijffele, of de H.^r de Volder sal U.E. daer van hebben beright, en, met de sijnen van donderdag, bekent gemaect, dat Wingendorp op den 23.^{ste} van de voorlede maent, 's daeghs na de dagh, die Schepenen hadden genoemd [8] om de saeck ten principalen te bepleijten, de Schriften aen U.E. heeft overgegeven: [9] dogh met versoeck en bede dat U.E. hem geliefde van de onkosten aen uwe kant [10] gevallen te bevrijden, anegesien hij protesteert niet maghtigh te zijn die te betalen; en dat de schriften op de Griffie blijvende tot dat uwe antwoord quam hij, nogh so langh maer, en niet langer, acces daer toe sou hebben. Wanner dit eerst wiert voorgesteld hebbenwe dit geheel verworpen, en seer ernstigh doen aenhouden om condemnatie volgens onsen eijsch; als oordelende dat U.E. so wel [15] na de condemnatie, en na dat wij de schriften van de Griffie gelicht hadden, als daer voor, aen Wingendorp gonst bewijzen konde, so U.E. het so goetvondt: [17] dogh sonder succes. Naderhant bij Schepenen ontboden, hebb' ick in persoon geprotesteert in die propositie niet te kunnen doen; dat U.E. recht en justitie eijschte; en dat ick niet en daght, dat U.E., so seer door dit traineeren beledight, [20] light daer toe soudet komen. Dogh eijndelick op die Heeren haer [[bege]]in[[er]]tercessie niet kunnen weijgeren aentenemen, U.E. daer over te schrijven, en tot dat [22] uw' antwoord quam de dingen op de Griffie [[te lat]]i[[e]]n bewaringh te laten. [23v] [23] Gelieft nu op t alderspoedighst te laten weten, of U.E. aen Wingendorp de onkosten die aen uwe kant in tproces gemaect zijn, en die hij anders na recht en billickeijt [25] betalen most, gelieft te quitteren. {A}ls wanneerwe aenstonts, en sonder langer [26] uijtsel, de schriften sullen lighten, en, tot uwe dispositie, na ons nemen.

[27] Is uwe goetheijt nu so groot dat U.E. kan resolveren hem die gonst te doen, uwe voorsightigheijt evenwel sal 't {...}tschien niet toelaten als onder dese expresse conditien: Eerst, dat hij, alvorens des{e [[hand]]}schriften overteleveren, deselve nogh=[30]mael nasie, en, ons die in handen stellende, ten overstaen van de H.^{ren} Le Moijne of De Volder verklare deselve so compleet te zijn, alsse waren wanneer hij daer over den eedt a{en} Schepenen afleij. Dus sult ghij kunnen seecker zijn dat U.E. door hem {na} het doen van den eedt directelick nogh indirectelick \in het uwen/ niet verkort zijt{;} want dat, so hij quaetwilligh wilde zijn, [35] was hem light om doen, gemerckt hij, in Decemb. laest die sullende op de Griffie brengen, voor sigh a{...} daer toe bedongen, en oock altijt gehad{[[h]]t}. Ten tweeden, dat hij niet hebbe ondernomen het in het Nederduijts te laten drucken: [[wa]]dewijl, dat geschiet zijnde, hij U.E. niet alleen versteecken soude van dat voordeel, dat U.E. met dat uijttegeven soude komen doen, [40] maer daeren boven so soude

hij dan selver in staet zijn om U.E. van de on=^[41]kosten, die hij nu, om sijn onmaghts wille, versoeckt dat U.E. hem quijtwil schelden, te bevrijden: in welcken geval ick niet en dencke dat U.E. ^[43] geneijght sou zijn hem die quittéren.

[44] Men kan hier bij Schepenen de reeck. laten taxeeren van de Procureurs altij[d] ^[45] maer van de Advocaten niet, dan wanneer sij willen. Wij hebben dan opdat U.E. niet meer sou behoeven te {bet.} dan U.E. even schuldigh {...} die van den Procureur aldaer laten schatten en is hem f 27. Holland. of 11 escus frans gelt minde[r] toegeleght, als hij geeijscht heeft.

[24r]¹⁵² De Advocaet heeft dat niet willen toestaen. De onkosten dan die in dit proces ^[50] voor uwe reeck. alleen gemaect zijn, sonder die van Wingendorp daer bij te reekenen belopen omtrent f 160. in frans gelt 64 escus; dogh alles wat op des Advocaets reeck. wanneer U.E. hem laet {bet.} \kan afgetrocken werden/ sal komen tot uwe ^[53] voordel.

[54] Wij hoorden laest uijt de H.^r de Volder dat U.E. volharde in de genegenthij[t] ^[55] om 't werck in t nederduijts te drucken te geven. En seecker, Mijn Heer, U.E. sal daer in voldoen de begeerte van de Overledene, en den wensch van veelen die daer na met verlangen uijtsien. Wij hebben reets iemant tot Amst. daer over gesproocken, dogh die wat te veel voor jegenwoordigh belemmert, kon het nu niet doen. Anderen hier tot Leijden hebben sigh sint al aengeboden ^[60] so drae als wij uwe finale resolutie weten, en ordre hebben, sal men met ernst de saeck behertigen, en uw meeste voordeel bevorderen. t Gelt van d'onkosten in tproces gevallen sal daer light uijttevinden zijn, behalven een partij exem=^[63]plaren; waghtende dan uw antwoord so[[p]]drae immers doenlick blijv' ick onderwijlen

Mijn Heer

Ue^{ts} Seer ootmoedige D.^r

Leijden dese 3 Meij 1682.

D. de Hoest.

P.S. Dat de somme nu, van die in Febr: U.E. bekend gemaect, niet meer als 4 escus omtrent verscheelt, daer op der Procureurs reeck. 11 escus rabat is, kon[missing text] ^[24v] van daen dat sint t overleveren van de eerste reeck. door den Advocaet en Procureur nogh verdient is 7 escus tot uwe narightingh.

Commentary

De Hoest reports to Thévenot (ll. 1–8) that he had not written to him for a long while, as he had no

152 This page contains one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

important news about the affair until the last week, and deems it not necessary to report all that had happened since his last letter. According to De Hoest, indeed, De Volder certainly kept Thévenot informed about what had happened in the meantime and communicated with him through his letter of Thursday (i.e. 30 April 1682, namely letter 15), that on 23 April, one day after the day the aldermen designated for the pleading *ten principale* of the case, Wingendorp accepted dropping the controversy and transferring the property in the manuscripts to Thévenot, even if (ll. 9–17) with a “request and petition” (“dogh met versoeck en bedē”) namely on the conditions that he was not to be charged the legal expenses, and would have access to the manuscripts at the court clerk’s office until Thévenot’s answer to this proposal. De Hoest (“wij” – certainly through his attorney) immediately rejected Wingendorp’s offer, aiming at pursuing a condemnation of him in accordance with the *eijssch*. Indeed, they judged that Thévenot would show mercy to Wingendorp only after the condemnation, and after they have taken the manuscripts from the court clerk’s office. However (ll. 17–22), this refusal was not accepted by the aldermen, and De Hoest, summoned by them, protested being unable to accept Wingendorp’s proposal (*propositie*), and that Thévenot was just seeking justice and, being offended by this procrastination, could not accept it either. However, at the end, the aldermen could not refuse to accept this attempt at mediation (*intercessie*), so that Thévenot has to be informed of it, and until his answer the manuscripts will be kept at the court clerk’s office. Accordingly, (ll. 23–26), De Hoest asks Thévenot to inform him as soon as possible whether he wants to pardon Wingendorp the expenses incurred on his part, which otherwise he should pay. In this case, they will be able to take the manuscripts without further delays, and keep them at Thévenot’s disposal. For his acceptance (ll. 27–43), De Hoest recommends Thévenot pose two conditions to Wingendorp (also mentioned in letter 20): namely (1) that before delivery of the manuscripts, Wingendorp checks them and, while transferring them, he declares before Le Moine or De Volder that they are as complete as they were when he made his oath (see letter 11), and (2) that he did not undertake their publication in Dutch, since in this case Thévenot will lose his advantage from publication, and since this will prove that Wingendorp can afford to pay those legal expenses for which he asks to be pardoned.

As to the legal expenses themselves (ll. 44–53), De Hoest informs Thévenot (following De Volder’s announcement in letter 15) that it is possible to have the attorney’s expenses appraised by the aldermen, but not those of the lawyers, unless they want to. De Hoest (“wij”) has had made an estimation of the attorney’s expenses, which amount to 27 guilders i.e. 11 *écus* less than the attorney himself asked for. The lawyer, in turn, refused this appraisal. To sum up, the legal expenses of the trial, made only on Thévenot’s account and without considering those of Wingendorp, amount to

circa 160 guilders, or 64 *écus*, while everything that can be deducted from the expenses due to the lawyer will be to Thévenot's advantage. Also, in his post-scriptum De Hoest specifies that with respect to the bill sent to him in the letter of February (letter 13), there is a difference of no more than circa 4 *écus*, because even if there has been a discount of 11 *écus*, the bill of the lawyer and the attorney has increased by 7 *écus*.

As to the publication of Swammerdam's work(s) (ll. 54–), De Hoest reports that he (“wij”) heard, from De Volder, that Thévenot persisted in his intention to have them published in Dutch (“t werck in t nederduijts te drucken te geven” – as reported first in letter 14). De Hoest approves this, as it complies with Swammerdam's will and with that of those who want to read them (as reported also in letter 14). Moreover, De Hoest reports that they talked about this publication with someone in Amsterdam, who however could not do it at the moment (certainly Boom, as seen in letter 15). However, they had offers from Leiden: so that as soon as they will know the “final decision” (“finale resolutie”) and the orders of Thévenot, they will start to organize the publication and promote Thévenot's advantage, which, according to De Hoest, will compensate for the legal expenses, with the exception of the money for some copies which, as evident from letters 22 and 31, De Hoest is going to ask for himself. No mention, however, is made of the issue of the payment of the plates reported by De Volder in letter 15. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

• *Letter 17: Thévenot to De Hoest, undated (after 3 and circa before 28 May 1682), (fascicle 25, 72r–v)*

[72r]

Mijn Heer

De uwen vanden 3 Maij 1682 heeft mij berigt de consignatie van de originale handtschriften en teekeningen van H^r Swammerdam ter greffie geconsigneert bij ofte [5] van weegen Mons Wingendorp. mij verwondert dat u E. deselve niet {aantstonts} onder Cautie hebt gelicht. dat volgens de practijke aldaar heeft konnen [8] geschieden en niet gewijger kon worden. jmmers [9] doen bij den selven Wingendorp wiert geconsenteert [10] jn de condemnatie ten diffinitive, met refusie van kosten. had in plicht geweest [[de]] het selve voor [[de cond]]\so veel/ de condemnatie ten principalen aan gaat [13] te accepteren. en daar op speciale condemnatie van scheepen te versoeken, waar mede de geheele{n} [15] sake soude weesen gesalveert t' appel geprevenieert alsoo men niet en mag appelleren. daar den [17] gedaagde jn judicio contradictorio. [[ma]] consenteert. [18]

gerserveert de decisie van kosten [[ten]] ter uitsprake van de H^{ren} Schepenen, soo had men [20] alles onweerspr{eeke[[e]]n} jn handen gehadt. en had de saak raakende te kosten, daar naar {konnen} [23] vervolgen: welkers condemnatie Scheepenen niet konnen weigeren: Wat reedenen u. E. midsgads u. E. adv^t en Procureur gehadt hebben [25] om sulken occasie. sonder 't voordeel te accepteren en sig daar van te dienen. [[hebben]] \te/ laten passeren [27] js voor mij en die sig sij sulx verstaan onbegrijpel.

[28] Wat de kosten belangen, t is een contradictie dat Wingendo[[p]]rp volgens den Eijsch sou worden gecondem.^{ert} [30] en niet jnde kosten. Sometijts sietmen jn Hollandt dat sonder [[te]] dat men het kan begrijpen compensatie van kosten wort verleent schoon den gedaagden jn al t geeijste [[v]]wort gecondemneert [72v] Maar wie kan begrijpen dat een Eijscher kan [35] gecondemneert \worden/ jnde kosten van gedaagden daar jnt geeijschte [[v]]wort geconsenteert, of t most weesen dat de judiciele onkosten voor de v[[{c}]]er[[{t}]]val tijt gedaan waren [38] dat hier geen plaats heeft

[39] Der halven versoeck jk dat aanstonts op t consentement [40] van partijen mag condemnatie versocht worden mette kosten. en [[daar]]dan jst tijts genoeg om van kosten te handelen, jmmers en ten minsten dat op t consentem[en]t voorts mach toegestaan worden de [[{...}]] {lichting} vand{[[t]]e} voorts pampier{[[a]]}en [45] gereserveert d'uijsprake van kosten en sulx gedaan sijnde salmen sien hoemen [47] aangaande de onkosten sal handelen.

[48] versoeck daarom geen meer tijdt te versuijmen en een saak daar geen disput is soo te laten [50] sleepen. daar d'onmacht van te betaalen de Execute{ur} niet kan verhinderen. veel min [52] de condemnatie.

[53] hoope {hier} op mette Naaste u E. antwoordt te hebben om mij daar naar te reguleeren

Commentary

This undated draft can be attributed to Thévenot (even if it is written by someone else's hand),¹⁵³ given that it answers De Hoest's letter of 3 May 1682 (letter 16). Moreover, it was probably written before 28 May of the same year because a decision expressed in the draft, namely to pursue Wingendorp for the legal expenses, is commented on in the letter of De Volder of 28 May 1682 (letter 18) while afterwards (i.e. according to letter 19) this decision was dropped.

Thévenot reports (ll. 1–8) that with the letter of 3 May 1682 (i.e. letter 16) he has been informed by his recipient – i.e. De Hoest – about the delivery of the manuscripts and drawings to

153 See *supra*, section 1, n. 66.

the court clerk's office, and expresses his astonishment that De Hoest did not immediately take them, under a caution. According to Thévenot, this was possible at Leiden, and could not have been refused to De Hoest. According to Thévenot, moreover (ll. 9–13), while agreeing to transfer the property in the manuscripts, Wingendorp accepted a definitive condemnation (“condemnatie ten diffinitive”) while refusing at the same time to pay those expenses he was going to be charged in the case of a condemnation *ten principalen*. Thereon (ll. 13–17), a special condemnation (“speciale condemnatie”) has to be pleaded to the aldermen: by it, the whole affair could be resolved, and any appeal could be prevented, since the defendant (Wingendorp) has accepted this during the adversarial proceeding (“daar den gedaagde in judicio contradictorio consenteert” – Thévenot seems to refer to the definitive condemnation). In turn (ll. 18–23), a decision about the payment of the legal expenses has to be left to the pronouncement of the aldermen, who cannot refuse to condemn Wingendorp to pay them. Generally speaking (ll. 23–27), for Thévenot it is just incomprehensible why De Hoest, together with the lawyer and the attorney missed this occasion, without seizing the advantage and helping themselves.

As far as the legal expenses are concerned (ll. 28–38), Thévenot deems it contradictory that Wingendorp is condemned in accordance with the *eijsch*, but not to pay them. Moreover, for him it is incomprehensible that in Holland it can happen that a compensation for the expenses is granted to the defendant, even if he is condemned according to the *eijsch*, and that the claimant can be condemned to pay the expenses of the defendant, since the defendant has agreed in the *eijsch*, (“maar wie kan begrijpen dat een eijsscher kan gecondemneert worden inde kosten van gedaagden daar int geeijsschte wort geconsenteert”). Moreover, it is incomprehensible that such legal expenses should have been paid before the expiration of the deadline (apparently, that of the testament, but the text is not clear) – which of course has not happened (“of t most weesen dat de judiciele onkosten voor de vervaltijt gedaan waren dat hier geen plaats heeft”).

Therefore (ll. 39–42), Thévenot requires that, upon the consent of the parties, a condemnation of Wingendorp is to be immediately pursued, and that this has to concern also the payment of the legal expenses: only afterwards will there be enough time to discuss pardoning Wingendorp. Or (ll. 42–47), at least, that upon the consent of the parties the manuscripts are taken from the court clerk's office without any pronouncement on the legal expenses, and that afterwards their payment is to be discussed. Hence (ll. 48–52), Thévenot recommends not to lose more time and to put an end to the affair, because Wingendorp's inability to pay cannot hinder the *exécuteur* (De Hoest) to fulfil the deceased's will (apparently), and cannot impede his own condemnation (“versoek daarom geen meer tijdt te versuijmen en een saak daar geen disput is soo te laten

sleepon. daar d' onmacht van te betaalen de Execute {ur} niet kan verhinderen. veel min de condemnatie"). Eventually (ll. 53–), Thévenot expresses a hope to receive an answer from De Hoest with his next letter, so that he can act accordingly.

• *Letter 18: De Volder to Thévenot, 28 May 1682 (fascicle 25, 51r–52v)*

[51r]

¶ ¹⁵⁴

Monsieur,

L'ay fait mon possible [[pouv]] \afin de/ pouvoir vous repondre exactement quant a l'affaire du leg de monsr. Swammerdam, aux trois points [[q]]sur lesquels [5] vous demandez eclaircissement dans vostre lettre. [6] mais je n'y ay pas tout a fait reussi. Car premie=[7]rement j'ay tasché \de scavoir/ le nombre de fueilles d'impression, par {un} qui a esté toute sa vie employé en cette sorte d'affaires. Mais en voyant dans [10] La Greffe, les manuscrits il m'a repondu, qu'il estoit impossible d'en faire une pas=[12]sable conjecture, sa[[{vo}]]ns y employer quelques jours entiers, parceque l'écriture estoit fort inegale, et qu'on pourtant n'en pour=[15]roit dire quelq[ue] chose d'asseuré sans presq[ue] comter la plus part des toutes les lettres. Engros il estoit d'avis, qu'il seroit une mediocre livre in fol. si on l'imprimoit aveq [19] des lettres d'Augustin. [[{...d}]]Quant aux graveur{s} [20] j'ay este contraint d'ecrire a Amsterdam car icy on n'en a point, pour en scavoir le prix et puisq[ue] on ne pouvoit pas leur envoyer les figures, je leur ay escrit qu'ils estoient semblables a celles du livre de Mr. Swammerdā [25] van de bloedeloze dierkens, et vo[[l]]yla les propres termes de la Responce, que j'en ay receu. Men heeft mij geantwoort, dat sodanige platen van de bloedeloze duertjens, die hij mij toonden, [51v] synde twee op een vel papier, niet veel soude co=[30]sten, te weten, 10, 11 a 12 gulden. Quant au troisieme poinct, Mr. Wingendorp n'est pas enc{or} condamné aux depens, mais voy[[{e}]]nt qu'il ne pourroit pas eviter la condamnation, il vous prie de les luy remettre, et je croy que ce sera le m[[e]]ieux, car [35] on m'a assuré de bonne part, que quand mesme il \y/ s[[c]]eroit condamné, il n'a pas les biens pour les payer. De scavoir son dessein, je doute fort si ce[[{d}]]la se peut. Il dit qu'il l'a fait pource qu'il avoit besoin des manuscrits pour sa version [40] et on ne peut {rien de plus tirer} de lui. Et d'autre

154 See *supra*, section 2, n. 151.

part un de ses Crediturs m'a dit qu'il {le} connoissoit fort bien, quais qu'il estoit impossible de scavoir le fonds de ses intentions, qui a aussy confirmé ce que {j'a [45] dist} tantost, de son extreme pauvreté. Pourr venir a la fin, je croy qu'il {{fauder}} \vous/ fer{{a}}ez le mieux, si vous donnerez ordre a Monsr. Hoest ou de {tirer} ses manuscrits de la Greffe en {{...}} accordant avec Wingendorp [50] sus les depens et conditions le mieux qu'il pourra, ou de donner precisement ordre de le poursuivre {{...}} en toute outrance, encor que je crains fort et qu{{a}}e vous avec {{K}}cette rigueur {ne} gaigneres rien que perte de temps [55] et d'argent. Car, daar niet is, dit on, da{t} verliest de Keyser zijn recht. Sur quoy [57] nous attendrons vos ordres pour les suivre entierem{ent.} [52r] [58] je vous remercie tres humblement des soins qu'il vous a pleu de prendre de mon pendule. [60] Je n'ay point trouvé ces Messrs. Antoine Guillaume, dont vous m'ecrivez, parce que vous avez oublié d'y adiouter leur surnom. I'ay escrit a Amsterdam, pour avoir le moyen de le faire empacquer{.} mais par malheur celuy [65] a qui je n'ay adressé n'avoit rien a envoyer. Si je ne trouve point d'occasion plus prompte, je vous prie de m'ecrire le surnom de ces deux Messr. pour ne manquer point a aucune [69] occasion de le vous envoyer. I'ay receus de \la part de/ Monsr [70] de Riberolles les trois ducats de nostre monnoye, que j'avois depensé pour les desseins. Le Cousin de Monsr. Heinsius qui a ses livres et ses escrits n'est pas encor retourné dans cette [74] {{I}}ville. M^r Ray m'est venu trouver il ya quelques [75] jours. Il m'a dit clairement que des terres ny australes ny septentrionales il ne scavoit rien plus que ce que il vous avoit escrit. Car qu'on n'avoit d'i{{I}}cy fait aucun voyage vers {{s}}{l}es {t}erres, {{sinon}} excepté ceux dont il avoit [80] fait mention dans ses memoires que [81] je vous ay envoyéz. {{H}}Monsr. Hermans vous {{fait}} remercie du dessein qu{{o}}e vous luy avez en=[83]voyez. Avec le livre de Nieuhof vous aurez une [84] partie de la plante periformis. Ce ministre [85] de Batavia s'appelle Clavius et il fait un recueil des histories des Indes comme aussy des choses naturelles de toute sortes. Ce qui est [88] tout ce que Monsr. Hermans en scait.

[52v]¹⁵⁵ [89] j'attendray avec impatience vos ordres sur l'[90]affaire de Monsr. Wingendorp. Car quan{{t}}d nous aurons les manuscrits en main, on pourra mieux traiter avec les libraires, pour faire reussir vostre dessein. Car ils demandent la vue un peu plux exacte, parce qu'il y en a {q...} [95] craignent qu'il n'y ait melé de la Theologie et de morale, la quelle crainte sera qu'on trouvera plus difficilement des libraires qui s'en voudront sais{{e}}ir. Je finiray Monsr. parce que la poste s'en va partir, en [100] vous assurant que je m'estimeray heure[ux] tant en cette qu'en toute autre chose, s'il vous plaist de m'honerer de vos com[man]demens, et seray toute ma vie

Monsieur

155 This page contains an unreadable annotation, apparently by Thévenot.

Leyde 28 Mey,
1682

Vostre tres humble servi=
teur B. De Volder.

Commentary

In this letter (ll. 1–6) De Volder answers three questions concerning the affair, posed by Thévenot in a previous letter, which was an answer to letter 15 (as is patent from the last part of the present letter). First (ll. 6–19), De Volder asked someone (certainly a publisher) for information about the size of an edition of Swammerdam's papers: having inspected the papers at the court clerk's office, this man replied that he could not easily guess an answer, as the writings largely differ in size. At first sight, it will be a medium size *in folio* book, if it is going to be printed "with some letters of Augustine" ("si on l'imprimoit aveq des lettres d'Augustin," maybe alluding to the *in folio* edition of Augustine mentioned in letter 12).¹⁵⁶ Second (ll. 19–30), De Volder informs Thévenot that he had to contact engravers in Amsterdam, as he could not find anyone at Leiden: he received an estimation of expenses based on the plates contained in Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum*, namely 10–12 guilders for each plate, which would be two per sheet.¹⁵⁷ Third (ll. 30–57), De Volder reports that Wingendorp has not been convicted yet to pay the expenses of the trial, and that he pleads Thévenot not to be charged these expenses, as he foresees that he is going to be convicted. De Volder repeatedly recommends Thévenot to accept this request, and to give an order to De Hoest to take the manuscripts from the court clerk's office, as he knew – from one of Wingendorp's creditors – that Wingendorp is not able to pay these expenses. In De Volder's opinion, actually, Thévenot's steadfastness in prosecuting Wingendorp will just lead to a waste of time and money. In any case, he waits for his orders.

Hence (ll. 58–69), De Volder thanks Thévenot for his efforts with regard to his pendulum, which De Volder is going to deliver (so it was built under his direction). However, he could not identify Mr. Antoine and Mr. Guillaume, through which the pendulum had to be delivered, since Thévenot did not write their surnames. Also, De Volder wrote to Amsterdam (where it was built, apparently) in order to have it packed up: however, his request could not be fulfilled, as no packaging was available. So that if he does not find any other occasion to deliver it, De Volder asks Thévenot to provide him with the surnames of Mr. Antoine and Mr. Guillame (whose identity could not be ascertained).

¹⁵⁶ This estimation roughly matches the size of Boerhaave's 1737–1738 edition: which is in two volumes (ca. 500 pages each) but is bilingual.

¹⁵⁷ As seen above, such plates were re-used in Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae*.

Also (ll. 69–74), De Volder informs Thévenot to have received from Riberolles the 3 ducats he paid for the drawings of Van Mieris (as seen in letter 12; the payment seems in any case to be different from the one mentioned in letter 11), and that he could not meet the cousin of Heinsius (whose identity could not be ascertained), who is in possession of his books and manuscripts: probably in order to get information on the *Descriptio Moscoviae*, mentioned in letter 15. In fact, in what follows (ll. 74–81) De Volder addresses the same topics of this letter 15, to which Thévenot certainly replied. He reports that De Raey Jr. paid a visit to him, and told him that he had no more information “neither about the austral nor about the northern lands” (“des terres ny australes ny septentrionales,” probably meaning the areas of the poles) than that he had already communicated to Thévenot. Nobody else, indeed, visited these lands besides those mentioned in the *mémoires* sent to Thévenot.¹⁵⁸ Moreover (ll. 81–84), De Volder forwards to Thévenot the thanks of Hermann, to whom Thévenot sent the drawing he required (namely that of the *Bakili* plant), and informs him that he will receive, together with the book of Nieuhof (viz. his *Reize*), a part of the *plante periformis*. On behalf of Hermann, also (ll. 84–88), De Volder provides some essential information on Clavius, who is reported as having written a compendium on the history of the Indies and on natural subjects.¹⁵⁹

De Volder closes the letter (ll. 89–) by asking further orders from Thévenot, and reporting that when they will have the manuscripts in their hands they will be able to deal better with the publishers, who asked more exact information about the books, fearing that Swammerdam could have meddle with theology and morals – making therefore more difficult to have his manuscripts published. The letter has no seals and is not addressed. On the last page (52v), it contains an annotation, apparently by Thévenot’s hand, upside-down with respect to the main text: the annotation is scarcely readable, and no meaningful transcription could be provided.

• **Letter 19: De Volder to Thévenot, 15 July 1682 (fascicle 25, 53r–54v)**

[53r]

Monsieur,

158 Such as the *mémoire* mentioned in letter 12 and the attachment mentioned in letter 15. A certain report on northern lands and Greenland is mentioned by Swammerdam in his letter to Thévenot of 30 March 1678

(Swammerdam 1975, letter 18), where Swammerdam communicated to Thévenot that the publisher Wolfgang could not get it.

159 See *supra*, section 2, n. 140.

j'ay receu la vostre il y a deux semaines, et peu de jours aprez une autre de Monsr. Barbou. je me suis donc incontinent adressé a Monsr. Hoest [5] pour faire, qu'il retirast les ecris du greffe, mais je ne l'ay pas trouvée, parce qu'il n'estoit pas dans la ville, et quoy qu'on l'attendoit de jour en jour, il n'est pas retourné que demain. Ap[re]s que je luy avois communiqué vos lettres, de retirer les [10] ecris du greffe, et de les donner ou a Monsr. Barin ou a un amy de Monsr. Barbou qui payeroit par son [12] ordre les frais du proces, il m'a respondu, qu'il avoit ordres expres de vous de traite[r] avec un [imprimeur] de nos libraires pour l'impression du livre, et qu'il [15] ne doutoit pas d'en venir a bout, mais qu'ils desiroient [16] de voir la piece avant qu'ad[re]ils concluissent quelq[ue] chose. [17] je vous avoue, que je me trouvois un peu embarrassé par cette response, ne sachant que conclure de vos inten[ti]ons, principalement parce que la vostre n'estant pas [20] datée; il estoit incertain, qu'elle de vos lettres estoit la derniere. On a donc trouvé a propos de vous prier par cettecy de {v} vous eclaircir sur ce poinct, et de faire aprez [23] ce que vous \nous/ ordonnerez. je n'ay pas encor eu l'honneur de voir Monsr. Barin, ny Monsr. Auzout, je m'estime=[25]rois fort heureux de leur pouvoir faire quelq[ue] service en ce pais. Enfin la medaille pour Monsr. Borelli est preste pour luy estre envoyée a la premier occasi=[28]on. j'ay envoyé{e} par mer le livre de Nieuhof avec la plante periforme de Monsr. Hermans a Monsr. [53v] [30] Vermande Marchand a Rouen pou[ss]r vous l'adresser. [31] j'avois presq[ue] oublié de vous dire qu'on m'a dit que la cause pourquoy mons. Wingendorp s'est servi de tant de delais consiste en ce qu'il avoit emprunté de l'ar=[34]gent donnant en gage les figures, et qu'il esperoit, [35] de trouver moyen pour avoir tant d'argent pour les de=[36]gager, avant que nous eussions les ecris. Quant au cabinet de Monsr. Swammerdam, Monsr. Hoest m'a dit qu'il vous avoit informé sur cela fort distinctement, mais il me nie qu'on avoit offert [40] de l'argent pour ce cabinet, ou de l'argent dit{...} qui soit proportionné a la chose, quoy qu'il me semble qu'un marchand d'Amsterdam luy a offert 200 de nos ducats, sur {qu'...} je m'in=[44]formeray dans peu de jours, quand je seray dans [45] cette ville. je demeure cependant

Monsieur

Vostre tre[ss]s humble serviteur

B. De Volder

Leyde ce 15 Iuliet

1682

[54r]

A Monsieur
Monsieur Thevenot sur le
quay neuf proche de la Grève
A
Paris.

Commentary

De Volder writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–12) to have received an undated letter by him two weeks before (i.e. around 1 July 1682), and another one some days later, by Mr. Barbou (whose identity could not be ascertained),¹⁶¹ reporting the order of Thévenot to take the papers from the court clerk's office and to give them to Mr. Barin (certainly Théodore),¹⁶² or to a friend of Barbou, who is going to pay the expenses of the trial. In all the evidence, this was for having the papers delivered to him in France. Once De Volder could find De Hoest, he gave him Thévenot's letters: however (ll. 12–16), De Hoest replied that Thévenot had asked him to deal with a publisher about publication, and that the publisher would have needed the manuscripts themselves for this. Given Thévenot's apparently contradictory indications, and the fact that his letter was not dated, De Volder (ll. 17–23) asks him for some clarification about his orders, which they will follow.

It is unclear, actually, what provoked this decision by Thévenot, who, until these letters to De Volder, organized the printing of Swammerdam's manuscripts in the Netherlands. On the one hand, it might have been his reception of De Hoest's undated letter (letter 14), in particular, De Hoest's claim that Thévenot bought the plates from Wingendorp – which Thévenot was to reject harshly in a draft of October 1682 (letter 23). However, letter 14 was more probably written in March rather than in June 1682.¹⁶³ Alternatively, it might have been Thévenot's general discontent on how the affair had been conducted by his representatives in Holland (including, in any case, De Hoest), testified to by letters 23 and 21.

Moreover (ll. 23–30), De Volder reports that he did not meet Barin and Auzout (certainly

160 This page contains one seal.

161 Mentioned also in letters 26 and 29.

162 On him, see La Morinerie 1893. Mentioned also in letters 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, and 31.

163 See *supra*, section 2, n. 130.

Adrien),¹⁶⁴ and that he hopes to be able to be helpful to them. Also, that the medal for Borelly (endowed by the Curators of the University and the Burgomasters of Leiden, as evident from letters 24 and 27) is ready to be delivered,¹⁶⁵ and that he sent to Thévenot the book of Nieuhof and the *plante periforme* of Hermann. De Volder shipped them by sea to Rouen, where it is to be received and forwarded to Thévenot by Mr. Vermande, merchant (certainly the Dutch merchant Jacob Vermande, 1638–1716, from Rotterdam).¹⁶⁶ Furthermore (ll. 31–36), De Volder has been informed that Wingendorp delayed the delivery of the manuscripts so much for the reason that he had borrowed money by giving Swammerdam's figures as guarantee, and that he hoped to take them back before Thévenot's representatives could have them. Eventually (ll. 36–), De Volder reports that De Hoest told him to have informed Thévenot about the cabinet of Swammerdam in detail,¹⁶⁷ of which, in any case, no purchaser offering enough money could be found: in fact, De Volder heard about someone from Amsterdam offering 200 ducats (i.e. circa 660 guilders),¹⁶⁸ about which De Volder is going to ask for further information. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 20: De Volder to Thévenot, 17 August 1682 (fascicle 25, 56–55 (sic))*

[56, *sic*]

Monsieur,

je ne suis pas maintenant en estat de vous respondre nettement sur le contenu de deux de vos lettres, dont la premiere m'est rendue a la vieille de mon depart pour Amsterdam, et l'autre m'est envoye dans [5] cette ville cy. je vous diray seulement, qu'avant mon depart nous avons concerté ensemble, Monsr. vander Hoest et moy, d[e luy] offrir [[d]]a Wingen=[7]dorp de vostre part la remission des depenses faites au procès, aux conditions, qu'il reverroit [[dans]] les manuscrits, s'ils estoient encor dans La Greffe tout entiers, et qu'ils nous en assurent {...}t solennellement. [10] Ce que nous faisons pour une plus grande assurance. Car \luy/ y ayant eu acces il nous a paru necessaire de scavoir, qu'n n'y avoit point apporte le moin=[12]dre dommage. La seconde condition esoit, de nous promett[e]re, et d'asseurer qu'il n'avoit rien fait, ny feroit encor quelq[ue] chose qui

164 On him, see McKeon 1970. Mentioned also in letters 23, 24, 25, 27, and 33.

165 Mentioned also in letters 20, 24, and 27. Probably aimed at him in addition to his remuneration (mentioned in letter 15) for a lens (lens A) he built for the university: see section 1.3.2.

166 Van Epen 1924, 349. Mentioned also in letter 20.

167 Letters 4 and 8.

168 I calculated the price in guilders using letter 13.

puisse nuire a l'impression[s] Flamande, ce que nous exigeons pour [{f}]scavoir s'il avoit obtenu
 [15] de Messrs. Les Estats quelq[ue] Octroy pour son livre. Son procureur nous a tesmoigné
 d'accepter ses conditions. Mais nous avons pretendu que cela se fit en presence des juges. [par]On
 a donc nommé deux Commissaires pour la terminer. Mais je doute fort si la chose sera terminée
 dans le temps de mon absence, par ces vacances qui avoient desia commencées [20] et qui se
 finiroit a la fin de ce mois. I'ay dessein de retourner a Leyde a la fin de cette semaine, et alors je
 vous promets de poursuivre cette affaire tant qu'il me sera possible. Car, Monsieur, je n'ose vous
 rien promettre, ayant honte, de \m'/avoir si souvent persuadé \vainement/ que la chose
 reussi=[24]roit bien[t] tost. Je vous promets donc rien que mes offices. Avant mon [25] depart j'en
 ay encor parlé a deux juges, pour leur demander la fin du proces. Ils m'ont tout promis, mais ils me
 l'ont fait plusieurs fois si j'en demande la c[{e}]ause on me paye avec des paroles generales on ne
 peut faire tout ce qu'on desire, etc. j'ay bien quelq[ue] soup\c/[s]on, mais je n'[29]ecris pas
 volontiers sur de simples coniectures. je vous prie encor une foi[missing text] [30] de prendre un
 peu de patience, et de vous persuader qu'il n'y a rien qui me fasche si fort, \que/ de ne pouvoir en ce
 [p]\c/as par des effets vous montrer, avec quelle promptitude j'accepteray toutes les occasions pour
 m'acquitter [33] un peu des grandes obligations, que je vous ay. j'ay receu de Monsr. vander Burgh
 l[a]e verre de monsr. Borelli, dont je suis fort obligé et a vous et a [35] luy. je differeray neantmoins
 d'ecrire a Monsr. Borelli, pour le remercier de sa bonté jusques a ce, qu'on e[...]nvoyera la
 medaille de l'academie, qui est enfin achevée. j'ay parlée a un qui a soin de la Bibliotheq[ue] de
 monsr. Heinsius, pour avoir ce manuscrit de la moscovie. Mais il m'a repondu de ne l'avoir pas
 trouvée, en promettant neantmoins de m'en avertir, s'il tomboit [40] encor entre ses mains. On a
 offert pour le [r]cabinet de monsr. Swammerdam 200 escus. mais ses erhiers n'ont pas fait grand
 cas de cette offerte. Quan[missing text] j'en parle a monsr. Hoe[missing text]en puis rien tirer, sinon
 qu'il vous en a ecrit [43] amplement, il y a long[missing text] je m'estonne que vous n'avez pas
 encor receu le livre de Nieuwh[missing text] a presq[ue] deux mois que le batteau est parti [55,
sic]¹⁶⁹ [45] pour Rouen. Si vous ne l'avez encore, je vous prie d'ecrire a Monsr. [Ch]Iaques [46]
 Vermande marchand a Rouen pour en scavoir la cause. je vous [{s...} tres gr] suis fort obligé,
 Monsieur, de vostre bonté que vous temoignés en me felicitant sur ma nouvelle profession. Il a pleu
 a nos Messrs de m'en pouvoir, et quoy qu'e j'eusse desia asses d'[employ] \affaires/ je l'ay
 accepteé, parce que \j'ay/ [les mathematiques] [50] [cont] tousjours eu un grand penchant pour les
 mathematiques. Sil y a quelq[ue] chose [51] de nouveau dans ces sciences en vos quartiers, je vous
 prie de me le communiquer. [52] Quant au micrometre dont vous parlez dans la lettre de monsr.

169 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

vander Burgh, je vous prie tres humblement de me le faire avoir le plus prontement que se pourra, car [54] vous voyez bien que j'en ay maintenant plus de besoin que jamais. j'ay este si malhe=[55]reux de ne voir pas Monsr. Barin estant a l'Université quand il estoit ches moy. et n'ayant pas l'occasion de le revoir pa[[s]]r son soudain depart. j'espere que je seray [57] plus heureux a son retour. Monsr. Le Moine est élu ministre de l'église Francoise a Leide, ce que luy donnera occasion de plus faire eclater son talent, que dans les bornes de sa profession. je suis

Monsieur

Leide 17 Aoust, 1682

Vostre tres obligé serviteur

B. De Volder.

A Monsieur

Monsieur Thevenot

sur le quay neuf proche de

la Grève

A Paris¹⁷⁰

Commentary

De Volder answers (ll. 1–5) two letters from Thévenot: one received just before travelling to Amsterdam (for the summer holidays) and another “here in this city” (“dans cette ville icy”), so that the present letter was certainly written at Amsterdam rather than at Leiden (as De Volder wrongly indicates). He informs Thévenot (ll. 5–15) that before moving to Amsterdam he and De Hoest decided to offer Wingendorp the remission of the expenses on Thévenot's behalf, on the conditions (already mentioned in letter 16), that (1) Wingendorp has to check and swear that the manuscripts at the court clerk's office are still complete – for the reason that he had access to them – (2) he has to swear that he did nothing and will do nothing which could hinder the publication in Dutch of the manuscripts: by doing this, he will make clear whether he obtained any privilege of printing from the States of Holland or the States General (the reference is generic: “Messrs. Les Etats”). According to his attorney (ll. 15–20), Wingendorp accepted these conditions: in turn, De Volder and De Hoest asked that these swearings be done before the judges, for which purpose two

170 The address is written upside-down with respect to the text of the letter.

commissaries were nominated. However, De Volder doubts whether the entire affair could be concluded before his return to Leiden, as they are now in the holiday season, which lasts until the end of August. In any case (ll. 20–29), he is going to come back to Leiden at the end of the week (i.e. around Sunday, 23 August) in order to pursue its conclusion, even if he is pessimistic about this, as it has already been delayed for a long time. Moreover, he had already talked with two judges just before leaving Leiden, without however receiving clear answers from them: so that he suspects that something is hindering the conclusion of the affair – on which, however, he does not provide more information to Thévenot.¹⁷¹ In any case (ll. 29–33), he is going to put all his efforts into it, in order to fulfil his obligations towards Thévenot (certainly referring to his Paris stay).¹⁷²

Also (ll. 33–40), De Volder informs Thévenot that he received from Mr. Vander Burgh (whose identity could not be ascertained) the lens (*verre*) of Borelly (probably lens B), for which De Volder feels indebted both to Borelly and Thévenot. However, De Volder waits to write to Borelly, until the medal from the University of Leiden is dispatched to him – as mentioned in letter 19. By addressing other topics already touched on in this letter (to which Thévenot certainly replied), De Volder reports to have talked with the curator of the private library of Heinsius, who, however, could not find the manuscript of the *Descriptio Moscoviae*. Also (ll. 40–43), he confirms to Thévenot that someone had offered 200 ducats for Swammerdam's cabinet, but that his heirs had declined the offer. He tried to have more information about it from De Hoest, however, the latter told De Volder that he had already extensively written about it to Thévenot.¹⁷³ In turn (ll. 43–46), the book of Nieuhof, shipped by sea to Rouen two months before, has not been received yet by Thévenot, who should write to Vermande at Rouen to find out about it.

Next (ll. 46–51), De Volder thanks Thévenot for his felicitations on De Volder's becoming professor of mathematics at Leiden (as discussed in section 1.3.2). De Volder, indeed, assumed this post in June 1682 (when he gave his *Oratio de coniungendis philosophicis et mathematicis disciplinis*, published in the same year and sent by De Volder to Thévenot with letter 29).¹⁷⁴ De Volder is pleased to have assumed this position, since he has always been interested in mathematics, and expresses interest in receiving from Thévenot any news in the field from France. Also (ll. 52–54), De Volder asks Thévenot to send him the micrometer (mentioned also in letter 15), as he certainly needs it for the Observatory, and refers to it as mentioned by Thévenot in a letter delivered or included in a letter for Vander Burgh.

171 As testified to by letter 21, De Volder suspects that De Hoest is delaying the trial.

172 Letter 21.

173 Letters 4 and 8.

174 See also letters 25, 27, and 28.

Moreover (ll. 54–57), De Volder reports that he could not see Barin, as he was at the University when Barin tried to visit him, and afterwards he could not see him as Barin suddenly left Leiden. Eventually (ll. 57–), he reports that Le Moine has been nominated minister of the Walloon church at Leiden.¹⁷⁵ According to De Volder, this will allow him to show his talents more than his professorial post at Leiden. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 21: De Volder to Thévenot, 24 September 1682 (fascicle 25, 57r–58v)*

[57r]

Monsieur

J'ay receu deux de vos lettres, L'une du 6^{me} Septembre, [a][d] \dans/ la Semaine passée, et avanthier l'autre du 18^{me} Sept. Il faut que ma lettre que je {vous} ay écrite il y a 10 ou 12 jours soit perdue. Je vous ay écrit en celle-là [5] que j'estois persuadé que ce dernier delay ne venoit point de la part [6] de nos Magistrats, mais de Monsr. van Hoest. Car aussi tost que je ay esté de retour a Leyde je me suis adressé a Monsr. van Hoest, pour scavoir la cause de ce retardement. Dans sa response, j'ay entendu qu'il soupçonnoit, que vous demandiez d'avoir les écrits a Paris, parce que vous n'avi=[10]ez pas le dessein de les faire imprimer en [Hollande] \Flaman/ selon le desir [11] de feu Monsr. Swammerdam, et que ce soupçon estoit cause qu'il ne poursuivoit plus l'affaire, et qu'il ne vouloit point les poursui[...]vre sans ordres expres de vous, puisq[ue], disoit il, que les ordres qu'il avoit de vous, et qui estoient confirméz de Monsr. Basin, estoient tout a [15] fait contraires, a ce que vous m'avies écrit de les vouloir en France. Il a adjousté, qu'il vous en écrivoit, et qu'il n'en feroit rien de plus [17] avant que d'avoir receu vostre response. Je vous ay donc écrit qu'il me sembloit absolument necessaire que vous luij écrivissiez en [19] termes si forts et si expres, qu'il n'e¹⁷⁶ luy pouroit rester aucun effuge. [20] Aprez cela j'ay rec[ue] la vostre du 18 de ce mois, dans laquelle j'ay veu l'extrême mecontentement qu[ae]e vous temoigné des procedures qu'on a tenues en cette affaire. Asseurement, Mons[ie]ur, si Monsr. van Hoest eu quelq[ue] dessein particulier, dont je me remets a luij ce n'est pas ma faute. J'ay correspondé avec luy, parce qu'il estoit [25] la principale personne dans cette affaire, et qui seul pouvoit agir [dans cette affaire] \en vostre nom/ aupres de Messrs les Iuges, tout ce que mons. Le moyne et moy y

175 See *supra*, section 2, n. 60.

176 Read: 'ne'.

pouvions faire une consistant qu'en une recommandation. Elle a eu, je vous avoue, peu de succes, mais vous n'estes pas de ces gens la, qui jugent de l'intention [30] par l'evenement/. Permettez moy, je vous prie, de vous dire, que ce que j'ay fait, je l'ay fait avec plus d'empressement que je ne feray l'eusse/ pas fait/, s'il estoit eust esté/ mon affaire, de quoy je puis prendre a temoin et Monsr. Le Moine, et quelques uns de nos Magistrats{.,} Et Dieu vueille, que je puisse avoir occasion [35] de vous pouvoir montrer en un autre cas avec plus de success combien je suis me sens/ redevable a vous pour toutes les bontés, que vous avez eu pour moy a Paris, et dont lesquelles/ il vous a plu de continuer [38] jusqu'ues icy.

[57v] [39] Mais pour retourner a nostre affaire, j'ay communiqué vostre lettre a Monsr. Le [40] moyne tant pour profiter de son conseil, que de pouvoir tant mieux justifier ma conduite. Il a jugé a propos, de ne rompre pas encore ouvertement avec Monsr. Hoest a cause qu'il estoit le seul qui publiquement pouvoit agir en vostre nom, mais de tascher de apprendre son dessein. Monsr. Hoest donc m'a dit qu'il avoit receu des lettres de vous, dans lesquelles vous temoignies vostre mécontentement, quoy, qu'il disoit, qu'il ne l'avoit nullement merité. Le luy ay dissimulé ce que j'en scavois disant seulement que vous m'avez ecrit en termes generaux, et qu'il me sembloit estre necessaire [47] d'en avoir une fin par l'un ou l'autre moyen. Il estoit persuadé que vous eussiez écrit acheté les planches de Monsr. Wingendorp quoy qu'il ne m'a pas voulu dire, d'ou il le scavoit. Pour trancher court, je lui j ay demandé, s'il vous [50] luy donnassiez des ordres de retirer ces ecrits du Greffe, et de les donner ou a Monsr. Le Moyne, ou a moy, ou a celui a qui vous l'ordonnerez, s'il vous ne preniez pas soin de les faire imprimer en Flaman, et quoy que je lui j disse que vous m'aviez tousjours temoigné de vouloir satisfaire aux ordres [55] du defunt, je n'ay pas sceu luy persuader. Mais neantmoins il confessoit de douter fort, si les termes mots du testament luy donnoient asses de droit, [57] pour vous y contraindre si vous n'y voulussiez descendre de bon gré. Enfin nous sommes convenus, qu'il en delibereroit jusques aujourd'hui, mais maintenant au lieu de responce, il m'a envoyé son frere pour me dire, [60] qu'il ne pouvoit encore me respondre positivement, mais qu'il estoit resolu de consulter sur cela auparavant avec ses amis d'Amsterdam. en promettant pourtant, de me donner responce aussi tost que cela se pourroit faire. Le vous raconte ces Choses, Monsieur, en detail pour vous persuader, qu'il est absolument necessaire, de donner ces ordres a Monsr. [65] Hoest, de les retirer du Greffe, et de les donner a celui a qui il vous plaira de les confier. comme j'ay dit cy dessus./ Car en tout ces il ne voudra rien faire sans ces ordres. Et si vous le trouvez a propos mettez sa letter dans la mienne, afin que quand je luy donneray, je puisse plus effacieusement le

presser de vous satisfaire. Mais en cas qu'il ne veuille pass, et que vous vouluez [[abso]] ces papiers sans les [70] accrocher aux conditions que nous avons taché d'obtenir de Monsr. Wingendorp, il me semble necessaire apres [[l]]ce refus de revoquer par un acte publiq[ue] [[les ordres]] la pro[[{a}]]curation, comme on l'appelle ici, que vous avez donné a Monsr. Wingendorp, et de la donner a quelq[ue] autre pour pouvoir en vostre nom demander ces papiers, mesme contre mons. Van Hoest [75] s'il vouloit y faire quelq[ue] pretention. Mais avant qu'il eut refusé a cause de son soup[[s]]con, de vous envoyer ces ecris ou de les donner a vos ordres Monsr. Le Moine estoit de l'opinion de menager encor avec luij. Ce pendant, je presseray Monsr. van Hoest de me respondre, et s'il le fait [58r] avant le jour de Dimanche je le vous ecriray par la voye d'Amsterdam, (car [80] d'[[j]]icy la poste s'en va seulement une fois {a} chaq[ue] semaine) ou autrement si [81] tost que je l'auray receu.

[82] Monsr. Hermans s'en est allé en Angleterre, dont on attend tous les jours son retour. Quant au livre de mons. [[M]]Nieuhof je vous prie d'accepter ce peu de moy en bonne part. Mais puisq[ue] la poste s'en va parti[[{e}]]r je differe=[85]ray de repondre aux autres points de vos lettres a la pre[[{c}]]miere occasion [[{e}]]dans l'espoir, que j'auray le moyen de parler cependant [[{...}]]a Monsr. Gool. Je finira[[{is}]]y donc en vous priant de croire, que je suis sincerement

Monsieur

Leyden 24 Septemb[missing text] 1682

Vostre tres obligé Serviteur

B. De Volder.

[58v]¹⁷⁷

A Monsieur

Monsieur Thevenot au quay

neuf, proche de la Gréve

A

Paris

177 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

Commentary

De Volder (ll. 1–6) answers two letters from Thévenot, one of 6 and the other of 18 September, which he received respectively the past week (14–20 September) and two days before the present letter (22 September). In turn, De Volder sent Thévenot a letter 10 or 12 days before (i.e. between 12 and 14 September) – according to him most probably lost – in which he informed Thévenot that the delay in the conclusion of the affair was caused by De Hoest rather than by the magistrates – thereby substantiating with more information the suspicion he alluded to in letter 20. Indeed (ll. 6–11), as De Volder wrote to De Hoest asking him the reason for this delay, he got an answer from him by which he understood that De Hoest suspected that Thévenot wanted to receive the papers in Paris (as revealed in letter 19) for the reason that he did not want to publish them in Dutch in accordance with Swammerdam’s will. Accordingly, while in July 1682 De Volder accepted Thévenot’s decision to have the manuscripts delivered to France without showing any doubt about Thévenot’s willingness to publish a Dutch edition of them, even if not in Holland, De Hoest interpreted or labelled this decision to De Volder as a matter of quarrelling.¹⁷⁸ It was De Hoest’s suspicion, in fact, that according to De Volder (ll. 11–17) led him not to continue to deal with the affair without explicit orders from Thévenot: De Hoest, indeed, reported to De Volder that he got orders from Thévenot, confirmed by “Monsr. Basin” – probably Barin –¹⁷⁹ which were contradicting the order Thévenot gave to De Volder to receive the manuscripts in France. So that De Hoest did not want to proceed further in the affair without explicit orders from Thévenot – whom De Volder (ll. 17–19) recommended to give him “so that no excuse can be left him” (“qu’il ne luy pouroit rester aucun effuge”), in his lost letter dating between 12 and 14 September. Accordingly, the hindering of the conclusion of the affair was carried on by De Hoest, in De Volder’s eye, through his refusal to take the manuscripts from the court clerk’s office, testified to for the first time by De Volder’s letter of 15 July (letter 19).

Hence (ll. 20–30), De Volder reports that after having written this lost letter dating between 12 and 14 September, he received Thévenot’s letter of 18 September: as seen above, this happened on 22 September, but given the fact that De Volder also reported to have received a letter by

¹⁷⁸ Notably, indeed, in writing the present letter De Volder corrected his sentence “you had no intention of having them printed in Holland” into “you had no intention of having them printed in Dutch” (“vous n’aviez pas le dessein de les faire imprimer en [[Hollande]] \Flaman/ selon le desir de feu Monsr. Swammerdam”). Moreover, in letter 30 he was just to recommend Thévenot to publish it in the Netherlands, the only place where it might be sold. In turn, De Hoest claimed that this decision – at least to De Volder – contravened Swammerdam’s will. As testified to by the other contents of the present letter, moreover, De Hoest interpreted Thévenot’s supposed agreement with Wingendorp (mentioned in letters 14 and 22) as a collusion between the two, aimed at organizing an edition of Swammerdam’s works behind his back.

¹⁷⁹ Apparently, he refers here to the contents of letter 14; see also letter 19, and specifically *supra*, section 2, n. 130.

Thévenot dated 6 September in the week of 14–20 September (i.e. just after having written his own letter), as seen above, it is probable be that he just mistook the two letters. In this letter of (apparently) 18 September, Thévenot expressed his discontent about the way the affair had been dealt with (as in letter 17): accordingly, in the present letter (letter 21) De Volder writes to Thévenot that he is not responsible for the intentions of De Hoest, with whom he deals because he is the only person authorized to act on behalf of Thévenot. In turn, De Volder and Le Moine would just make a recommendation to the judges – but without success. In any case (ll. 30–38), De Volder vows that he helped Thévenot with more enthusiasm as if it were his own business, as Le Moine and one of the magistrates could testify. So that he wishes to have another occasion to be useful to Thévenot, who had greatly helped him in Paris.

As to the affair itself (ll. 39–47), De Volder reports that Le Moine – kept informed by De Volder himself – recommended not to break the contacts with De Hoest, the only one who can legally act on behalf of Thévenot, but just to try to guess his intentions. In turn, De Hoest told De Volder to have received letters from Thévenot revealing his discontent (probably referring also to letter 17): having known this, De Volder did not reveal to De Hoest that he had received the same complaint (so that they spoke between 14 or 22 and 24 September, i.e. after De Volder received the letter from Thévenot discussed above), but told him that Thévenot was vague as to this, and suggested that De Hoest just put an end to the affair. Also (ll. 47–57), De Hoest revealed to De Volder that he was persuaded that Thévenot bought the plates from Wingendorp (as mentioned in letter 14), without however revealing his source (most probably Wingendorp himself). In turn, De Volder asked De Hoest whether Thévenot ordered him to take the writings from the court clerk's office and to give them to Le Moine or to himself, or to others, in the case that Thévenot did not wish to publish them in Dutch. No answer by De Hoest is provided: however, De Volder reports that he could not convince De Hoest that Thévenot wants to follow the last will of Swammerdam. Also, De Hoest revealed to De Volder not to be sure whether Swammerdam's testament gives him the right to compel Thévenot to publish Swammerdam's writings in Dutch, if he does not want to do so. Eventually (ll. 57–63), De Hoest promised De Volder that he was going to take a decision on 24 September (namely the date of the present letter): on that day, however, De Volder was informed by De Hoest's brother that he had not come to any decision yet, as he had to consult some people in Amsterdam.¹⁸⁰ Accordingly (ll. 63–75), De Volder strongly recommends Thévenot to give a clear order to De Hoest to take the papers and give them to someone designated by him, and to provide his order by a letter included in a letter to De Volder himself, who can therefore put pressure on De

180 See also letter 26.

Hoest. Still, in the case that De Hoest does not want to carry out this order, and that Thévenot wishes to take the papers without complying with the conditions they tried to obtain from Wingendorp, De Volder recommends Thévenot to revoke the procuracy given to De Hoest (wrongly indicated as ‘Wingendorp’ in the letter) and to give it to someone who can get the papers on his behalf and against De Hoest himself, if he is going to advance some pretension to them. In any case (ll. 75–81), Le Moine suggested (as De Volder repeats) to continue dealing with De Hoest, whom De Volder is going to press for an answer, before he refuses to deliver the papers to Thévenot or to follow his orders.

In the last part of the letter (ll. 82–), De Volder reports that Hermann went to England, but he is expected to come back soon, and asks Thévenot to accept some books from him, as compensation for the Nieuhof (viz. his *Reize*, which therefore never reached Thévenot).¹⁸¹ De Volder also states that he cannot answer all the points raised by Thévenot in his letters, as the mail courier is leaving, and that in any case he will try to talk with Mr. Gool: certainly Matthaeus Golius (1639–1702),¹⁸² in 1682 the only surviving son of Jacob Golius, whose private library was on sale.¹⁸³ The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 22: De Hoest to Thévenot, 4 October 1682 (fascicle 25, 25r–26v)*

[25r]

Mijn Heer.

Gelijk als U.E. sigh in uwe laeste heeft gelieven te referéren aen den H^r de Volder, so heeft die mij bij gevolge geseht, dat U.E. op sijn E. versoght hadt op t spoedighste een eijndt te [5] maecken, en U.E. de schriften en teijckeningen hoe eer hoe liever op Parijs te senden. ’k Wil wel bekennen, Mijn Heer, dat, indien ick niet verseeckert was, dat die Heer mij sulcks niet sou aendien ten ware hij sulcke ordre van U.E. hadde, ick niet soude konnen geloven dat U.E. van voornemen soudt hebben [10] willen veranderen in een saeck reghtvaerdicht so billick, en van dewelcke te sullen uijtvoeren U.E. mij op so verscheyde wijzen [12] hebt willen doen verseeckeren. Wat staet kan iemant, bidd’ ick, oit op de woorden van een eerlick man maecken, in=[14]dien ick gefrustreert werde van

181 Letter 20.

182 On him, see Allard 1885.

183 Letters 15, 24, and 28. See especially *supra*, section 2, n. 149.

uwe so solemnele beloften [15] in desen? 'k Verwaght' daerom nogh, dat U.E., het alles nader insiende en overwegende, gedencken sult aen uwe eerste resolutie, en daer bij blijven. t Vordeel dat 'er van te komen staet, sal getrouwelick voor U zijn; voor mijn begeere ick 'er [19] niets van, een exemplae 2 a 3 uijtgesondert; en 't kan te [20] grooter zijn, nu U.E., besitter zijnde van de platen en wat 'er meer is, de afdrucksels daer van tot een redelijke prijs den boeck=[25v] [22]drucker soudet konnen doen behandigen. Dogh so U.E. daer gantsch geen genegentheijt toeheeft, en volharden blijft bij {uwe} laeste voornemen, wel aen, in Godts naem! Wanneer 't U.E. dan ge=[25]lieven sal mij duijdelick te schrijven, dat U.E. de schriften en teeckeningen, sonder die hier in het duijts te laten drucken, absoluijt bij U.E. begeert; so sullense U.E. ongeschonden gewe[missing text]. 'k Sal alleen maer, wanneer ickse van de Griffie gelicht hebbe, se so langh onder mij behouden dat ickse tegens mijn exempla[missing text] [30] collationere, en copije doe nemen, of mij andersints voorzie, van die [[teijck]]weijnige teijckeningen, die mij in het mijne ont=[32]breecken, het welcke beijde ick in het korte doen kan, en son=[33]der uijtsel doen sal, so drae als ick uw antwoord hebbe.

Hier door sal U.E. niet geinteressert zijn, dan in een weijnig [35] tijts, tgeen een so kleine saeck is, dat ick niet de minste gedaghten hebb, of U.E. sult mij dat, ten respecte van {uw} overledene Vrient, niet willen wijgeren: so U.E. het al niet geliefde te doen om mijnent wil, die noghtans {[v]} reets in ver=[39]sচেয়ে gelegentheden getoont hebbe te zijn

UE genege en Dienstbereijde

Leijden, dese 4 Octob. 1682

D. de Hoest.

[26r]

[26v]¹⁸⁴

A Monsieur

Mons^r Thevenot, sur le Quaij

ne{w}' A

Paris

Commentary

De Hoest writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–12) that De Volder reported to him his order to put an end to the affair and to send the manuscripts and drawings to Paris as soon as possible. De Hoest could not

184 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

have believed such a change of resolution by Thévenot, who had reassured him in many different ways about his intention to go on with the publication, if he was not sure that De Volder would not have reported this to him without an express order by Thévenot himself. Accordingly (ll. 12–19), De Hoest reminds Thévenot about his previous, “solemn promises” (“solemne beloften”) and expects that he will remain constant to his first resolution to have the Swammerdam’s manuscripts printed in Dutch, in the Netherlands. From this publication, Thévenot will have all the advantage, while De Hoest asks for himself only two or three complimentary copies. According to De Hoest, moreover (ll. 19–22), this advantage could be greater for Thévenot, who, “being now the owner of the plates and [all] the rest, would be able to send the printings thereof to the book-printer at a reasonable price” (“t Vordeel dat ’er van te komen staet, sal getrouwelick voor U zijn; voor mijn begeere ick ’er niets van, een exemplaar 2 a 3 uijtgesondert; en ’t kan te grooter zijn, nu U.E., besitter zijnde van de platen en wat ’er meer is, de afdruksels daer van tot een redelijke prijs den boeckdrucker soudet kunnen doen behandigen”). Therefore, De Hoest is sure that Thévenot has bought the already engraved plates, as declared in letter 14. Hence (ll. 22–32), De Hoest dares Thévenot to persist in his last intention, and asks him to communicate whether he absolutely requires the manuscripts and the drawings for himself, without having them printed in Dutch in the Netherlands: in this case, Thévenot will receive them complete. At this point, however, De Hoest informs him that (as he put it) “I will only [...] keep them with me for as long a time as it would take me to collate them against my copy and take a copy [...] of those few drawings, which I lack in my [copy]” (“’k Sal alleen maer, wanneer ickse van de Griffie gelicht hebbe, se so langh onder mij behouden dat ickse tegens mijn exemplar collationere, en copije doe nemen, of mij andersints voorzie, van die weijnige teijckeningen, die mij in het mijne ontbreecken”). Something which De Hoest claims (ll. 32–) can be done in a short while after he has received Thévenot’s answer, and which he expects Thévenot will not refuse him. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 23: Thévenot to De Volder, undated (after 4 and circa before 29 October 1682), (fascicle 25, 73r–74v)*

[73r]

Je vous ay fait mes plaintes de M.^r Van Hoest et de la suposition qu[']il m[']avoit ecrite que j[']avois traité avec Wighendorp de ses planches \je luy ay fait les memes plaintes et/ j[']ay receu depuis une autre lettre [5] de luy du 4 de ce mois, ou il continue dans cette fiction, adioustant nu UE

besitter zijnde van de platen en wat er meer is de afdruksels daer van tot een redelicke prijs den boeckdrucker soudet konnen [10] doen behandigen, et finit par une priere de pouvoir retirer les ecris so langh onder mij behouden dat ickse tegens mijn exemplar collationere en copije [14] doe nemen. et vous çaira que l[']on n'a [15] fait le proces que pour avoir le temps de faire l'edition latine et la flamande [73v] [18] que j[']ay voulu faire et que j[']aurois faite a mes depens dans le temps porté par le testament [20] de feu M.^r Swamerdam si l[']on m[']eut remis dans ce temps la les ecris, et je m[']imagine que vous estes dans la meme pensée ainsy Monsieur n'ayant pas pû empecher que cette iniustice n'ayt esté conduite jusque [25] a sa fin je ne crois pas qu[']il y ayt rien a faire davantage de mon costé que de m'en plaindre a ceux qui m[']en [28] peuvent faire avoir raison [29] M.^r Auzout ny M.^r barin ne seront pas de [30] longtemps en vos quartiers mais un de mes amis et de mes parens y sera plus {to}[missing text] si il y avoit quelque changement dans l'affaire et qu[']ils remissent les ecris vous [74r] luy pourres remettre seurement les papiers entre [35] les mains mais vous nies bien l'aparence qu[']il y a que l[']edition flamande est desja faite \ou qu[']il n[']a faut que le temps que M.^r Hoest demande pour l[']achever/ et qu'ainsy il serra invite de continue{r} son proces que vous dites que dureroit longtemps que [40] cousterait beaucoup et {tres ...} auroit [[auroit un \co/ {...} que \auroi{t}/ {...} esté imprimé]] des ecris qui seront devenus copie d'une [44] chose imprimée

[45] Si ce jeune gentilhomme que vous ira vers de ma part s'arreste en vos quartiers je vous prie de luy estre favorable et {j[']} aurais toute l[']obligation des {...} que vous monsieur le moyne et mes ami [50] luy faire en vos quartiers

Commentary

This undated draft is by Thévenot's hand,¹⁸⁵ and contains quotations of two passages of De Hoest's letter of 4 October 1682 (letter 22): therefore, it has to be dated after this letter. Moreover, it can be dated before letter 26 – as I show in the commentary to it – which in turn was probably a reply to De Volder's letter of 29 October 1682. So that the present draft can be dated, with some approximation, before 29 October, or not much after it, as *terminus ante quem*. The recipient (not mentioned in the draft) was certainly De Volder, the main contact person for Thévenot in Holland besides De Hoest. It cannot have been addressed to Le Moine given that he is overtly mentioned in

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Figure 53 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 25, 73r), representing a page of the letter, and, for instance, the undated autograph letter by Thévenot to Leopoldo de' Medici (1617–1675) given in Figure 54 (Gal. 280, doc. 51, c. 117r) (see Mirto 2015). Cf. also Figure 20 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 26, 13r) and Figure 45 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 16, 1r (unnumbered)).

the draft itself. Moreover, it is worth noting that (1) the letter of this draft did not reach De Volder before 15 October 1682, because De Volder's letter of that day (letter 24) is a reply to a letter of Thévenot of 2 October. Also, (2) it did not reach De Volder before 29 October, because (a) according to De Volder's letter of that day (letter 25), he was expecting the arrival of Auzout or Barin, whereas Thévenot reports, in the present draft, that they are going to be absent from Holland for a long time. Moreover, (b) after Thévenot's letter of 2 October De Volder did not receive any other letter from him at least until 29 October (as I show in commenting on letter 25). In fact, De Volder received the letter of the present draft between 29 October and 19 November 1682, as in his letter of 19 November (letter 27) De Volder acknowledges that Auzout will not come to Holland for a long time, and refers to someone, mentioned by Thévenot in the present draft, who can receive the manuscripts (as I show in the commentary on letter 27). Moreover, the present draft was written before Thévenot received De Volder's letter of 15 October – whose contents are not matched by this draft – and before he received De Volder's letter of 29 October (to which he replied with letter 26).

In this draft, Thévenot (ll. 1–5) refers to a previous letter of his (henceforth: letter α), in which he communicated to De Volder his complaints about the behaviour of De Hoest, and about De Hoest's supposition that Thévenot made an agreement with Wingendorp for the use of the plates: a supposition which had been communicated by De Hoest to Thévenot by a letter (henceforth: letter β). Also, Thévenot reports to have made the same complaints to De Hoest himself (in (henceforth) letter γ), after which De Hoest wrote to him his letter of 4 October (letter 22). These letters (α , β , and γ) deserve a sub-commentary.

Probably, the previous letter by Thévenot to De Volder (namely letter α) was Thévenot's one of 2 October, mentioned in letters 24 and 25. Indeed, if in his letter to Thévenot of 24 September (letter 21) De Volder reports to have received a letter from Thévenot of 6 or 18 September with complaints about how the affair had been dealt with, in this letter of 24 September (letter 21) De Volder also reveals that De Hoest told him to be persuaded that Thévenot had bought the plates from Wingendorp. So that apparently this was the first time De Volder heard about this supposition by De Hoest (and he heard about it between 14 or 22 and 24 September, when he spoke with De Hoest, as revealed by letter 21). Therefore, Thévenot reported this supposition by De Hoest to De Volder only afterwards: i.e. on 2 October, in letter α . Notably (as revealed by letter 24), in this letter α Thévenot also reverted to his old plan of pursuing Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses: this is consistent with his reporting De Hoest's supposition to De Volder: indeed, in the case of Wingendorp being pardoned he was to refund the expenses due from De Hoest to the lawyer and the attorney, which at that point Thévenot was not willing to pay.

In turn, letter β was certainly De Hoest's undated letter tracing to March 1682 or between 11 February and 15 July 1682 (letter 14) – to which letter γ was posterior. In fact, letter γ seems not be much anterior to the present draft (which reports its contents), so that Thévenot replied to this letter 14 only around late summer 1682.¹⁸⁶

As far as De Hoest's letter of 4 October (letter 22) is concerned, Thévenot reports (ll. 5–14) that De Hoest persisted in his claim that Thévenot treated with Wingendorp about the use of the plates, and added (as quoted by Thévenot in the present draft from this letter) that “being now the owner of the plates and [all] the rest, [you] would be able to send the printings thereof to the book-printer at a reasonable price” (“nu UE besitter zijnde van de platen en wat er meer is de afdruksels daer van tot een redelicke prijs den boeckdrucker soudet kunnen doen behandigen”). Moreover, Thévenot reports (in a second quotation), that De Hoest asked him to “keep them with me for as long a time as it would take me to collate them against my copy and take a copy” (“so langh onder mij behouden dat ickse tegens mijn exemplar collationere en copije doe nemen”). At that point, Thévenot became sure that De Hoest was going to make his own edition of Swammerdam's writings, having already at his disposal a copy, and certainly in collusion with Wingendorp (as revealed in letters 25, 26, 28 and 30). De Hoest, in turn, believed that Thévenot made an agreement with Wingendorp, and that he was not going to publish the works of Swammerdam in Dutch (as revealed by letter 21). In fact, in this draft Thévenot remarks (ll. 14–18) that De Hoest went to trial (logically, with Wingendorp's assent) in order to gain time to make the Latin and Dutch edition by himself (again, with Wingendorp's cooperation): something which Thévenot seems to put as already known by De Volder (“[...] et vous çaira que l']on n'a fait le proces que pour avoir le temps de faire l'edition latine et la flamande”). As to this, Thévenot seems to refer to De Volder's suspicion that De Hoest delayed the trial as declared in letters 20 and 21, where, however De Volder does not mention De Hoest's plan of making such an edition. So that this plan – hypothesized by Thévenot – might have been revealed to De Volder by Thévenot in the letter of 2 October (i.e. letter α).

Hence (ll. 18–28), Thévenot declares that he himself aimed to make such an edition at his own expense within one year after Swammerdam's death, if only he could have received the manuscripts during this period. He believes that De Volder will agree with him, and, since he could not avoid that such an injustice is completed (i.e. he could not avoid De Hoest making the edition by himself, as I show below), that all that he can do now is to complain to those who can help him in having his rights acknowledged (“qui m'en peuvent faire avoir raison”): being however unclear if he means De Volder and De Hoest (to whom he is in fact complaining) or the judges themselves.

186 See *supra*, section 2, n. 130.

Next (ll. 29–35), Thévenot informs De Volder that Auzout and Barin will be absent from Holland for a long time, and that if something new happens in the affair, and Wingendorp will renounce the manuscripts (so that Thévenot does not indicate a clear strategy to De Volder), De Volder can give the manuscripts to a friend and relative of Thévenot visiting the Netherlands, who is also mentioned at the end of the letter (ll. 45–50) as a “young gentleman” (“jeune gentilhomme”) whom De Volder and Le Moine are asked to help in case he will stop by at Leiden.

Eventually (ll. 35–44), Thévenot reports (in some hardly readable lines) that De Volder “denies what is evident” (“mais vous nies bien l’aparence”), i.e. that a Dutch edition has already been published, or that this will just take the time that De Hoest asks to complete it, so that the latter will continue the trial, which in De Volder’s opinion (echoed by Thévenot) will cost a lot of money and time, while Thévenot himself will receive the manuscripts when these have been already published by De Hoest. As to this, it is unclear whether Thévenot refers to the time asked by De Hoest in his letter of 4 October (letter 22) for his collation. Moreover, no letter by De Volder of these months reporting this ‘denial’ is extant: in fact, De Volder seems just not to think that De Hoest aims to make an edition by himself. In turn, De Volder reported to Thévenot that the continuation of the trial will cost a lot of money and time in his letter of 28 May 1682 (letter 18), as well as in his letter of 15 October (letter 24), whose other contents are however not matched by the present draft.

• *Letter 24: De Volder to Thévenot, 15 October 1682 (fascicle 25, 44r–45v)*

[44r]

Mon Sieur,

Après que j’ay receu vostre agreable de 2, 8bre, [j’ay tasché] je me suis trouvé un peu embarrassé pour executer vos commandemens. a cause qu’il me semble que vous aviez dessein d’exiger encore [5] de Monsr. Wingendorp les depens du procez. dont je me doute si cela [6] est de vostre interest. Je suis persuadé[e] absolument, qu[’a] nous obteni=[7]drons cette condamnation[’e] s[’il] vous plaist de [s]le faire poursuivre. mais il faudra necessairement y employer plus d’argent et apres la condamnation obtenue[’...]} vous n’aures rien de tout. Car [10] Monsr. Wingendorp est fort pauvre, et je suis asseuré qu’il doit aux autres un assez considerable somme d’argent, et qu’il

n'a rien pour les payer, ainsy qu'il vit par la misericorde de ces Mess^{rs} la qui ne le poursuivent point a cause qu'ils scavent que s'ils vendoyent luy mesme qu'il ne seroit pas possible d'en [15] tirer quelque chose de considerable. Neantmoins je n'ay pas cru devoir agir en cette cause selon ma veue mais selon vostre intention. je me suis donc adressé a celui qui a esté Commissaire dans cette affaire, pour obtenir de luy qu'on nous donnast un arrest de pouvoir retirer ces papiers du Greffe, en vous reservant vostre action sur les depenses si vous le trouviez a propos de luy exiger. Il m'a promis une Confection sur ce point la dans ce commencement de la semaine qui [22] vient a cause qu'il estoit sur son depart de la ville. J'attens avec une grande impatience l'arrivée de Monsr. Barin, ou de Mons^r. Auzuout pour me gouverner selon leurs conseils, et cependant je poursuivray [25] l'affaire en la maniere susdite, en vous priant neantmoins qu'il vous plaise, de m'ecrire par la premiere poste, s'il vous estes d'intention de poursuivre les depens, ou de les luy pardonner. [28] en quel cas l'affaire seroit plus facile et plus court. [29] Enfin, Monsieur, la medaille pour Monsr. Borelli est achevée [30] et je l'ay donné par Monsr. Clignet a Monsr. Merault Marchand demeurant chez Messrs De Bernj freres rue S^t Honoré a Paris, qui s'est chargé pour le luy faire rendre.

[44v] [33] Pardonnez moy que je vous envoie cette lettre pour luy. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'ait desia receue la medaille/, en quel cas je vous prie de luy [35] recommander, de notifier par une lettre a Mess^{rs} les Curateurs de l'Academie et Bourguemaistres de cette ville qu'il l'a receu, car cela servira a ma decharge. S'il ne l'a pas receu, de luy en prie d'en faire l'enquete chez ce Monsr. Merault. j'ay tasché de trouver Monsr. Gool, mais en vain. je suis

Monsieur

Vostre tres humble Serviteur

Leyden 15 Octobre, 1680

B. De Volder.

[45r]

[45v]¹⁸⁷

A Monsieur

Monsieur Thevenot sur

le quay neuf proche de la Greve

A

187 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

Commentary

This letter is dated by De Volder “15 October 1680,” however, it can date neither to this year (when the affair had yet to commence), nor to 1681 (as at that time Wingendorp had not yet asked to transfer the papers to Thévenot, upon the condition of being pardoned the expenses), and not even to 1683 (when Thévenot had already received the manuscripts). In fact, its contents perfectly match the status of the affair in autumn 1682.

De Volder reports (ll. 1–6) to have received a letter by Thévenot dated 2 October (viz. letter α, as seen in the commentary to letter 23), which embarrassed him as to the appropriateness of following Thévenot’s orders. Indeed, according to this letter Thévenot seemed to want again to pursue Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses. De Volder, who doubts whether this decision is the right one, tries to convince Thévenot not to do this: indeed, as he repeats *ad nauseam* (ll. 6–15), Wingendorp has no money and is heavily indebted to other people: it is only because of the mercy of his creditors, actually, that he can sustain himself. Accordingly (ll. 15–22), De Volder devised a way to comply with Thévenot’s intention: he asked someone who was a commissioner in the affair to issue a sentence enabling recovery of the manuscripts from the court clerk’s office, reserving at the same time to Thévenot any decision regarding the pursuit of Wingendorp for the legal expenses. A consultation is expected by De Volder for the beginning of the coming week (19–26 October). In the meantime (ll. 22–28), he waits for the arrival and the orders of Barin or Auzout, still suggesting to Thévenot, in any case, to pardon Wingendorp, in order to speed up the resolution of the affair.

Moreover (ll. 29–32), De Volder reports that the medal for Borelly is ready and that he gave it, through Mr. Clignet (probably Nicolaas Clignet, 1643–1727, the Leiden *Postmeester*),¹⁸⁸ to Mr. Merault, a merchant living in Paris in Rue St. Honoré, at the house of the brothers De Bernj (whose identities could not be ascertained), who will give it to Borelly. Next (ll. 33–), he announces to be sending a letter for Borelly (now lost) together with the present one, and asks him to recommend Borelly, if he received the medal, to inform the Curators of the University and the Burgomasters of Leiden, on whose behalf De Volder sent him the medal. If he did not receive it, Borelly should ask Mr. Merault for it. Eventually, De Volder reports that he could not find Mr. Gool (i.e. Matthaeus Golius, as seen in letter 21). The letter is addressed and sealed.

188 Honkoop and Honkoop 1684, 6.

• *Letter 25: De Volder to Thévenot, 29 October 1682 (fascicle 25, 59r–60v)*

[59r]

Nobilissimo Viro Thevenotio S. P. B. De Volder.

A quo ultimas tuas accepi, nihil expectavi ardentius quam aut evidens eorum quae fieri a me velles, mandatum, aut adventum, si[ve D. A]uzoutii sive D. Barin, quo illorum [5] virorum prudent[missing text]onsilium in tua causa uti possim. verum cum ho[missing text] hactenus compos non fuerim, meum tamen esse[missing text]avi ea agere, quae te acturum jussurumve [8] existimar[1]m, si praesens adesses. Si priores tuas litteras consi[9]derem id videris velle ut nulla habita ratione impensarum [10] quovis modo ea manuscripta tibi compararem. Si posteriores, videris velle exigere ab illo pertinaci Wingendorpio impensas. Haerebam itaq[ue] dubius, ut nuper ad te scripsi, [13] mihi quid agendum foret. Non dubitabam quin si id desideres condemnetur in impensas, sed ut dicam id quod res est ex [15] illa condemnatione nullum sperabam fructum. Win[16]gendorpius enim id est, qui aegre suam paupertatem sustinet, qui an[c]imam suam debet, et qui precario tandiu suis qualibuscunq[ue] rebus {fruitus} quandiu suis pla[19]cuerit creditoribus{.} Hunc exuere pauculis illis quae ipsi [20] reliquit misera paupertas, et a tuo generoso animo, et a meo genio plane alienum est{.} Praesertim cum si id moliamur, tot in eum involaturi sunt, ut ne mini[23]mam quidem partem harum impensarum inde queamus auferre. Considerabam insuper, si ego nunc porro absq[ue] [25] D. Hoestio litem prosecui velim, me nihil habere quo docere possim ea manuscripta ad te pertinere. Nosti enim et [s]testamentum et quidquid ad hanc [rem p] causam pertinet [28] in potestate Hoestii esse. A quo si velim ea exigere [29] nova proculdubio fiet controversia. Sponte enim non dabit, [59v] [30] quantum conjicere ex eo possum quod post posteriores tuas litteras quibus t[a]uam indignationem in eum indic[i]asti meum colloquium visus est declinare. Ego hactenus cum [ego] eo egi amice utpote qui non a[b]nigebam quin tuo u[34]terer amico. Nunc vero cum animadverti te aliud sentire [35] aliam et ego ingressus sum viam. Adii unum ex iudicibus qui saepe[e]us causae huic interfuerat. Petii, ut convocare vellet Wingendorpium, unum forte ille desistere a manu[38]scriptis ut vellet possit induci, ita tamen ut tibi reser[39]vetur omnis actio in impensas. Quo medio usus sum [ut] [40] ne [me] quid tuo nomine agerem quod actum postmodum nolles. Convenimus, et ita actum inter nos fuit, ut ille mihi tradiderit ea manuscripta, [f]sed ea tamen lege, (neq[ue] enim potui [hominem] ab homine plura impetrare) ut si putares tibi impensas exigendas esse, eadem illa redde[45]rem Graphiario, ut

postmodum de integro oriatur disceptatio. Urgebam ut mihi traderet sine ulla conditione, nisi hac unica, me apud te intercessurum, quantum pote, ne illas ab homine pauperrimo exigeres. Sed negabat ejus procurator, praetexens se habere tot documenta quibus non tantum impensarum exactionem repellere sed et jus sibi in ea manuscripta posset vindicare. Quae quanquam parvi momenti sint, existimavi tamen cum aliud non possem priorem conditionem mihi amplectendam esse, ea praesertim de causa, quia si diem petissem, quo coram pleno judicum consessu ea res in controversiam venisset nihil ego habebam quo causam tuam possim asserere, nec, \noram/ ut modo dixi, quo pacto ea ab Hoestio obtinerem facile. Manuscripta itaque illa in mea sunt potestate. Tuum jam est deliberare quid velis, quam promptissime habere ea quae tamdiu desiderasti an vero impensas inutiliter prosequendo, forte adhuc aliquandiu illis cavere. Docti enim sunt illi homines quibuscum agimus moras nectere. Quod in tuis scripsisti solvere hominem posse impensas quia tantum a Typographo obtinere possit, id nescio an spectet Wingendorpium. Nec scio, certe probare judicibus non possum ullum inter Hoestium et Wingendorpium intercessisse commercium.} illosque ex composito litem protrahere. Quidquid sit, oro te atque obsecro ut quod tibi animi sit quamprimum indicare per litteras velis. Si putes negligendas impensas, quamprimum ad me scribas, cui velis me ea tradere manuscripta, aut quo modo ad te velis mitti. Qua in re eo majori opus est festinatione ne forte nobis novam remoram injiciat D. Hoestius. Sin ea exigere velis, quanquam D. Le Moyne mecum existimet te frustra fore, et novis impensis prosecuturum nil nisi umbram, ut id iudices, {sumisque} quo pacto ea quibus jus tuum queam asserere, obtinere {queam} \{possim}/ patefacere. Addam hoc unicum nec addo nisi quia promisi, rogare Wingendorpium ut ei aliquantulum chartas eas commodare velis. Nullus enim dubito quin negaturus si t, quod ego jam tuo nomine negavi. Graphiarius mihi asseruit nihil penitus ab eo tempore, quo scripta in ejus potestate fuere, illis decessisse, si id desideres, tibi hujus rei testimonium daturum.

Catalogus librorum Heinsii jam imprimitur, in quo videbis manuscriptorum cum libris impressis permixta.

Phosphoro metallum fundi res apud nos est plane inaudita. D. Hermannus secum attulit ex Anglia duos Boyleanos alterum liquidum alterum consistentem durum, quorum priorem aeram noctilucam posteriorem, Glacialem vocat ipse Boyle.

Est profecto quod tibi summas agam gratias pro ea cura qua confectioni micrometri invigilasti. Gaudebo equidem, si, dum nostri suam jam turriculam quae hactenus neglecta jacuit, serio ad observationes praeparant, id prima quavis occasione ad me transmittas.

Ejus pretium ex primis litteris tuis [[qu]]placeat mihi quaeso [60v] cognoscere, quo illud ut persolvatur vel hic vel Parisiis prout [95] commodius judicaveris, curem. Antequam finiam, id te iterum oro atq[ue] obsecro, ut quam ocyssime mihi rescribas, num li[missing text] finem imponere, \et/ manuscripta ad te mitti velis, an vero impensas prosecui velis. Sin prius, quod rei tuae convenientis sinum fore mecum non dubitat D. [[Th]]Le Moyne, ut quam [100] primum cui ea tradi a me velis, indices. Interea temporis si D. Barin [[et]]aut Auzout huc accedant illis omnem rem aperiam, et {...} illis consultum videbitur, etsi forte mecum non sentirent, ita agam. Sed ante omnia avidissime tuas expeto literas quo nihil imprudens agam quod tuae volun=[105]tati repugnet. Vale et tuo favore me prosecui perge.

Dabam Lugd. Batav.

a.d. I[[I]]V Calend. Novembr. CIOIOCLXXXII

Commentary

De Volder writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–8) that after having received his last letter (most probably that of 2 October, i.e. letter α , as I show below), he was eagerly awaiting either a clear order from him, or the arrival of Barin or Auzout. However, since he has heard nothing from Thévenot (thus, De Volder did not receive letter 23), he decided to act by surmising the will of Thévenot. To do so, De Volder had at his disposal two letters by Thévenot. According to the “prior” one (“piores tuas litteras”) (ll. 8–10) Thévenot seemed not to want to pursue Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses. This letter was probably one of those De Volder received from Thévenot around 15 July–24 September 1682, as in his letters tracing to these weeks (letters 19, 20, and 21) De Volder did not reveal anything testifying a change in Thévenot’s intentions with regard to pursuing Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses. Indeed, De Volder’s letter of 24 September (letter 21) reveals that on 6 or 18 September Thévenot wrote to him complaining about how the affair was being dealt with: however, it was only after having received the letter of 2 October (letter α) that De Volder wrote to Thévenot that he was surprised by his decision to pursue Wingendorp again (as testified by De Volder’s letter of 15 October, i.e. letter 24). In turn (ll. 10–13), according to a “posterior” letter, Thévenot seemed to want to pursue Wingendorp (“Si posteriores, videris velle exigere ab illo pertinaci Wingendorpio impensas”): therefore, this posterior letter was that of 2 October, because if De Volder had received another letter in the meantime (i.e. between 15 and 29 October), he could not have been in doubt as what to do as he declares in the present letter, and as he recently reported (as he claims) to Thévenot

(“haerebam itaq[ue] dubius, ut nuper ad te scripsi, mihi quid agendum foret”). As to this, De Volder is probably referring to his letter of 15 October (letter 24), in which he declared to be embarrassed by Thévenot’s order to pursue Wingendorp again, and to doubt whether this was the best thing to do. Accordingly, this letter of 2 October (letter α) was also the last letter De Volder received from Thévenot before 29 October – as on this day he was still doubting as to what to do.

This is further confirmed by the way De Volder justifies his conduct in the present letter, namely (ll. 13–35) his decision of taking the manuscripts from the court clerk’s office without clear orders from Thévenot. In order to take a decision, he considered some factors: (1) Wingendorp is not going to be able to pay the legal expenses even if condemned, because he is already heavily indebted; (2) requiring this payment seems to De Volder alien to Thévenot’s generosity; (3) continuing the legal action against Wingendorp without the assistance of De Hoest is impossible, because Swammerdam’s testament and all the other documents related to the affair are in his hands, and requesting them from De Hoest will cause a further quarrel. Indeed, De Hoest is not going to give them by his own will, as De Volder guessed from the “posterior” letter of Thévenot, in which Thévenot expressed his indignation at De Hoest, who in turn – according to De Volder – is not going to follow De Volder’s exhortations. Again, this is Thévenot’s letter of 2 October (letter α), as letter 23 did not reach De Volder, and the letter of 6 or 18 September (mentioned in letter 21) just revealed Thévenot’s discontent with De Hoest and De Volder, and not the decision of pursuing Wingendorp again.

Considering these factors (ll. 35–46), De Volder went to one of the judges and asked for Wingendorp to be summoned, to induce him to renounce the manuscripts, still reserving to Thévenot any decision about the legal expenses. Certainly, this episode is the same as reported in the letter of 15 October (letter 24, where De Volder writes that he has proposed the same solution to one of the judges). This solution, for De Volder, allowed him to act not officially on behalf of Thévenot – who afterwards could disapprove De Volder’s action. Wingendorp agreed to give De Volder the manuscripts, on the stipulation (“ea tamen lege”) that if Thévenot was going to ask him to pay the expenses, De Volder would bring back the manuscripts to the court clerk. Also (ll. 46–38), De Volder urged Wingendorp to transfer to him the manuscripts on the only condition (“sine ulla conditione, nisi hac unica”) that he was going to intercede with Thévenot not to ask Wingendorp to pay the legal expenses. However, the attorney for Wingendorp refused De Volder’s proposal, pretending to be in possession of documents according to which he could refuse the payment of the expenses and demonstrate Wingendorp’s ownership of the manuscripts. Even if such pretensions were valueless, De Volder deemed to have anyway to accept the mentioned condition

(“priorem conditionem”), for the reason that if he was going to ask to have the controversy discussed in front of the full assembly of the judges, he could not act on behalf of Thévenot, and could not obtain any authorization to do so by De Hoest. Eventually (ll. 58–63), De Volder got the manuscripts, now in his hands (“Manuscripta [...] in mea sunt potestate”). Accordingly, De Volder asks Thévenot to decide whether to sue Wingendorp – which he deems, once again, useless – or to pardon him.

Also (ll. 63–65), De Volder – referring to a previous letter he had received from Thévenot – declares that he does not know whether it applies to Wingendorp to be pardoned the legal expenses as these can be compensated only by the publication of the manuscripts, i.e. by a publisher. Also (ll. 65–67), De Volder reports to Thévenot that he does not know whether he can demonstrate with certainty to the judges that there has been some collusion (*commercium*) between Wingendorp and De Hoest, and that they protracted the quarrel by agreement, as he was to do again in letters 26 and 30 (in which case, of course, he would not pay the legal expenses). In any case (ll. 67–76), De Volder asks Thévenot to answer him as soon as possible and, should he decide to pardon Wingendorp, to indicate to him the person to whom to give the manuscripts, or how he wants them to be delivered to him. Adding that a decision has to be taken soon, because De Hoest can cause further delay to the affair. If, however, Thévenot wants to pursue Wingendorp (a decision which for De Volder and Le Moine will just lead to a waste of money), De Volder will communicate this to the judges. Moreover (ll. 76–82), De Volder reports to Thévenot that Wingendorp asked if he could be allowed by Thévenot to use some of the papers – a request negated by De Volder (who expected it would be negated by Thévenot as well) – and that the court clerk has assured him that Wingendorp did not take anything from the manuscripts since these were at his office.

In the final part of the letter (ll. 83–88), De Volder announces to Thévenot that the selling catalogue of the private library of Heinsius has been published (viz. the *Bibliotheca Heinsiana*), and that in it the manuscripts are catalogued together with printed items. Moreover, he reports to have never heard that phosphorus can melt metals, and that Hermann, being back from England, brought with him two kinds of phosphorus: one liquid and the other solid, called respectively ‘aerial noctiluca’ and ‘icy’ or ‘glacial noctiluca’ by Boyle (viz. in his *Aerial Noctiluca*, mentioned also in letter 15). Moreover (ll. 89–95), De Volder thanks Thévenot for his care in supervising the construction of the micrometer, which will be used in the turret (*turricula*), located on the roof of the University, currently under preparation for the resumption of observations. Therefore, he asks Thévenot to send it to him as soon as possible, and to tell him its price with his next letter, so that he take care of the payment either at Leiden or at Paris, according to Thévenot’s wish.

The letter is concluded (ll. 95–) with a further exhortation by De Volder to write to him as soon as possible, to pardon Wingendorp, and to indicate to which person he would like the manuscripts to be given by De Volder. In the meantime, if Barin or Auzut will come to visit him (so that De Volder certainly did not receive letter 23), he is going to tell them everything, and to follow their decision even if he will not agree with them. In any case, he expects from Thévenot another letter with indications as to what to do. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

• **Letter 26: Thévenot to De Volder, undated (after 29 October and before 19 November 1682), (fascicle 25, 75r–76v)**

[75r]

depuis que j[']ay connu avec quel esprit M.^r Van Hoest se prenoit a executer les dernieres volontes de mon amy je vous ay escrit Monsieur [5] que je voiois bien que je n[']aurois [6] point les ecris qu[']avec le public [7] et je vous ay assure plusieurs fois par les lettres que j[']ay eu l[']honneur de vous écrire que [10] je ne les attendois pour {...} vous vous souvenes aussy Monsieur que lorsque vous luy dites que M.^r Barbou aura ordre [14] pour l[']argent qu[']il demandoit

[76r] [15] vous vous servirez Monsieur de toutes les {deffautes} dont il se [17] servez pour gagner du temps il vous parla qu[']il en falloit écrire a Amsterdam et a moy il [20] me {... ...} car il m'écrivoit que je me suis accommode des plan=[22]ches et des ecris avec Wigen=[23]dorp qui fut une supercherie [24] si grande que je ne pus [25] m[']empêcher de Vous envoyer une copie de la reproche que [27] je luy avois faite la dessus

[75v]¹⁸⁹ [28] je ne vois point aussy de quel coste et a quel nom il vous pourrait faire un proces car ils non [30] feront d'action contre vous. Mais Monsieur je ne vois point que mes amis souffrent pour moy [32] et je suis pour de remettre les ecris entre les mains de la personne qu[']ils auront choisie pour [34] les recevoir Voulez vous estre assuré de ce [35] qui n[']est encore qu[']un soupçon dans vostre [36] esprit, l[']on mette icy entre les mains de qui ils voudront la somme qu[']ils demandent [38] pour leur estre payé {si} dans deux ans {il n[']a}

[76r]¹⁹⁰ {Par... ...} d[']autre longue[u]rs {...}[75v] que celle que {avoit} esté faite icy [76r] et

189 On this page the text begins on the short side of the sheet, i.e. the sheet has been turned counterclockwise by Thévenot, who began to write on 75r, continued (apparently) on another sheet (76r) and then turned back to 75v turning it. 76v is anyway empty.

190 This portion of text, consisting of 2 lines, crosses 76r and 75v, and is upside-down with respect to the main text on 76r, and perpendicularly with respect to the text on 75v.

vous verres que {... ..} encor {v}[75v]{a} toute faite {refuseroit ce party}

[76v]

Commentary

This undated draft is by Thévenot's hand, and was certainly addressed to De Volder. Indeed, Thévenot reports (ll. 1–6) that after having understood the intentions of De Hoest, he wrote to his recipient that he was going to see Swammerdam's writings only when they have already been published. Therefore, this draft was addressed to De Volder, and is to be dated after the other draft by Thévenot's hand (letter 23), as it patently refers to its contents, and proves that De Volder did not react to it. Moreover, it has to be dated also after De Volder's letter of 29 October 1682 (i.e. letter 25), because Thévenot (ll. 32–34) seems to answer De Volder's question (given in this letter, l. 70) about who could receive the manuscripts, and (ll. 28–30), Thévenot refers to a possible lawsuit of De Hoest against De Volder (alluded to in letter 25, ll. 28–29). As to the *terminus ante quem*, this can be traced to 19 November 1682, given the fact that in his letter of that day (letter 27) De Volder writes to Thévenot to have received from him a letter in which he accepted to no longer pursue Wingendorp (as I show in the commentary on it) – which somehow fits with the contents of the present draft, dealing with the issue of how to deliver the manuscripts to him and to pay the legal expenses (ll. 32–34, 36–38).

As to the rest of the draft, Thévenot reports (ll. 7–14) that he assured De Volder many times that he was not expecting the manuscripts, and notes that De Volder himself reported to De Hoest that “Mr. Barbou will have an order for the money which he [De Hoest] asked for” (“vous luy dites que M.^r Barbou aura ordre pour l[']argent qu[']il demandoit”) – possibly referring to the letter of De Volder to Thévenot of 15 July 1682 (letter 19), where De Volder wrote that a friend of Mr. Barbou was going to pay the legal expenses and to receive the manuscripts once they had been taken from the court clerk's office. Moreover, it seems that the present draft answers De Volder's letter of 24 September 1682 (letter 21), as Thévenot states (ll. 15–24) that De Hoest told De Volder that he needed to write to someone at Amsterdam (as reported by De Volder in this letter 21), and at the same time that De Hoest wrote to Thévenot himself that he had dealt with Wingendorp for the use of the plates and the manuscripts (as maintained by De Hoest in letters 14 and 22): these all being, according to Thévenot, just means to gain time.

Furthermore (ll. 24–27), Thévenot reports that he is sending De Volder a copy of his letter of reprimand for De Hoest: apparently, a copy of letter γ (as mentioned in letter 23). Hence (ll. 28–34),

Thévenot writes (as mentioned above) that he doubts that De Hoest will be able to take legal action against De Volder: this notwithstanding, Thévenot does not want that his friends suffer for him, and declares to be for having the manuscripts consigned to those people chosen – apparently – by his friends (“je ne vois point que mes amis souffrent pour moy et je suis pour de remettre les ecrits entre les mains de la personne qu[']ils auront choisie pour les recevoir”).

Eventually (ll. 34–38), Thévenot asks De Volder to clarify his suspicion, and announces that he will pay – from the place where he is writing, i.e. Paris – the legal expenses (“voulez vous estre asseuré de ce qui n[']est encore qu[']un soupçon dans vostre esprit, l[']on mette icy entre les mains de qui ils voudront la somme qu[']ils demandent pour leur estre payé”), as two years have passed in vain since the beginning of the affair, and (apparently) De Hoest did not pay them (“{si} dans deux ans {il n[']a}”). As to this suspicion, Thévenot certainly alludes to the suspicion of De Volder, mentioned in the same letter 21, that the delay in the conclusion of the affair was caused by De Hoest (a request which will be eventually discussed by De Volder in his letter to Thévenot of 15 April 1683 (letter 30)).

A portion of text written across 76r–75v refers again to De Hoest’s attempt to retard the trial, but it is scarcely readable.

• *Letter 27: De Volder to Thévenot, 19 November 1682 (fascicle 25, 61r–62v)*

[61r]

7¹⁹¹

Monsieur,

Après que j’ay retiré les ecrits du Greffe, Mess^{rs} l’Advocat et Procureur qui vous ont servi dans ce proces [r] sont venus chez moy, pour demander ce qu’on leur doit pour leur [5] employ en cette affaire. Et moy/ N[']e[] ayant point encore receu vostre lettre, [je l] j’ay differé de leur payer jusques a ce temps la. Après j’ay receu \la/ [l] vostre, dans laquelle vous temoignez d’estre de nostre avis de ne poursuivre plus longtems cette affaire, mais vous n’ajoutez rien precisement de leur payer. Et [10] quan[]t a moy, je n’ayme pas de leur donner de l’argent sans vos ordres expréz {.

191 “Volebat Wingendorp sibi retinere illa omnia. Hoest urgebatur a Thevenoto, ut sibi restitueret, ex vi testamenti, cuius executrix Hoestia sola, Wilando mortuo. Inde lites protractae usque ad Mai 1682. Tunc Volderus recepit scripta pro Thevenoto. Ut vidi in Ejus literis, notatis 7,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r.

Pourquoy je vous prie de m'en donner des [12] ordres par la premiere poste. Si tost que vostre amy se trouvera icy avec des seur[s]etés qu'il vient de vous pour avoir ces ecris je les luy donneray, et j'adjousteray si cela [15] se peut la catalogue de Monsr. Heinsius.

[16] Pouisq[ue] M^r Auzout ne viendra pas si tost dan[c]s ce pais, je vous prie de m'envoyer le micrometre par la pre[m]iere occasion. Je suis bien aise que Monsr. Borelli ait eu pour agreable le present de Messrs Les Cu[r]ateurs, et nostre Academie est a luij fort obligé pour l'offerte qu'il fait d'un autre d'une plus longue portée. Quoy que se doute fort si on s'en pourra servir [23] dans le lieu a cela destiné, et s'il ne scauroit pas plus propre pour nous, principalement dan[c]s ce commen[cement] des affaires, d'en avoir encor un de 18 pied[s] et pour la commodité un de 7 ou 8. Mais ce n'est pas a nous de [27] luy prescrire comment nous reg[is]ler[ons] de ces presens.

[61v] [28] I'ay ecrit a un de mes amis a Utrecht qu'est intime amy de Monsr. Nyenrode pour s'enquerir si Monsr. Nyenrode [30] scait quelq[ue] chose du [p] dessein de Monsr. de Hoest. mais je n'ay pas encor receu de responce. Je suis

Monsieur

Leyden 19 Novemb. 1682.

Vostre tre[h]s humble serviteur

B. De Volder

[62r]

[62v]¹⁹²

A Monsieur

Monsieur Thevenot

sur le quay neuf proche de la Grève

A

Paris

Commentary

De Volder informs Thévenot (ll. 1–12) that after he took the papers from the court clerk's office, the lawyer and the attorney visited him and asked to be paid. De Volder postponed the payment waiting

192 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

for a letter from Thévenot: certainly a letter answering his letter of 29 October (letter 25). When he received it, he found that Thévenot communicated him that he was not going to pursue further the affair – so that De Volder most probably refers to letter 26, in which Thévenot in fact accepted to receive the manuscripts and to pay the legal expenses, thereby dropping the lawsuit against Wingendorp. According to De Volder, however, in this letter Thévenot did not say anything precise as to this payment so that he did not pay them (“mais vous n’ajoutez rien précisément de leur payer. Et quant a moy, je n’ayme pas de leur donner de l’argent sans vos ordres expréz”). Indeed, as seen above, Thévenot just announced that someone was going to pay them, from Paris (“l[']on mettre icy entre les mains de qui ils vouleront la somme qu[']ils demandent pour leur estre payé”).

Moreover (ll. 12–15), De Volder informs Thévenot that he is going to give the manuscripts, as well as the catalogue of the private library of Heinsius, to the friend of Thévenot who is coming to Leiden, if he can prove that he is coming on his behalf. In turn, this fits with the contents of letter 23, announcing the possible coming to Leiden of a young gentleman on Thévenot’s behalf, to whom the manuscripts could be given. Also (ll. 16–18), De Volder asks Thévenot to send him the micrometer at the first occasion, since he knew that Auzout is not coming to Leiden soon: again, information provided by Thévenot in letter 23, which therefore reached De Volder before 19 November, like letter 26. Probably, De Volder overtly refers only to this letter 26, at the beginning of the present letter, as he was primarily expecting Thévenot’s answer to his letter of 29 October (letter 25), in which he asked him for urgent information as to what to do (“oro te atq[ue] obsecro ut quod tibi animi sit quamprimum indicare per litteras velis”), and could have realized that Thévenot’s letter 23 was written before Thévenot received this letter 25 – thereby not deeming it necessary to overtly acknowledge its receipt.

Hence (ll. 18–23), De Volder expresses his felicitations as has Borelly received the medal, namely the present from the Curators of the University of Leiden, and that the University authorities are grateful to him for his offer of what appears a new lens, of a longer range (namely lens C1), which, however, seems not to fit the place allotted to it (probably the Observatory turret). Moreover (ll. 23–27), De Volder deems more necessary, for the beginning of the activities of the Observatory, a further lens with a focal length of 18 feet (probably lens A), and one of 7 or 8 feet. Eventually (ll. 28–), he informs Thévenot that he has asked a friend of his at Utrecht, a friend of Ortt, whether Ortt knew about the intentions of De Hoest – without any answer.¹⁹³ The letter is addressed and sealed.

193 Letters 21, 28 and 29.

• *Letter 28: De Volder to Thévenot, undated (after 19 November 1682 and before 28 January 1683), (fascicle 25, 68r–69v)*

[68r]

π¹⁹⁴

Mon Sieur

Je viens presentement de retourner de La Haye, ou j'ay veu M^r. Gool, a qui j'ay dit ce que vous m'avez ecrit \il y a/ quelq[ue] temps de βαρολεύς [5] de Heron et de la traduction de feu Monsr. son pere, Mais je l'ay trouvé fort peu enclin pour toucher a ces livres de son pere, en lesquels [8] i[[l]]comme il disoit, il n'entendoit rien.

[9] j'ay receu de mon amy deux lettres, dont la [10] premiere contenoit que Mr. de Nyenrode luy avoit temoigné de rien scavoir, de toute nostre affaire, mes[[p]]me non pas, qu'il vous avoit adressé a Mons^r. van Hoest, en offrant neantmoins d'en écrire a Mr. van Hoest, [15] pour scavoir son dessein et {de} nous le communi=[16]quer. Dans la [[q]]seconde [[e]]ou il repond a la mie{n}e dans laquelle j'avois accepté l'offre de M^r. Nyenrode, il écrit que Monsr. de Nyenrode estoit changé de resolution, [[q]]et qu'il refu=[20]soit de s'en mesler en aucune facon, parce qu'il avoit entendu a Amsterdam, que vous aviez [[dessein]] soupcon de luij, comme s'il y estoit quelq[ue] collusion entre luy et Monsr. van Hoest. Mon amy a eu beau de luy [25] dire qu'il n'en croyoit rien, que je luy avois rien [[a]]ecrit [[d']]approchant a cela, que vostre soupcon touchoit M^r. Hoest et Wingendorp, mais il n'a [68v] [28] rien pu obtenir. Aprez vostre derniere j'ay curieuse{ment} examiné les ma[[u]]nuscripts, mais je n'ay rien trouvé qu{e} [30] n'appartenoit point a un \mesme/ livre, quoy que le tout{e} consiste dans pl[[{m}]]usieurs parties, qui ne sont pas liées ensemble, et vous trouverez, que je vous n'ay jamais e{...} [33] [[d]]quelq[ue] chose des pieces detachees du livre. Je suis fort en crainte que messr. L'Advocat et Procureur ne me{t=}[35]tent encor quelq[ue] empesshement a [[l]]vous envoyé[[e]]r ces ecrits en les arrestant so[[m]]us moy pour {[s]tr}ouver par ce moyen leur payement, et pourtant je vous prie de les faire bien tost querir, et de m'écrire, [[ce que je]] [39] [[q]]precisement ce qu'il vous plaist de leur respondre{.} [40] j'ay communiqué a un des principaux de nos Curateurs de l'Academie [[d]]l'intention de Monsr. Borelli qui lui estoit fort agreable. Mais sa responce {m'a} fait changer de sentiment. Car il t[[o]]emoignoit [[f]]d'avoir asses de curiosité

194 "Curiosissime examinavi omnia manuscripta, nil reperi, nisi quod ad unum pertineat librum et eundem. Vidi in literis Volderi ad Thevenotum. Notatis π," Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r.

pour préparer un lieu [45] pour se pouvoir servir d'une lunette de 50 ou 60 pieds. Pourquoi je vous prie, fines ad huc est in integro, de faire tant auprez monsr. Borelli, qu'il demeure [48] dans son premier sentiment. Asseurement Mons^r. Borelli m'accablé de ses bontés en m'offrant encor^e [50] une pour mon usage. et l'aⁱvois dessein de luy en temoigner ma reconnoissance, mais je suis si tard retourné de la Haye, que l'a^e temps me presse trop pour le pouvoir faire a cette occasion. Cependant je vous diray brievement, qu'il me semble, que de [55] luy prescrire la longueur de la lunette qu'il me fait {b}offr^oir, s^oe^tr^doit d'assez mauvaise grace. I^sl se pourra assurer, que tout ce que v^ciendra de luy me sera fort agréable. Mais si j'ose vous dire cela en confidence, puis qu'il a eu la bonté de me [60] regaler d'un verre de 12 pieds et que celle de l'Aca^{69r}¹⁹⁵demie de 25 pieds est aussy a mon usage, on peut a[missing text] voir qu'une longueur \entre ces deus/ moyenne [luij] seroit foi[missing text] Mais je vous prie derechef d'en rien dire a [missing text] peut estre, qu'il temoigne luy mesme d'[missing text] [65] dessein. On a icy quelques messrs a Delft [missing text] {d}e pouvoir faire des verres d'une figur[missing text] ou de quelconq[ue] section coniq[ue] donner [missing text] avoir fait l'epreuve, en voyant que [missing text] se terminoyent en un point. je des[missing text]

Mons^rieur

Vostre oblig[missing text]

Th[évenot] [*sic?*]

La lettre que vous m'aviez
envoyé pour un amy de monsr.
de Raey est envoyé a luy a Amsterdam
statim ab acceptis litteris.

[69v]¹⁹⁶

A Monsieur

Monsieur, Thevenot

sur le quay neuf, proche de la Gréve

195 A portion of paper and text is missing on the right side of this page.

196 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot. A relevant portion of paper is missing.

Commentary

This letter is undated and, apparently, was signed by De Volder (who is unmistakably its author and material writer) with the name of Thévenot himself, to whom it is in fact addressed. It can be dated after letter 27 as De Volder reports the answer of his friend – mentioned in this letter – whom De Volder asked to contact Ortt. Moreover, it can be dated before the letter of De Volder to Thévenot of 28 January 1683 (letter 29) as in this letter De Volder communicates to Thévenot to have shipped the manuscripts, still in his possession when he wrote the present one. As I show below, this letter replies to a letter by Thévenot answering letter 27.

De Volder reports (ll. 1–8) to have just come back from The Hague, where he met Golius (certainly Matthaeus), to whom De Volder said that some time ago Thévenot wrote to him about the “βαρολεύς” of Heron of Alexandria and of the translation of his father – Jacob. However, Golius did not want talk about these books of his father, of which he could understand nothing. De Volder refers to Heron’s *Baroulkos* (weight hauler), of which Jacob Golius provided a Latin translation from an Arabic manuscript which is extant at the Leiden University Library.¹⁹⁷ This Latin translation, in fact, is now lost, with the exception of a part published in 1785; De Volder’s mentioning of it, thus far, is the first known reference to this translation.¹⁹⁸

Next (ll. 9–28), De Volder reports Thévenot to have received two letters from his unnamed friend (of course, the person mentioned in letter 27). In the first letter, this friend reported to De Volder that Ortt told him he knew nothing about the affair, even without admitting to having directed Thévenot to De Hoest (as testified to, indeed, by letter 1, by which Ortt informed Thévenot about Swammerdam’s testament, upon request by Volckers). However, Ortt himself offered to write to De Hoest, in order to ask him for more information and to communicate them to De Volder (“nous”). This offer was accepted by De Volder by a letter: his friend, however, reported to him in a second letter that Ortt changed his mind and did not want to enter into the affair by any means, because he heard at Amsterdam that Thévenot was suspecting that he had colluded with De Hoest. De Volder’s friend tried to reassure Ortt that the suspicions of Thévenot were about a collusion between De Hoest and Wingendorp, without, however, success. Given the fact that in the present

197 MS Leiden Or. 51.

198 Brugmans 1785; Van de Velde 2010, 95–100; Ferriello et al. 2016.

letter De Volder does not re-state the contents of letter 27, i.e. he supposes that his recipient already knows about De Volder's attempt to reach Ortt through a common friend, De Volder was most certainly reached by a letter of Thévenot answering to letter 27.

A letter by Thévenot is in fact overtly mentioned (ll. 28–33) as De Volder informs Thévenot that after having received his last letter, he examined the manuscripts of Swammerdam and found that they belong to one book, even if they consist of several parts which are not bound together. Moreover (ll. 33–39), De Volder reports that he fears that the lawyer and the attorney will impede him in delivering the manuscripts to Thévenot, and force him to keep them, in order to get their payment: so that De Volder asks Thévenot to require him to deliver the manuscripts, and to inform him about what to say to the lawyer and the attorney (something which De Volder nevertheless had also asked for in letter 27).

Eventually (ll. 40–48), De Volder reports that he told one of the Curators of the University about what appears to be Borelly's intention to build a lens (namely lens C2), of a range shorter than that mentioned in letter 27, which did not fit the Leiden Observatory. Indeed, according to the letter the answer of the Curator led De Volder to change his mind about Borelly's offer of this shorter lens, as the Curator showed interest in having a place built (probably an enlargement of the Observatory itself) capable of hosting a lens (*lunette*) of 50 or 60 feet: accordingly, De Volder asks Thévenot to convince Borelly to be constant to his first offer (for lens C1). Moreover (ll. 48–65), De Volder mentions a lens that Borelly offered him, for his personal use (lens D): De Volder reports that he has no time to thank him (i.e. with a separate letter), as he came back too late from The Hague. At the same time, he informs Thévenot that he did not like Borelly wanting to decide the length of this lens (*lunette*) he wants to offer him: indeed, Borelly had already given him a lens (*verre*) of 12 feet (lens B), and the lens of the University of 25 feet is at his disposal too. So that De Volder prefers a lens of an intermediate focal length: and this in fact matches the focal length of a lens of 18 feet, in which De Volder showed interest in letter 27. In any case, De Volder recommends Thévenot not to say anything to Borelly, as he hopes that he will realize this by himself. Also (ll. 65–), De Volder alludes to certain lens-makers at Delft, who (apparently) made attempts at building lenses with a new figure and conical section: however, the letter lacks a considerable portion of text as to this. In the post-scriptum, De Volder reports to have forwarded Thévenot's letter for a friend of De Raey (probably De Raey Jr.) at Amsterdam, immediately after having received it. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• **Letter 29: De Volder to Thévenot, 28 January 1683 (*fascicle 25, 63r–v*), and Wingendorp's**

[63r]

Monsieur,

Les Manuscrits que j'ay receu du Greffe contiennent ce que M^r Wingendorp a confirmé par un serment solennel estre tout ce qu'il avoit receu de feu Mr. Swammerdam. S'il y en a encore des [5] autres, ils seront peut estre dans les mains de Monsr. Van Hoest dont [6] je ne croy point qu'on puisse les retirer. M^r Nyerdrode, n[']e s'en veut pas mesler en aucun facon. je ne \les/ ay pas envoyé a Monsr. Barbou parce que j'ay creu d'avoir trouvé une occasion, de les vous faire avoir et plus prontement et plus seurement. Monsr. Bleyswijck [10] dont le Pere a l'Honneur d'estre connu de vous, s'en partira [pet] peut estre qu'il est desia parti pour Paris en la suite de Monsr. [{... }] Heinsius qui s'en va en Ambassade vers le Roy de France. Je luy ay confié ces papiers, ce que j'espere qu'il ne vous sera pas desagreable. [14] Je vous envoie par cette cy le Catalogue de tout ce que vous [15] trouverez la excepté l'Histoire de l'Ephemere, dont vous verrez la raison dans la mesme Catalogue, qui est escrit de la main de [17] Monsr. Wingendorp. Je seray bien ayse d'entendre que vous les avez receu, et j'attendray avec impatience l'occasion [d] ou il vous plaira de m'employer a vostre service, esperant [d'] que je [20] vous serviray [a] un autrefois plus heureusement que j'ay peu faire Dans cellecy. Je suis

j'ay adjousté [{ avec }] aux [{ ces }] Manuscrits

le catalogue de Monsr. Heynsius,

et une harangue de ma facon,

Monsieur

que il m'a falu publier contre

mon gré par l'autorité de ceux

qui gouvernent nostre Academie.¹⁹⁹

je vous prie Monsr. de vous

souvenir du Micrometre.

Vostre tres humble serviteur

B. De Volder.

Leyden, 28 Ianvier, 1683.

199 This part of the post-scriptum was likely written after the rest of it.

[63v]

[fascicle 1, 5r]

Memory vande {boek en}
geleerde Schriften

Eerst het oude werck van Jaere 1669, by {...} D. Swammerdam {...} in 2 deelen

De pediculo

Scorpio aquatico. vid pars 1 pag. 13 post pag. 98.²⁰⁰

Cochleis 2 part. met 1 {...}

Cancello.

Perla vid. pag. 98 part. 1²⁰¹

Ephemeris historia is gedrukt, en by my gekoft.

De formica vid. pag. 128 part. 1.²⁰²

Apibus cum indice figurar.

Scarabeo.

Culice.

Papilionis nocturni hist. vid. pag. 138 part. 1²⁰³

200 The manuscript of the treatise on water scorpions can indeed be found at page 13 of the manuscript beginning with the treatise on the dragonfly, located at page 98 of the first part – namely the main text, as part 2 is an appendix – of the copy of the *Historia insectorum* extant at Leiden: BPL 126 C I, 78. Wingendorp might have mentioned the treatise on water scorpions (coming in fact after the treatise on the dragonfly) after the treatise on the louse (in place of the treatises on the water flea and scorpions, not mentioned in the *Memory*) for the reason that he was following – in a way not entirely consistent – the order of the plates in his catalogue. Indeed, the figures of the treatise on water scorpions are already in plate 3 (figures 4–9; see Table 1), which also contains the figures of the treatise on scorpions (figures 1–3), and come after the plates of the treatise on the louse (plates 1–2). In any case, he still placed the treatise on the sea mouse at the end of the list, even if its figures can be found already on plate 10 (which also contains figures of the treatise on snails). It is unclear, moreover, why Wingendorp omitted to mention these two treatises in his *Memory*, which is not just a list of the plates (even if it also mentions the treatise on the mayfly, of which he delivered to Thévenot only the plates). Given the fact that they were provided with a continuous internal numbering (pages 1–8 for the treatise on the water flea, and pages 9–16 for the treatise on scorpions, as in BPL 126 C II, 37r–44v), they were probably bound together and their fascicle might have escaped his attention. See also *supra*, section 1, n. 241.

201 The manuscript of the treatise on the dragonfly can be found at page 98 of the *Historia insectorum*: see *supra*, section 2, n. 200.

202 The treatise on the ant follows the text of page 127 of the *Historia insectorum*: cf. BPL 126 C I, 96. The treatise itself is located – at least now – after page 136 of the book: BPL 126 C I, 103. It is unclear if Wingendorp aimed at referring to the page where to physically find this manuscript, or where to place its text.

———— diurni {... ...}

In animalia animal.

Muscae stercorariae hist. vid. pag. 138 pag. \part./ 2.²⁰⁴

Muscae asyli hist.

Musca casei.

———— tuberculorum hist. 2 part.

Ranae hist.

Sepiae.

De Physalo.

[5v]

Memory

Commentary

De Volder reports to Thévenot (ll. 1–6) that the manuscripts he received from the court clerk's office are those Wingendorp swore, with a solemn oath, to have received from Swammerdam (as mentioned in letters 11 and 16). If some others are extant, these are in the hands of Van Hoest, who, however, according to De Volder is not going to release them. Moreover (ll. 6–13), De Volder reports again that Ortt did not want to enter into the affair (as in letter 28), and not to have sent the manuscripts to Barbou. Instead, through him, De Volder shipped them to Thévenot through Mr. Bleijswijk (certainly Ewout Hendriksz. van Bleijswijk, 1656–1692), whose father (Hendrik van Bleijswijk, 1628–1703), according to De Volder, is an acquaintance of Thévenot, and who is leaving for Paris together with Heinsius (certainly Anthonie Heinsius, 1641–1720) who has ambassadorial duties in France.²⁰⁵ Accordingly, this letter could be a reply to an answer, by Thévenot, to letter 28,

203 The manuscript of the treatise on the moth can indeed be found at page 138 of the *Historia insectorum*: BPL 126 C I, 114.

204 The manuscript of the treatise on the fly cannot be found in the copy of the *Historia insectorum* extant at Leiden (the second part of which does not have a page 138). Instead, it is in BPL 126 C III, 55r–62v. Its text follows the text of page 157 of the *Historia insectorum*: BPL 126 C I, 138r and 139r. This manuscript was probably detached by Boerhaave from the copy of the *Historia insectorum*, and bound before the one on the horsefly (which follows the treatise on the fly): BPL 126 C III, 63r. See section 1.2.2.1.1.

205 Hendrik van Bleijswijk was one of the aldermen and burgomasters of Delft, as well as member of the States General and curator of Leiden University). His acquaintance with Thévenot is testified to by a letter of Van Leeuwenhoek to Anthonie Heinsius of 14 October 1683, in which Van Leeuwenhoek reports that Thévenot is highly esteemed by Hendrik van Bleijswijk, and asks Heinsius the opinion of Thévenot on some biological observations he

where De Volder asked Thévenot to give him a clear order to ship the manuscripts. Logically, in this answer Thévenot asked De Volder to send the manuscripts through Barbou, and to contact Ortt again. Or, more probably (as will be evident from letter 30), De Volder did not receive any answer from Thévenot: indeed, he reports again Ortt's refusal, as in letter 28. Thévenot, in turn, could have indicated the name of Barbou in his answer to letter 27, while De Volder just took the chance of sending the manuscripts through Van Bleijswijk.

Moreover (ll. 14–17), De Volder reports to have sent, together with the manuscripts (for which he asks for a receipt of acknowledgment from Thévenot), a catalogue compiled by Wingendorp himself, that mentions all the manuscripts delivered to France, as well as Swammerdam's *Ephemeris vita* – which, as reported by De Volder, has not been sent for a reason given in the catalogue itself. This catalogue is certainly the *Memory* extant in fascicle 1 of the *Nachlass*, by Wingendorp's hand (as in Figure 11 (Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 5r)),²⁰⁶ according to which the “History of the mayfly is printed, and bought from me” (“*Ephemeris historia is gedrukt, en by my gekoft*”). On 14 April 1678, in fact, Swammerdam wrote to Thévenot proposing that he take from Wingendorp the plates of his *Ephemeris vita* in his possession, to be used in a French edition of this treatise, which appeared (as an abridgement) in 1681 as an appendix to Thévenot's *Recueil* with the title *Histoire naturelle de l'éphémère*. Even if in the end these plates were sent to Thévenot by Pierre Guenellon (father of Pieter), Wingendorp could have separately sent Thévenot a printed copy of the book.²⁰⁷

communicated to Heinsius by a letter of 30 September 1683. In turn, the letter of Van Leeuwenhoek to Thévenot of 23 September 1688 – included in the *Nachlass* (fascicle 25, 37r–v) – reports that Thévenot appreciated these observations. So that probably Thévenot included this letter of 23 September 1688 in the *Nachlass* as it related to his acquaintance with Hendrik van Bleijswijk. Certainly, De Volder gave the papers to his son Ewout Hendriksz. van Bleijswijk, the only male son of Hendrik alive in 1683. See Nagtegaal 2014. As to the letters of 30 September and 14 October 1683, see Van Leeuwenhoek 1939–1952, volume 4, 156–159 (letter 77) and 160–165 (letter 78). As to the letter of 23 September 1688, see *supra*, section 1, n. 246. See also letter 30.

206 See *supra*, section 1, n. 81.

207 The whole story can be summarized as follows. As seen *supra*, section 2, n. 25, in his letter to Thévenot of 24 February 1678 (Swammerdam 1975, letter 16), Swammerdam wrote to Thévenot that the plates of his *Ephemeris vita* (already engraved by Bosboom) were to be sold by Wolfgang, that those of his *Tractatus de respiratione* were lost and had to be re-engraved, and that he had written to someone at Leiden asking about the re-engraving of the plates for the *Miraculum naturae*. Hence, in his letter of 30 March 1678 (letter 18) Swammerdam reports to Thévenot that he received from Wolfgang these plates of the *Ephemeris vita*. In turn, in his letter of 14 April (letter 19) Swammerdam offers to send to Thévenot the plates of the *Ephemeris vita* and those of the *Miraculum naturae* through Pierre Guenellon, declaring in any case that it is fine if Thévenot takes “all the plates” (“alle de platen”) from Wingendorp. Afterwards, the engraving (or the delivery) of the plates of the *Miraculum naturae* was delayed (as discussed *supra*, section 2, n. 25), while, around June–July, the plates of the *Ephemeris vita* were eventually given by Swammerdam to Pierre Guenellon (letter 23, 7 July 1678), who shipped them after July (letter 24, 21 July 1678), as in November Swammerdam was still asking Thévenot whether he had received them (letter 28, end of November 1678) – while the plates of the *Miraculum naturae* were received by Swammerdam at the end of 1678 or at the beginning of 1679 (letter 32, autumn of 1678 or beginning of 1679), as discussed in this note. For his translation Thévenot had to work on the 1675 printed book, as he was asked by Swammerdam to translate and publish also a part of it to which Swammerdam refers to by page numbers, namely the “sighs of the soul found on pages 307 up to 349” (“suspires de l’ame, ce qu’on treuve au pag 307 jusques a 349”) i.e. the *Suchtingen der ziele tot Godt*: see

In a post-scriptum, De Volder reports that together with the manuscripts he is sending the catalogue of the private library of Nicolaas Heinsius (namely the *Bibliotheca Heinsiana*, mentioned in letter 27), as well as an oration of his which he did not want to publish, but which he was forced to by the University authorities: certainly his *Oratio de coniungendis philosophicis et mathematicis disciplinis*, which De Volder gave as a speech on 15 June 1682 as he became professor of mathematics (this was not the only text he wished not to be published during his career).²⁰⁸ Also, De Volder reminds Thévenot about the micrometer. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

• *Letter 30: De Volder to Thévenot, 15 April 1683 (fascicle 25, 48r–v)*

[48r]

Viro Nobilissimo Thevenotio S.P. B. De Volder

Diu est quod avidissime expectarim responsum tuum ad ultimas meas quas ad te dedi, et quibus totius negotii statum, et quopacto ab illis premerer patefeci, sed hactenus frustra. Illud autem eo avidius expectavi, et etiamnum expecto, tum quod me simul intellecturum confido, te iam manu scripta Swammerdamiana a D. Bleeswijckio accepisse de quo dubitare neutiquam possum, tum quod scire admodum avebam, quod mihi ad petitionem advocatorum, et ad id quod Iudices aequum existimare videbantur, respondendum censes. verum est, accepi interea temporis tuas sed scriptas antequam ultimae meae ad manus tuas pervenire potuerint, in quibus ais, te, si modo constet, Hoestium non egisse ex compacto cum Wingendorpio, jussurum ut solvantur impensae. Sed non addis quopacto existimes de eo constare posse. Me quod attinet, nullam aliam ego rationem novi, qua se id non fecisse fidem faciat Hoestius nisi jurejurando. Factum tibi et documentis probari posse scio, verum id quod factum non est qui aliter

Swammerdam's letter to Thévenot of 7 July 1678 (Swammerdam 1975, letter 23); cf. Swammerdam 1675, 307–349. This part is absent in Thévenot's 1681 edition (in fact, an abridgement of Swammerdam's treatise), and also Boerhaave's edition is deprived of Swammerdam's lengthy moral and theological considerations: Swammerdam 1737–1738, 234. Swammerdam's *Ephemeris vitae* had two other editions, besides those published by Swammerdam, Thévenot and Boerhaave, namely an English edition in 1681 (London, Henry Faithorne and John Kersey), and a Dutch edition in 1699 (Utrecht, Anthony Schouten): both of them re-used the original plates of the 1675 edition, which therefore circulated among the publishers. Moreover, in 1681 Blasius published, in his *Anatome animalium terrestrium variorum, volatilium, aquatilium, serpentum, insectorum ovorumque*, a Latin, abridged translation of the explanations of some of the figures of the treatise, which were re-engraved by, apparently, Jan Luyken (1649–1712), who prepared the frontispiece of Blasius's book: Blasius 1681, 488. Blasius's edition seems to be independent of Thévenot's.

208 Wiesenfeldt 2016; Strazzoni 2019, 30–35.

quam purgatione idque jurejurando probari [20] queat ego non video{.} Itaque meo quidem
judicio [[aut]] nostrum erit aut probare veritatem ejus, quod suspicamur, aut Hoestio deferre
jusjurandum. Prius si liquido possumus [[per]] ex iis litteris quas ad te scripsit Hoestius, et
quorum mihi exemplaria promittis, res omnis in vado est. Sin nimis non [[m]] apparet [25] litem
hanc aliter terminari posse quam eo medio de quo [26] jam dudum ad te scripsi. {h}Ego
{hic}haec hic nec Amstelodami coeptae impressionis ullum vestigium reperi, licet ea de re \cum/
primarias Bibliopolas egerim, qui omnes uno ore negant se quodpiam de tali editione inaudiisse. Ex
illis {unus} [30] hanc mihi viam aperuit, qua id {certo} sciri posse, censebat. [48v] Petendum sc. ab
Ordinibus Hollandiae privilegium, quo cavere=[32]tur ne [[c]] quis ea scripta imprimere liceret,
eoque obtento quo{d} non admodum difficile fore arbitrabatur, id confestim divul=[34]gandum
per la Gazette. Quo facto non dubitab[[a]]it {quin} illi [35] qui editionem parabant, si qui sunt,
ipsimet se sunt delatu=[36]ri, [[visuriq]] \experturi sc./ {num} [[transactione]] \conventionem/
qua[[qu]]piam res queat transig{i} quod consilium omnino amplectendum putarem, nisi me
retrahere[[i]]nt impensae [[ut]] ad id privilegium o[[p]]tinendum neces=[39]sariae, quas accedere
[[{...}]a]jebat ad summam \de/ 30 ecus ou {ecrir...} [40] [[p]]quam tamen summam parvi censes,
opinor, si tibi mens sit editionem parandi Belgicam. Illa enim in Galliis \licet/ impressa vendi tamen
ni[[h]]si hisce nostris in oris non poterit. Et nosti nostrorum Bibliopolarum morem, qui tantum non
om{nes} quae apud vos imprimuntur, denuo solent praelo subijcer{e} [45] nisi tali privilegio
arceantur. Quicquid sit meum pu{...} [[{...}]] hoc ejus consilium tibi aperire, tuoque arbitrio
committer{e.} Antequam finiam, iterum te oro quaeoque ut quamprimum mihi respondeas,
nunquid desideres in jurejurando Hoesti{o} deferendo, [[si]] aut quid a me fieri velis, simulque ut
mittas [50] ea documenta quibus probare suspicionem nostram possim. Ut enim verum fatear, non
me solummodo diuturnitatis [sic] hujus negotii taedet sed et pudet suspitione{m} afferre quo minus
impensas quas alias [sic] proculdubio debe{mus} [54] \solvamus,/ nec tamen quodpiam habere quo
eam probes.

[55] Quae de Iosepho scripsisti, communicavi cum D. Bernar{d} et Le Moyne. Ille rem sibi
gratissimam testabatur idque se litteris tibi indicaturum in se recepit.

Vale, et quod mihi facendum censeas quamprimum fac{...} sciam. Neque enim honeste alias
ex ali{is} moras nectere [60] [[me]] posse videor. Nihil certe mihi gratius facere poteris.

[[{Ve}]] Iterum vale.

Raptissime 15 Aprilis, 1682.

Commentary

This letter is dated 15 April 1682, however, it has to be dated 15 April 1683, as De Volder refers to the shipping of the manuscripts through Van Bleijswijck (as I show below).

De Volder writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–4) that he has been very eagerly expecting since some time an answer from him to his last letter, in which he reported the whole state of the affair, and how he was “pressed by them” (“*quopacto ab illis premerer*”) – probably by the lawyer and the attorney (as mentioned in letters 27 and 28). However, he did not get any answer from Thévenot. Given the fact that letter 29 is the last letter received by Thévenot before the present one, De Volder must have sent Thévenot a further letter – which was lost – after letter 29.

Furthermore (ll. 5–10), De Volder reports to be even more eagerly expecting to know whether Thévenot received the manuscripts from Van Bleijswijck (so that Thévenot had not yet replied to letter 29, or his reply did not reach De Volder), as well as an answer about the money asked for by the lawyers and about the money established by the judges (certainly the estimation of the amount to be paid to the attorney, as mentioned in letter 16). Given the fact De Volder asked him for clear orders with regard to the payment in letter 28, Thévenot’s reply to this letter 28 reached De Volder later than expected. Indeed (ll. 11–15), De Volder reports to have eventually received a letter from Thévenot, which was written, however, before Thévenot could read the last letter De Volder sent him. This letter by Thévenot seems to be an answer to letter 28: in his letter, indeed, Thévenot wrote that he was going to order to pay the expenses only if it was proved that De Hoest did not act in collusion with Wingendorp – reiterating a request mentioned also in letters 25 and 26. As to this, De Volder reports that Thévenot did not explain to him how this collusion could be proved. According to De Volder (ll. 15–26), this could be done only by requesting an oath from De Hoest, or by considering the contents of the letters De Hoest sent to Thévenot, copies of which had been promised to De Volder by Thévenot himself. If this is not enough, according to De Volder there are no other means to conclude the quarrel than by “that means” (“*eo medio*”) about which he declares to have already communicated to Thévenot: about which, however, there are no traces in the correspondence, so that De Volder might be referring to his previous letter to Thévenot, probably lost. Moreover (ll. 26–45), De Volder reports to have not found any evidence of the beginning of the publication of Swammerdam’s works, neither with Leiden nor with Amsterdam publishers. One of them, however, suggested that De Volder ask for a privilege from the States of Holland (“*ab Ordinibus Hollandiae*”) by which he could impede the printing of such papers, to be published in a

gazette.²⁰⁹ In this way, those preparing the edition would be forced to interrupt it. De Volder is going to accept this suggestion; however, in order to obtain this privilege a payment of 30 *écus* (i.e. circa 75 guilders) is required.²¹⁰ A small sum in any case, if Thévenot is going to prepare a Dutch edition, which, even if printed in France, is going to be sold only in Holland, and Dutch publishers re-print everything that is printed in France unless they are prevented by this privilege: so that the need to have one is clear. Moreover (ll. 45–54), De Volder asks Thévenot to communicate to him about what to do with De Hoest, and to send him the copies of De Hoest’s letters, not only to conclude this tedious affair, but also because De Volder is ashamed that one can suspect that they are not paying the expenses due.

Eventually (ll. 55–), De Volder writes that he reported to Mr. Bernhard (whose identity could not be ascertained) and to Le Moine what Thévenot wrote to him “about Joseph,” (“de Iosepho”) and that the former was grateful for this and that he is going to write an acknowledgment of this to Thévenot. It seems that Thévenot communicated to De Volder something of theological relevance, as the topic and the recipient (Le Moine) indicate. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

• *Letter 31: De Hoest to Thévenot, 17 June 1683 (fascicle 25, 27r–28v and 31r–v)*

[27r]

Mijn Heer,²¹¹

Ick hebbe, de H.^r Swammerdams werck in het Nederduijts alhier gedruckt werdende, de exemplaren, in mijne laeste gedaght, niet begeert t’ uwen laste, [4] verre daer van; mijn meijningh was die te voldoen. Oock en hebbe ick, [5] bij so veer ghij het selvige werck absoluijt, sonder dat het hier gedruckt was, bij U.E. in Vranckrijk begeerde, op U.E. niet versoght mijn exemplaer, voor het versenden van de schriften, met deselvige te mogen collationeren, nogh de vrijheijt om, op [[de]] mijn kosten, de teeckeningen, die mij ontbraecken, daer uijt te suppléren, dan uijt insight van,

209 This announcement could not be found among the privileges or patents (*octrooien*) of the States of Holland, fully available at the following link: <http://proxy.handle.net/10648/02c15dcc-cd6d-102c-9f8b-005056a23d00> (accessed 5 March 2022). The issues of the years around 1683–1686 (relevant to the present research) of gazettes active in the Netherlands in which this announcement might have appeared could not be accessed during the preparation of the present book. These are the *Gazette d’Amsterdam* (active from 1663), the *Mercure Hollandois* (active from 1672), and the *Nouvelles extraordinaires de divers endroits* (better known as *Gazette de Leyde*, active from 1677). See Der Weduwen 2017.

210 I calculated the equivalence using letter 13.

211 Mijn Heer] [31r] Copije / d Heer Thevenot, tot [[{s}]] Parijs / Mijn Heer

so d'er eenigh ongeval het geen U.E. gelageert was onderweegh [10] moght komen te bejegenen, of iets anders voorvallen, waer door de will des Over=[11]leden, in dat deel, door U niet volvoert kon werden, altijd in staat te zijn [12] om dat gebreck te kunnen verwillen. Dit heeft U.E. niet gelieft; mogelick, om dat U.E., hebbende, gelijk U.E. seght, geen ander ooghwit dan het executeren van de wille uwes Vrients, \en daer omtrent niet gemanqueert hebbende in het eene, in het andere oock/ niet hebt willen schijnen tselvige [15] gedwongen te doen, gelijk het eenighsints sou kunnen zijn, indien ick, nevens U. een exemplaer compleet hadd'. 'k Misgunn' U.E. die glorij niet; oock en [17] smert het mij niet, dat U.E. mij mijn versoeck, al oordeelde ick het billick, geweijgert hebt, want ghij zijt meester van het uwen: maer dat smert mij ('k wil het niet ontveijnsen) dat ick na so veel arbeit en moeite in dese [20] saeck voor U.E. getrouwelick gedaen, ten onrecht van bedrogh beschuldight [21] en met smaet en bespottinge geloont werd.

[22] Wanneer ick vernam dat U.E., hebbende mij v[...]]oorbij [[...]]gegaen, den H.^r Wingendorp buijten mijn weten en kennisse, de onkosten die hij schuldigh was, en op mijn naem voor uwe reeck. gemaectt waren, hadt gequiteert, de schriften doen lighten en [27v] [28r] [25] en so voort; so waghtede ick niet anders, of U.E. soude, gelijk dat recht en billick was, met eenen hebben besorght dat die onkosten voldae anverden, en dat men mij daer over noit moeite kon aendoen. 't Selvige is niet geschiedt, sulcks dat U.E. dat sal dienen te doen, het en zij dat U.E. begeere dat ick [29] betale tgeen U.E. aen een ander quijtschelt.

[30] Ick konde aen de H.^r Barain, doe hij laest hier was en mij om de platen aensprack, deselve hem niet geven, dewijl ick daer toe van U.E. geen ordre hadde. 'k Beloofde hem U.E. [..] die, door mijn Broeder, die uijt Engelant over Vrankrijck stont herwaert te komen, te sullen doen behandigen; dogh also die, naderhant van resolutie verandert, een anderen wegh genomen heeft, so hebbe dat niet kunnen doen; [35] en is mijn wensch dat U.E. gelieve te ordonneeren wie ghij wilt dat ickse alhier behandige, op dat ick mij daer van mag ontlasten en UE so aen het uw' geraecken blijvende die ben

Mijn Heer

UE.^{ts} Genege en Dienstbereijde

Leijden dese 17 Junij, 1683.

D. de Hoest.²¹²

[28v]²¹³

212 Mijn Heer / UE.^{ts} Genege en Dienstbereijde / D. de Hoest.] [31r] en was onderteeckent / Mijn Heer / UE seer ootmoedige dien[missing text] / Daniel de Hoest.

A Monsieur

Mons.^r Thevenot, sur le Quaij neu[[{v}]]f a

Paris.²¹⁴

Commentary

This letter has a copy, by De Hoest's hand, at 31r–v. As evident from letter 35, this copy was most probably sent by De Hoest to Thévenot through Ortt, together with copies of letters 32 and 34, certainly because Thévenot never replied to these letters (as stated in letter 34). As I show in my commentaries to letters 32 and 34, the copies of these three letters 31, 32 and 34 were written all together by De Hoest, who probably used their drafts for his copies. I used the original (27–28v) for my transcription, reporting only those variants, with respect to the copy (31r–v), which do not concern punctuation and spelling.

De Hoest communicates Thévenot (ll. 1–4) that he did not want to charge him with the costs of the copies of the work(s) of Swammerdam mentioned in his previous letter (certainly that of 4 October (letter 22), where some complimentary copies for De Hoest are mentioned): work(s) declared to be “in course of being printed in Dutch” in the Netherlands (“de H. Swammerdams werck in het Nederduijts alhier gedruckt werdende”). Certainly, De Hoest's claim cannot be taken at face value: even if some years had elapsed since the delivery of the manuscripts by Swammerdam to Wingendorp, who (partially) edited them, there is no evidence that a copy for the printer had been prepared and sent to the press. Rather, De Hoest's claim might have been referring to prints of the 36 plates, possibly what was later labelled as Swammerdam's *Specialia experimenta*, as discussed in section 1.2.2.1.2.1.

Moreover (ll. 4–12), De Hoest clarifies (probably answering the letter of complaint Thévenot wrote to him, and mentioned by Thévenot in letter 26, and trying to justify himself), that in case Thévenot wished that Swammerdam's manuscripts were absolutely to be sent to him in France, without being printed in the Netherlands, he would have asked him (i.e. in letter 22) to collate his own copy with the original manuscripts before delivering them, and to supplement – at his own expense – those drawings not in his possession (probably, drawings other than those of the mentioned 36 plates, if these were in course of printing), only in order to secure the fulfilment of

213 This page contains one seal, and one mark and an unreadable annotation, apparently by Thévenot.

214 A Monsieur / Mons.^r Thevenot, sur le Quaij neu[[{v}]]f a / Paris.] [31v] d' Inscriptie was / Monsieur / Monsieur M. Thevenot, sur le / quaij noeuf a / Paris.

Swammerdam's will in the case of a loss of the original papers. In fact (ll. 12–15), De Hoest notices that Thévenot did not like this request, probably because – as reported by Thévenot in his previous (and now lost) letter – he has no other goal than to execute Swammerdam's will. So that, according to De Hoest, he is afraid to be impeded in doing this if someone else has at his disposal a copy of Swammerdam's manuscripts. Indeed, as De Hoest continues (ll. 15–21), according to him Thévenot does not want to appear to execute Swammerdam's will if he is forced to do so: as it could happen that De Hoest has an additional, complete copy of Swammerdam's manuscripts. Accordingly, De Hoest declares that he does not want to deny Thévenot the glory of publishing the works of Swammerdam, and that he is not bothered by Thévenot's refusal, even if he thinks that his own request is reasonable: rather, he is bothered because after all his efforts Thévenot accused him of deceit and rewarded him “with derision and mockery” (“met smaet en bespottinge”). Indeed (ll. 22–29), De Hoest reports to have heard that Thévenot pardoned Wingendorp the legal expenses made in De Hoest's name on Thévenot's account (“op mijn naem voor uwe reeck. gemaect”), without keeping him informed: expenses whose payment De Hoest expected Thévenot was going to take care of, relieving him of them (“U.E. soude, gelijck dat recht en billick was, met eenen hebben besorght dat die onkosten voldae anverden, en dat men mij daer over noit moeite kon aendoen”). On the contrary, Thévenot charged him with what he pardoned Wingendorp.

Moreover (ll. 30–), De Hoest informs Thévenot that he did not give the plates to “Mr. Barain” (most probably Barin), who came to Leiden and talked with De Hoest about them, as he had no orders to do so from Thévenot. De Hoest promised Barain that the plates were going to be handed to Thévenot by his brother, who was traveling from England through France. However, since his brother took another path, De Hoest asks Thévenot to designate another person to whom he can give them. De Hoest probably refers to the copperplates of the 36 plates of the *Biblia naturae* apparently already engraved by Wingendorp's son;²¹⁵ alternatively, he might be referring to the plates of Swammerdam's *Miraculum naturae*, previously mentioned, but only in letter 10. Given the fact that the present letter was unanswered at least until 5 November 1684 (i.e. until letter 35, as evident from its contents), the delivery of such copperplates took place after it.

The letter (but not its copy) is addressed and sealed. On the page of the address (28v) there is a note, apparently by Thévenot's hand. The annotation is hardly readable, and no meaningful transcription could be provided.

²¹⁵ See sections 1.2.2.1.2 and 1.2.2.1.2.1, and my commentary on the bilingual extract from Swammerdam's testament (in letter 1).

• *Letter 32: De Hoest to Thévenot, 12 August 1683 (fascicle 25, 29r–30v and 32r–v)*

[29r]

Mijn Heer,²¹⁶

Ick schreef U.E. in t midden van de maent Junii laest onder an=[3]deren dat men mij lastigh viel om de betalingh van de onkosten, in den processe met den H.^r Wingendorp gevallen, die U.E. hem gequi=[5]teert hebt. En 'k versoght U.E. datge soudt gelieven order te stellen dat dat gelt voldoen wierdt, so ghij niet begeerde dat het selve sou blijven ten mijnen laste. Ick hebbe sint van U.E. niet vernomen, dan over omtrent ses weecken den H.^r De Volder, die mij mondelingh uwentwegen aanbodt 'tgeen ick aen den Advocaet als anders reets [10] voor U.E. verschoten hadde, en den Procureur nogh geven {most}, mij dan te willen weergeven, indien ick beloven wilde dat ick van de schriften van de H.^r Swammerdam, onder mij berustende, gedurende [13] de tijt van drie jaren, niets soude laten drucken; en so ick dat niet doen wou, dat hij dan geen order hadt mij te betalen. [15] Ick hebbe het niet aengenomen; ick sal het oock niet doen, als die geen de minste reden sie, waer door ick daer hoe verplicht ben. En gemerckt ick van U.E. niets en hore, niet tegenstaende ick door den H.^r de Volder UE nader om een lettertie antwoordt hebb' doen versoecken, so schijnt het mij toe dat U.E. niet van sins [20] zijt mij te voldoen; immers voor als nogh niet. Anders, M [29v] [21] Mijn Heer, hadd' ick het van U.E. verwaght; dogh sulcks niet zijnde wilde ick van U.E. wel eens horen wat reght dat U.E. heeft over 't mijne, uijt welckers kragt U.E. mij dus handelt.²¹⁷ Zijt ghij niet schuldigh mij van de onkosten, die voor U gemaect zijn, en die [25] ghij aen een ander quijtschelt, te ontlasten; Spreeckt uwe gewisse U daer vrij van, betaeltse niet; 'k wil geen gonst, maer reght En oordeeltge selfs dat ghijse schuldigh zijt, waerom voldoet ghij mij niet sonder parlamenteeren? Ghij doet, en hebt met het geen U gelegateert was, buijten mij, gedaen, wat U.E. geliefde: [30] waerom soude ick met het mijne insgelijcks, buijten U.E., niet doen mogen het geen ick goet[{w}]vind? Met wat handt ben ick [32] dogh meer gebonden aen U.E., dan U.E.¹ aen mij is? Gelief het U evenwel mij van tgeen ick uwentwegen betaelt hebb', of voor aen tijt, of voor altijt, te versteecken; en mij, hoewel onverdiend, [35] so doende nogh meer te verongelijcken, dan tot nogh toe geschiet is, 't is in uwe handt, ick sal het aensien, en mij daer tegen met lijtsaem=[32]heijt wapenen; blijvende die ben

216 Mijn Heer,] [32r] Copije / Eidem, / Mijn Heer,

217 mijne, uijt welckers kragt U.E. mij dus handelt.] mijne, dat U.E. mij dus handelt.

Mijn Heer

UE.^{ts} Seer ootmoedige dienaer

Leijden dese 12 Augustus

Daniel de Hoest.

1683.²¹⁸

[30r]

[30v]²¹⁹

A Monsieur

Monsieur M. Thevenot, sur le

Quaij neeuf a

Paris.

Commentary

This letter has a copy, by De Hoest's hand, at 32r–v. De Hoest wrote this copy by referring to the copy of letter 31 (at 31r–v) – so that he probably wrote both copies together, using their drafts. Indeed, the heading of the copy of the present letter (“Eidem,” at 32r) refers to the heading of the copy of letter 31 (namely “d Heer Thevenot, tot Parijs,” at 31r): a heading absent in the original (27r). Moreover, its closing part (at 32v) refers to the heading and signature as being the same of a previous letter (“De superscriptie en onderteijckeningh van dese brief was als van de vorige”) – certainly to the copy of letter 31 (at 31r–v), given that only this copy has a heading (at 31r), and that the signature of the original of letter 32 (at 29v: “Mijn Heer / UE.^{ts} Seer ootmoedige dienaer / Daniel de Hoest.”) is the same as in the copy of letter 31 (at 31v), whereas the signature of the original is different (at 28v: “Mijn Heer / UE.^{ts} Genege en Dienstbereijde / D. de Hoest”). As to the present letter I used the original (29r–30v) for my transcription, reporting only those variants, with respect to the copy (32r–v), which do not concern punctuation and spelling.

De Hoest writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–13) that he wrote to him in mid-June (i.e. in letter 31) that he was bothered by the payment of the legal expenses which Thévenot had pardoned Wingendorp, and that he asked Thévenot to give an order to pay. However, he did not receive any answer from Thévenot. Then, six weeks before the present letter (i.e. after 2 July 1683, as I show in

218 Leijden dese 12 Augustus / 1683. [32v] Leijden dese 12 Augustus 1683. / De superscriptie en onderteijckeningh van dese brief was als van de vorige.

219 This page contains one seal and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

a moment) he met De Volder, who offered to refund him, on Thévenot's behalf, what De Hoest had already paid to the lawyer and to others, and what was still due to the attorney. In fact, as reported in letter 34, on 22 October 1681 De Hoest made a first payment to the attorney – certainly for the *eijsch* – on 14 January 1682 he paid the notary for the *insinuatie*, while on 2 July 1683 he paid the lawyer. In turn, a last payment (to the attorney) is reported, without date, below that of 2 July, so that most probably De Hoest made it after this day. However, De Volder asked De Hoest to promise, as a condition for the refunding, not to publish the manuscripts of Swammerdam in his possession for a period of three years. De Hoest reports (ll. 13–20), to have refused this proposal, and that he will do so in future if he has no cogent reason not to do so. Moreover, he complains not to have received any communication from Thévenot, even if he asked De Volder to solicit Thévenot to do so. Therefore, for De Hoest, Thévenot is not going to refund him, even though he had expected differently from him.

The letter continues (ll. 21–32) with a series of rhetorical statements and questions by De Hoest, who asks Thévenot what is his right in behaving as he does, reproaches him for not refunding the expenses made on his behalf, and bids him not to pay him, if he is sure he is not obliged to do so. Moreover, De Hoest declares that he just wants what is of right, and complains that Thévenot does not satisfy him without discussion. Also, since Thévenot can now do what he wants with Swammerdam's legacy without any interference from De Hoest, De Hoest asks him why he should not be allowed to do what he wants with what belongs to him (of course, referring to the copy of the manuscripts and drawings in his possession), lamenting that he is more bound to Thévenot than vice-versa. Eventually (ll. 32–), he (rhetorically) dares Thévenot to deny him what he had paid on his behalf, and to continue to hurt him, declaring he is prepared to take it patiently. The letter (but not its copy) is addressed and sealed.

• ***Letter 33: De Volder to Thévenot, 27 August 1683 (fascicle 25, 64r–65v)***

[64r]

Monsieur,

On ne scauroit pas aisement exprimer l'estonnement et de Monsr. Le Moyne, et de moy quand nous avons veu dans vostre derniere lettre l'impudence, par ne rien dire de plus fort, de Monsr. [5] van

Hoest. Est il possible, qu'un homme quel qu'il soit pour si peu de chose puisse parvenir a un tal degre et de lacheté et de perfidie, que d'oser nier effrontement et aupres des magistrats et particulierement a moy, d'avoir jamais eu aucun dessein des faire cette edition, et neantmoins dans la mesme temps ecrire [10] a vous a qui l'affaire particulièrement appartient, que cette [11] edition est faite. C'est bien estre mechant a peu de prix. [12] Mais, graces aux vos soins, il n'a pas eu tout ce qu'il desire, qu'il n'aura pour punition de son crime, que le remors de sa conscience, et la perte de sa reputation, Car je n'oublie pas de raconter [15] tout/ ce procedé, et aux juges, et a tous ceux, qu'ont eu quelque connaissance de cet affaire. Je me console en partie du retardement du micrometre, parce que cela est arrivé a cause d'une entreprise que est vrayment digne du Roy de France. Mais j'espere qu'il sera enfin achevé. Monsr. van Heul, qui vous donnera cette lettre, [20] est un particulierement de mes amis. Je l'ay prié de se charger encore d'une autre a Monsr. de Witt le fils de feu Monsr. Le Pensionnaire d'Hollande, qui s'en est allé il y a quelque temps a Paris, pour s'en retourner dans ces quartiers/ le mois de Septembre. Si le micrometre est achevé je ne [25] doute pas qu'il ne s'en chargera volontiers, et qu'il ne prenne la peine de vous venir trouver pour cet effet. Je vous suis infiniment obligé du soin qu'il vous a plu de prendre en la construction de cette machine, et de la gene[r]osité dont vous vous servez envers moy. Mais je vous prie encore une fois de vous en [30] servir une peu moins en cette occasion, et pour ne me/ combler tout a fait de {hontes} [64v] [31] et parce que la machine appartient a nostre Université. [32] Je suis fort fâché de n'avoir pas peu rencontrer Monsr. Auzout quoy que je l'aye cherché avec Monsr. Hudde a Amsterdam{.} puisq[ue] au mesme temps il a passé par cette ville. S'il a veu [35] le cabinet de Monsr. Hermans je ne scay, car aprez mon retour, je n'ay pas encor veu ny Monsr. Le Moyne ny Monsr. Hermans. Je suis

Monsieur

Vostre tres humble Serviteur

Leyden 27 Aoust, CIOIOLXXXIII.

B. De Volder.

[65r]

[65v]²²⁰

A Monsieur

220 This page contains one seal and some calculations (i.e. the sheet had been re-used).

Monsieur Thevenot
Sur le quay neuf, A
proche de la Grieve Paris,
Par ami.

Commentary

De Volder writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–11) that he and Le Moine are astonished by what Thévenot wrote to him in his last letter, which testifies to the impudence of De Hoest. Indeed, the latter overtly negated to the magistrates and to De Volder himself that he had any intention to make an edition of Swammerdam's writings, and at the same time wrote to Thévenot that this edition had already been done. As to this, De Volder is probably referring to the contents of letters 30 and 32, according to which it is possible to prove that De Hoest did not act in collusion with Wingendorp by requiring him to swear this in front of the judges, and referring to making him promise not to publish Swammerdam's writings, and of letter 31, where De Hoest claimed that the works of Swammerdam were in course of printing (though this might refer to the printing of the 36 plates only). However (ll. 12–16), thanks to the measures taken by Thévenot (probably referring to the printing privilege mentioned in letter 30, of which, in any case, no trace could be found, or if not to a possible accusation of perjury against De Hoest),²²¹ De Hoest could not obtain what he wanted, even if he is going to avoid any legal consequence, and to lose just his reputation, as De Volder is going to report the full story to the judges and to any other person involved in the affair.

Next (ll. 16–31), De Volder reports that he accepts the delay in the construction of the micrometer, due (apparently) to the fact that it is a very fine instrument. Moreover, he reports to be delivering the present letter through Mr. Van Heul (whose identity could not be ascertained), a close friend of his.²²² Van Heul is also delivering a letter for the son of Johan de Witt (1625–1672), certainly Johan de Witt Jr. (1662–1701),²²³ who went to Paris and who is coming back to Holland in September. For De Volder, if the micrometer is ready it can be given to Van Heul, and he asks Thévenot not to lose much time with it, since the instrument belongs to the University.

221 See *supra*, section 2, n. 209.

222 Certainly the one indicated in the external part of the letter as the deliverer.

223 Another son of his, Jacob de Witt (1667–1685) was probably still too young in 1683: Japikse 1914. Notably, copies of De Volder's dictated academic lectures on Descartes's *Meditationes* and *Principia philosophiae* (1644) are listed in the auction catalogues of Johan Jr.'s private library: Willegaerts 1696, 335; Graevius 1701, 62. See Japikse 1914.

Eventually (ll. 32–), De Volder reports not to have been able to meet Auzout, even if he looked for him at Amsterdam together with Hudde (De Volder's main patron),²²⁴ since Auzout was in the meantime at Leiden. Answering a question posed by Thévenot, De Volder reports not to know whether Auzout saw Hermann's cabinet,²²⁵ as he did not meet either Le Moine or Hermann himself yet. The letter is addressed and sealed.

• *Letter 34: De Hoest to Thévenot, 20 June 1684 (fascicle 25, 34r–v and 33r–v)*

[34r]

Siet daer²²⁶ nu so veele maenden verlopen, Mijn Heer, dat ick U mijne twee laesten toesondt: dat ick UE bij deselve onder anderen versoght dat U.E. geliefde te besorgen dat ick voldaan wierd van de onkosten die door mij in t proces tegens den H.^r Wingendorp, voor uwe [5] reeckeningh, op uw ordre met beloften van vergoedinge gemaect zijn. Ofte, bij gebreck van dien dat het U.E. moght geheven mij wat nader, te laten weeten de redenen en maght die U.E. hadde, t zij omse heel niet te betalen, t zij omse niet te betalen dan onder dese of gene conditie. [9] Mij daght en ick twijffelde niet, wetende met wie ick te doen hadd', [10] en kennende mijn reght tot het geen ick van U eijschte, of U.E. [11] soude mij het eerste niet hebben geweijgert, 'k laet staen het laeste. [12] Dogh dewijl ick, tot mijn grootste verworderingh, van U.E. nogh het een aengaende nogh het ander iets in het alderminste hebb vernomen, so gelieft niet quaedt te vinden dat ick U.E.^t nogh [15] eenmael bijkom', en door een ander daar over aenspreeck'. [16] Ghij siet, Mijn Heer, bij de onderstaende memorie wat UE mij verschuldicht zijt, t gelieve UE dan eijndelick ¶{...}¶ mij te voldoen, en den inhoud daer van, op t vertoogh van mijn wisselbrief aen de ordre van de H.^r Ostome te betalen: of so niet sodanigh [20] een antwoord te geven waer bij ick eenmael magh weeten wat ick van U.E. hebb' te waghten, en wat dat de redenen verte [34v] zijn die U.E. tot so te doen bewegen: 'k Wil hopen dat ick deselve vinden sal overeenkomende met de gerechtigheijt en met de waerheijt, die blijve

Mijn Heer

Leijden dese 20 Junij 1684

UE^{ts} Seer ootmoedige dienaer

224 Strazzoni 2019, 17–21.

225 It was sold after Hermann's death: Hermann 1711.

226 Siet daer] [33r] Copije / Eidem, / Siet daar

Specificatie van d'onkosten door Daniel de Hoest voor reeck.
van de H.^r Thevenot verschoten en gemaect in desselfs
proces jegens Herman van Wingendorp.

1681. 22 Octob. betaelt aen de Notaris Pieter van Scherpenbrant voor de procuratie op zijn Vader
den Procureur Schepenbrant. . . . f 1:16

1682. 14 Januarij aen de Notaris Engel van Haastenraadt voor de gedane insinuaties aen H:
Wingendorp, geleverde Zegels, als anders . f 8:14

1683. 2 Julij aen den Advocaet Adriaen Thielen . . . f 100:16

aen de Procureur Cornelis van Scherpenbrant . . f 53:9

Port van negen brieven an Parijs . . . f 5:8

Belopende tsamen in Holantsch gelt de somme van f 170:5.²²⁸

Commentary

This letter has a copy, by De Hoest's hand, at 33r–v. As discussed above, De Hoest wrote this copy by referring to the copy of letter 31 (at 31r–v), and to the copy of letter 32 – i.e. he most probably wrote these three copies together, using their drafts. Indeed, the copy of the present letter contains a heading (“Eidem,” at 33r) referring to the copies of letters 31 and 32 – as their originals do not have a heading.²²⁹ As to the present letter, I used the original (34r–v) for my transcription, reporting only those variants, with respect to the copy (33r–v), which do not concern punctuation and spelling.

De Hoest writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–8) that many months had passed since his last two letters to him (certainly letters 31 and 32), in which he asked Thévenot to be refunded of the expenses he paid during the course of the trial upon the promise to be reimbursed, or, alternatively, to explain

227 waerheijt, die blijve / Mijn Heer / UE^{ts} Seer ootmoedige dienaer / Daniel de Hoest] [33v] waarheijt. die blijve &c.

228 f 170:5.] f 170:5: / t Opschrift en de onderteeckeningh was van dese als van de vorige brieven.

229 In turn, its closing part refers to the heading and signature of the “previous letters” (“t Opschrift en de onderteeckeningh was van dese als van de vorige brieven”): viz. to the copy of letter 31 (at 31r–v), and to the copy of letter 32. Actually, the closing part of the copy of letter 32 just refers to the signature of the copy of letter 31 (as seen above), but the original of letter 32 was certainly already sent to Thévenot when De Hoest wrote the copy of the present letter.

why he should not pay them (a request rhetorically expressed in letter 32, ll. 21–25). An alternative which De Hoest (ll. 9–11) anyway rejects, as he knows Thévenot, as well as his own rights. Since (ll. 12–15) he did not hear anything from Thévenot, De Hoest asks him if he will not be concerned if he addresses himself to someone else to resolve the issue (namely Ortt, as evident from letter 35). Moreover (ll. 16–), De Hoest reports to be attaching a note of what is owed him, asking to be paid by a bill of exchange at the order of Ostome (mentioned also in letter 3). Or, if Thévenot is not going to pay, to explain why he refuses to do so. The letter is neither addressed nor sealed.

The legal expenses paid by De Hoest are indicated as follows:

22 October 1681: 1 guilder and 16 stuivers paid to the notary Pieter van Scherpenbrant for the procuracy of his father Cornelis (i.e. for the *eijsch*).

14 January 1682: 8 guilders and 14 stuivers paid to the notary Van Haastenraadt for the *insinuatie* against Wingendorp, and for the seals (“geleverde Zegels”).

2 July 1683: 100 guilders and 16 stuivers paid to the lawyer Adriaen Thielen.

After 2 July 1683, as revealed by letter 32: 53 guilders and 9 stuivers paid to the attorney Cornelis van Scherpenbrant.

Moreover, 5 guilders and 8 stuivers were paid for the shipping of 9 letters to Paris.

In total, 170 guilders and 5 stuivers.

• **Letter 35: Ortt to Thévenot, 5 November 1684 (fascicle 25, 42r–43v)**

[42r]

Au château Nyënrode ce 5. Novemb. 1684.

Monsieur

Vous sçavez, qu’il est fâcheux, de se voir soupçonné, quand l’on ne se reproche rien. Je crois, que la [5] conduite, que j’ay tenuë pour ayder à vous faire jouïr du legs, que feû Monsieur de Swammerdan vous a fait, est à couvert de tout reproche; & cependant mes amys m’ont adverti, que vous ne la croyiëz pas fort reguliere. Je sçay, que [10] le siecle, ou nous vivons, est sujet à caution, ainsi j’ay bien voulù imputer vôtre inquiétude, au peu de connoissance que vous avez de mes maximes. Mais il me coûte, que quelque mesintelligence, que j’ay appris, d’être entre [15]

vous & Monsieur de Hoest, fait inutilement languir tous les curieux apres le Traittè, que feu nôtre Amy commun vous a leguè. Vous sçavez, Monsieur, les veuës, que le defunct a euës; vous aimez à faire de bien au public; & vous [20] ne voudriez pas, sans doute, vous reprocher d'avoir [21] manqué au souhait equitable d'un amy mort.

[43r] [22] Le Seigneur de Volder me racontà ces jours passéz, les soins, qu'il a pris, pour vous garantir les avantages de l'impression du Traittè, dont il s'agit. [25] Et le Seigneur de Hoest me fit des plaintes, de ce, que vous remettez a luy randre ce, qu'il a deboursè dans le procez contr le Seig.^r Wingendorf, sous pretext de l'incertitude, ou vous êtez, qu'il be vous rande par quelque impression du dict Traittè, [30] inutile le bien, qu'on vous a donnè. Il croit, qu'on luy doitte reparation d'une injustice, dont il se juge incapable; & soutient, que rien n'autori[missing text] la sujection, à la quelle vous l'avez voulù e[missing text]. Ces sont des diffidences, Monsieur, qui {trasseront} [35] long-temps la volonté du defunct: et s'il m'est \permis/ de m'eriger en conseiller; je crois, que l'equité vous oblige a randre ces qu'on n'a deboursè, que [38] par vôtre ordre. De plus, vous en avez donnè vôtre parole; & vous avez decharge vôtre partië [40] du remboursement, qu'on amy a fait pour vous. Je ne pretends pas, Monsieur, vous prêcher la vertu: mais vous ne me devez pas aussi vouloir du mal de ce, que je m'occupe à oter les obstacles qu'un [42v]²³⁰ qu'un Traittè si rare ne s'imprime; & que vôtre illustre renommée [45] n'en patisse. Il y a long-temps, que je respecte vos merites, et je souffrirois, si on vous fit l'injustice de croire, que vous enviez ¶{...} ce bien au monde, apres l'en avoir comblè de tant d'autres. Je crois, que cette disposition de coeur vous dict en quelque façon, que je ne suis pas indigne, que [50] vous m'agreièz pour

Monsieur.

230 On this page the text begins on the short side of the sheet, i.e. the sheet has been turned counterclockwise by Ortt, who began to write on 42r, continued on another sheet (43r) and then turned back to 42v and turning it. Eventually, he used 43v to write the address.

Ne vous scandaliser pas de la
grosseur du paquet. On a souhaitte
que j’y misse les copies des lettres,
si par malheur, les originaux
vous eussent manquè

Vôtre tres humble & tres obeissant Serviteur
J. Ortt De Nyënrode

[43v]²³¹

A {.} Monsieur

Monsieur Thevenot {...}

sur le quay

a

neuf.

Paris.

Commentary

Ortt writes to Thévenot (ll. 1–21) complaining to have been the object of unjustified suspicions (as seen in letter 28), and deeming his own behaviour irreproachable during the affair, whereas Thévenot found it not completely regular – as some of his friends (whose identity could not be ascertained) reported him. According to Ortt this might have been due to the fact that Thévenot did not know him well: this notwithstanding, he is displeased that the misunderstanding between Thévenot and De Hoest led to the postponement of the publication of the treatise bequested by Swammerdam to Thévenot, and to betray his last will.²³²

Also (ll. 22–30), Ortt reports that De Volder informed him about the measures he took in order to grant Thévenot exclusive publication of the treatise (probably referring to the printing privilege mentioned in letter 30, or, alternatively, to De Hoest’s swearing that he did not act in collusion with Wingendorp or to his promising not to publish the manuscripts, mentioned in letters 30 and 32), while De Hoest complained to him that Thévenot refused to refund the expenses he paid for the trial, with the pretext of his uncertainty that De Hoest “does make useless the good, which has been given you, by some printing of the mentioned treatise” (“il ne vous rande par quelque impression du dict traitté, inutile le bien, qu’on vous a donné”). According to Ortt (ll. 30–38), this refusal is an injustice to De Hoest, who in turn protested his innocence to Ortt, and maintained to be unlawfully under subjection by Thévenot (apparently, that of being obliged not to print Swammerdam’s

231 This page contains one seal, and one mark and an unreadable annotation, apparently by Thévenot.

232 The treatise meant by Ortt might have been that on bees alone: see section 1.2.2.1.2.1.

treatise, as mentioned in letter 32). All this – for Ortt – hinders the fulfilment of Swammerdam’s will (“trasseront long-temps la volonté du defunct” – but the text is hardly readable): so that he recommends that Thévenot just refund De Hoest, to whom, moreover, he had promised to do so. As to himself (ll. 38–), Ortt claims just to be acting in order to speed up the publication of Swammerdam’s treatise.

A post-scriptum reveals that Ortt is attaching to the letter copies of other letters, most probably of letters 31, 32 and 34, as seen in the commentaries on them. The letter is addressed and sealed. On the page of the address (43v) there is a note, apparently by Thévenot’s hand. The annotation is hardly readable, and no meaningful transcription could be provided.

• *Appendix: Guenellon to Thévenot, 22 June 1679 (fascicle 25, 1r–2v)*

[1r]

, 233

Monsieur

Je tacheray de reparer la faute que j’ay commis dans ma precedente, & je vous assure Monsiêur que dans l’avenir [5] je vous rendray un conte exacte de ce qui se passe icy entre ceux ou vous prenez interest. je n’ay garde d’y manquer puisq[ue] cela me pourra procurer l’honneur de vostre correspondance la quelle je ne pouvois pas fournir de [10] mon chef, et que j’entretiendray hereusem.^t [11] par le moyen de mes Amis. Mons.^r Sladus & Mons.^r Elzevier vous saluent je [missing text] Je vous escrivoit par cet ordinaire, tousjour [14] c’est leur pensée. le premier m[']a parlé d’un [15] livre qu[']il a receu de vostre part et dont il vous veut remercier. il est tousjour le grand et le fidele amis de Mons.^r Swammerdam et comme il connoit son foible & et son forte il garde toutes les mesures avec luy qu[']on [20] pouvoit souhaiter pour le bien public. Je tache d’en faire de mesme et suivant son conseil je pouvois bien m’appliquer uniquement a faire l’histoire particuliere des muscles que Mons.^r Steno a laissé au {...}.

[2r] [25] Cette incluse vous dira le particulier de ses occupations. Mons.^r Wolfgang m[']a prié d’inserer dans ma lettre ce petit paquet [[que]] ou [28] vous trouverez ce qu[']il [[{...}]] souhaite de

233 “Jo. Swammerd. habebat potestatem aperiendi cadavera defunctorum in nosocomio Amstelodami, ipsi datam auspiciis C. van Beuningen. Guenellon 16 22/6 79 . Matthaeus Sladus erat ipsi amicissimus, opus studiis, & genio, obsequens, hunc multum apud ipsum valens. Ibid.,” Hist. Nat. 102, fascicle 1, 7r.

vous. [29] je suis ravis qu'[[{i}]] en \France/ la paix fasse esperer [30] de nouveaux progrez dans les sciences. [[icy]] on n'est [[{...}]] parfois heureux icy, ou je trouve les sciences entierement éteintes et l'amour qu'on avoit autrefois a les culteurs ch[[{...}]] angez en haine & mespris. tout est en decadence, [35] particulièrement la medecine & si Mons.^r Swammerdam nous quitte je ne vois pas qui pourra soutenir cette naissante gloire {que} nous avons de contribuer au decouverte[missing text] [39] [missing text] temps. j'oublie a vous dire que j[']ay [40] parlé a Mons.^r de hooze & qu[']il m'a pas [[{eclair}]] esclaire[[{...}]] ci sur vostre doubte, [[{a}]] étant dans la [42] pensée de vous en escrire luy mesme: vous me marquez plusieurs autres personnes dans vostre lettre au quels je n'ay pas parlé & que [45] je ne connois presq[ue] que par reputation. Croyez cependant Monsieur que je suis avec le dernier respect

[[{V}]]

Vostre tres humble & tres obeissant[missing text]

d'Amsterdam ce 22 juin 1679.

Guenellon

[1v]²³⁴ [46] Comme j[']ai acheve cette lettre. Mons.^r Swammerdam me fait l'honneur de m[missing text] venir voir, et me conseille de prendre la liberté de vous supplier de vouloir me gratifier avec une petite lettre de recommandation a [50] Mons.^r van Beuningen comme si vous me l'aviez donnée en partant de Paris et mentionnant les {...} anatomiques que j[']ay fait a Paris et combien je travaille a me perfectionner dans cet estude & que vous le suppliez de me favoriser de son pouvoir. ce seroit Mons.^r pour [55] chercher d'obtenir privilege, (comme Mons.^r Swammerdam l'a receu par son moyen) d'[[{o}]] ouvrir et examiner les corps qui meurent a l'hospital. qui est aussi l'unique moyen d'augmenter le zele que j[']ay a continuer le travail que [59] j[']ay commencé. je vous supplier Mons.^r de me pardonner si [60] j'ose vous estre si importun. Mais ce sera une grace si importante que je la reconnoistrois toute ma vie. [[& que je]] \ainsy/ [[{vera}]] Mons.^r [[{vous reconnoistrois}]] \vous/ serez la cause du progrez de mes estudes comme vous l'avez esté de sa naissance. Mons.^r van Beuningen sera icy demain j'attend donc vostre faveur par le [65] premier ordinaire. //²³⁵

Mon adresse est

{Sur} le keysers gra{e}t by de {wolve} straet

[2v]²³⁶

Monsieur

234 On this page the text begins on the short side of the sheet, i.e. the sheet has been turned counterclockwise by Guenellon, who began to write on 1r, continued on another sheet (2r) and then went back to 1v turning it, and using it for his post-scriptum. He used 2v to write the address.

235 This is a separation mark.

236 This page contains three seals and one mark, apparently by Thévenot.

Monsieur Thevenot
rue S.^t Martin au coin de
celle des vieilles estuves.
A Paris

Commentary

This letter is the first of the extant correspondence between Guenellon and Thévenot.²³⁷ Guenellon reports (ll. 1–11) to have made a mistake in his previous letter, but that he will provide Thévenot with a report about what is going on with the people he asked about. This will give him the occasion to correspond with Thévenot himself, with the intermediation of his friends (certainly including Swammerdam). Also, (ll. 11–14) Guenellon reports the greetings of Mr. Sladus and Mr. Elzevier (namely the physician Matthaeus Sladus, and probably Daniel Elsevier, 1626–1680, based at Amsterdam).²³⁸ Sladus is reported (ll. 14–28) to have received the book Thévenot sent him, and to be a great friend of Swammerdam,²³⁹ as well as having suggested that Guenellon focus on the natural-historical study of muscles, a project which – according to the scarcely readable text – Steno left incomplete.²⁴⁰ Sladus’s activities, moreover, are the subjects of a letter (apparently by Sladus himself, and now lost) attached to the present one, which also included a small package from the publisher Abraham Wolfgang (1634–1694), reporting his requests for Thévenot.

Next (ll. 29–39), Guenellon shows his happiness for the peace in France, which will favour the progress of science, probably referring to the end of the Franco-Dutch War (1672–1678). He complains, in turn, of the situation in Holland (in some scarcely readable lines): apparently both in

237 The others are the two letters of Guenellon published by Lindeboom (dating to January or February and 16 February 1680), and letter 3 in the present book (23 January 1681).

238 On him, see Davies 1954, chapter 6. He is mentioned in Swammerdam 1975, letters 2 (15 October 1665), 11 (4 November 1677), and 23 (7 July 1678).

239 Sladus is mentioned in no less than 14 of Swammerdam’s letters to Thévenot (in Swammerdam 1975). Moreover, he was a close friend of De Volder: Strazzoni 2019, 14–15. See also *supra*, section 1, n. 300, and section 2, n. 233.

240 Actually, Steno published his *De musculis et glandulis observationum specimen* in 1664 and his *Elementorum myologiae specimen, seu musculi descriptio geometrica* in 1667, so that Sladus probably invited Guenellon to write a more comprehensive description of muscles than that of Steno. In his letter to Thévenot of the end of November 1678 (Swammerdam 1975, letter 28), Swammerdam criticized Guenellon’s observation of cavities in muscular fibres: according to Swammerdam, indeed, muscles do not have any cavities (as far as frogs are concerned) and dilate only by a violent movement or *contra naturam*, and announces that he is writing a treatise about this. As to this, Swammerdam criticizes a Cartesian theory of muscular movement, according to which muscles are dilated by natural spirits as they move. According to a letter of Steno to Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) of 18 July 1675, Swammerdam had already prepared, and then destroyed, a treatise criticizing this theory, on an experimental basis and using the muscle of a frog. Of this, only some figures, sent by Steno in his letter, survived: Steno 1952, 306 (letter 106). Eventually, Swammerdam’s criticism to the Cartesian theory was published in the *Biblia naturae*, viz. as his *Tractatus singularis de rana et huius gyrino* (Swammerdam 1737–1738, 789–860). See Kardel 1994, 16–17.

civil society and in the sciences, in particular in medicine, Swammerdam being the only one who can contribute to its glory. Also (ll. 39–42), Guenellon reports that he forgot to communicate to Thévenot that he talked with “Mr. De Hooge,” who, however, did not want to clarify the doubt Thévenot proposed to him, and preferred to write directly to Thévenot about it. The reference is most probably to Romeijn de Hooghe, an acquaintance of Swammerdam and maybe the engraver of the plates of his 1669 *Historia insectorum*.²⁴¹ Moreover, De Hooghe was most probably initially involved in the engraving of the plates of Swammerdam’s *Histoire naturelle du Cancellus ou Bernard l’hermite*, published by Thévenot in 1681.²⁴² Notably, Swammerdam did not want Guenellon to know about his *Cancellus*,²⁴³ so that the refusal of De Hooghe to talk about Thévenot’s request with Guenellon might have been motivated by this. Eventually (ll. 42–), Guenellon reports that Thévenot wrote to him about other people, who, however, he does not know personally.

In the long post-scriptum, Guenellon declares (ll. 46–59) that after having finished writing his letter, Swammerdam paid him a visit, and suggested he ask Thévenot to write a letter of recommendation for him to Van Beuningen. This letter should be written as if it was given to Guenellon when was leaving Paris (which happened earlier in 1679),²⁴⁴ moreover, it should (apparently) mention the anatomical observations made there by Guenellon, praise his skills, and beg Van Beuningen to favour him, allowing him – as he did for Swammerdam – to dissect corpses at the hospital, so that he can continue his anatomical activities.²⁴⁵ In thanking Thévenot (ll. 59–), and declaring that he has been responsible for the beginning of his studies – certainly referring to his activities at the Charité hospital at Paris²⁴⁶ – Guenellon informs him that Van Beuningen will be at Amsterdam the following day, so that he awaits Thévenot’s letter with the first post, and communicates to him his address.²⁴⁷ The letter is addressed and sealed.

241 See *supra*, section 2, n. 25.

242 According to Swammerdam’s letter to Thévenot of 30 March 1678, he went to an engraver to arrange for their engraving (estimated at 10–12 ducats for all of them, on one plate), and notes that the figures of this treatise can be re-used for the (big) treatise on insects, where they will occupy one plate (as in the 1737–1738 edition), and that alternatively they can be engraved in Paris (Swammerdam 1975, letter 18 (30 March 1678)). This engraver was probably De Hooghe, because according to the same letter this engraver engraved a figure for Bartholin: notably, De Hooghe engraved the frontispiece of the 1678 edition of Thomas Bartholin’s *De unicornu observationes novae* (first edition 1645). In any case, according to Swammerdam’s letter of 28 April 1678, he was still waiting for these plates and their prints (Swammerdam 1975, letter 20), while in a letter of 11 August 1678 he asked Thévenot if the *Cancellus* had been published (Swammerdam 1975, letter 25). In an undated letter of the same year and in a letter of 1 June 1679 he asked Thévenot to receive the figures of the *Cancellus* (Swammerdam 1975, respectively letters 29 and 35). So that ultimately Thévenot might have them engraved in Paris.

243 Swammerdam 1975, letter 21 (May 1678).

244 See *supra*, section 2, n. 40.

245 See *supra*, section 1, n. 40, and section 2, n. 40.

246 See *supra*, section 2, n. 40.

247 It is unclear whether Thévenot sent him this letter immediately: in a letter to him dating to September 1679

(Swammerdam 1975, letter 37), Swammerdam reports that he and Guenellon were anxious about knowing whether Thévenot received their letter (written 4 weeks before, i.e. in August 1679), answering either to a letter of Thévenot of 4 August, in which Thévenot declared he was anxious about a letter of his to Van Beuningen, or (as the text is not very clear), to this letter for Van Beuningen. In a subsequent letter Swammerdam communicated to Thévenot that in his previous letter he reported that the letter to Van Beuningen had been received (so that the previous letter could have been letter 37, and Guenellon and Swammerdam might have replied to Thévenot on Van Beuningen's behalf): Swammerdam 1975, letter 38 (autumn 1679). At the end of the letter of September 1679, however, Swammerdam reports that, according to Guenellon, Thévenot did not provide his address correctly, so Thévenot's letters (*sic*) cannot be delivered properly; a doubt raised by Guenellon himself also in his first letter on Swammerdam's illness (January or February 1680: Swammerdam 1975, 165). Therefore (as suggested by Lindeboom in his commentary on letter 37) Thévenot might have just been ignoring Guenellon's request. In his second letter on Swammerdam's illness (16 February 1680), in turn, Guenellon reports that Van Beuningen is the "managing burgomaster" ("bourgemaistre regent") of Amsterdam, so that he has full power to help him: Swammerdam 1975, 167–168. Eventually, his appointment at the hospital took place in summer 1680. See Kooijmans 2011, 87 and 157. See also letter 3. A letter of, apparently, De Hoest for Van Beuningen, dating to 1681 and of unspecified contents, is mentioned in letter 10.

Table 1: Overview of the plates of Swammerdam's *Biblia naturae*

Treatise	Plate number	Appeared in Swammerdam's <i>Historia insectorum</i> (1669)	Appeared in Swammerdam's <i>Ephemerari vita</i> (1675) and/or Thévenot's <i>Recueil</i> (1681)	Extant at Göttingen	Extant at Leiden as drawings or collages of drawings and prints	Engraved by Van der Spyck	36 plates received by Boerhaave (not engraved by Van der Spyck)	Extant at Leiden as a prints of plates engraved by Van der Spyck	Extant at Leiden as prints of the 36 plates	Notes
Louse	1	X			X	X				
	2				X		X			Absent at Göttingen, but not engraved by Van der Spyck, i.e. it was certainly among the 36 already engraved plates.
Scorpions	3	Figures 1–3			X	X				
Water scorpions		Figures 4–9								

Snails	4		X		X	X	
	5		X		X	X	
	6		X		X		
	7		X	X	X	X	
	8		X		X	X	A proof of printing of the plate, extant at Göttingen, contains handwritten annotations by Thévenot.
	9		X		X	X	
Snails	10	Figures 1–7	X		X	X	
Sea mouse		Figures 8–16					
Snails	11	Figure 1	X	X	X		Extant at Leiden as collage of prints from the 1681 edition, probably because
Hermit crab		Figures 1–11					,

							<p>although h already printed in 1681, it was related to a manusc ript rather than a publish ed treatise (the 1681 edition was just an abridge ment). Figure i.e. plate 6 from this edition is extant at Götting en.</p>
Dragon fly	12	X		X	X		
Mayfly	13		X		X	X	<p>Engrav ed by Van der Spyck on the basis, apparen tly, of the prints of the 1675 edition.</p>

						The original drawings are lost.
						Engraved by Van der Spyck probably on the basis of the original drawing extant at Leiden.
						As for plate 13.
Ant	16	X		X	X	
Bees	17		X	X		X
	18		X	X		X
	19		X	X		X
	20		X	X		X
	21		X	X		X
	22		X			X
	23		X	X		X
	24		X	X		X
	25		X	X		X
	26		X	X		X
Rhinoceros beetle	27		X	X		X
	28		X	X		X
	29		X	X		X
	30		X	X		X
Water flea	31	Fig X ure s 1– 3		X	X	
Mosqui	Fig					

to		ure s 4— 8				
Mosqui to	32	X		X	X	
Moth	33	X		X	X	
Butterfl y	34		X	X		X
	35		X	X		X
	36		X	X		X
Presenc e of the butterfl y in the larva	37	X		X	X	
Fly	38	X		X	X	
Horsefl y	39	X		X	X	
	40		X	X		X
	41		X	X		X
	42		X	X		X
Cheese mite	43		X	X	X	

Present
at
Götting
en in
the
form of
5
differen
t plates,
corresp
onding
to the
number
ing
given
in the
letter-
treatise
sent by
Swam
merda
m to
Théven
ot in
1678,

							of which Thévenot started to organize the publication. The figures were re-engraved by Van der Spyck, so that the first copperplates probably went missing and were not among the 36 plates.
Insects	44		X	X		X	
of	45		X	X		X	
fruits,							
tubercles and							
leaves							
Frog	46	X	X		X	X	Extant at Leiden as the print of a plate engraved by Van der Spyck, as Boerha

					ave receive d from France only an old print from the 1669 edition. Extant at Götting en as a print from this edition.
	47	X	X		X
	48	X	X		X
	49	X	X		X
Cuttlefi	50	X	X		X
sh	51	X	X		X
	52	X	X		X
Fern	53	X	X	X	
spores					As in the case of the figures of the cheese mite, the plate (the print of which contain s annotati ons by Théven ot) was engrave d twice: for Théven

ot and
for
Boerha
ave.
Therefo
re, the
copperp
late
was
not,
apparen
tly,
among
the 36
plates.

Table 2: Overview of the additions to Swammerdam's *Historia insectorum* as envisaged for his *Biblia naturae*

Pages of Swammerdam's <i>Historia insectorum</i> (1669 edition) and corresponding folios from BPL 126 C I	New treatises and corresponding folios from BPL 126 C I–III	Corresponding pages and order of treatises of Swammerdam's <i>Biblia naturae</i>
1–8 (unnumbered, <i>Noodig Beright aan den Waarheid Beiverende Leeser</i> and <i>Elegia in honorem D. Johannis Swammerdami</i>) (= 1r–9v); 1–74 and 81–85 (10r–61r)		1–4 (unnumbered, contents as in Swammerdam's <i>Historia insectorum</i>) and 1–63.
	Louse (BPL 126 C II, 5r–30v; the explanation of the figures is at 31r–35v)	63–85 (I)
	Water flea (BPL 126 C II, 37r–39v; the explanation of the figures is at 39v–40v)	86–89 (II)
79–81 (57r–58r)		89–91 (continuation of the treatise on the water flea)
	Scorpions (BPL 126 C II, 41r–44v; the explanation of the figures is at 44v)	92–96 (III)
	Snails (BPL 126 C II, 45r–129r; the explanation of the figures, which is partial, is at 96v, 120v, 125v, and 129v–136v)	97–194 (IV)
	Hermit crab (BPL 126 C II, 137r–148v; the explanation of the figures is at 148v–150v)	94–208 (V)
85–99 (61r–70v and 84r)		209–220
	Dragonfly (BPL 126 C I, 71r–77r; a separate explanation of the figures was not provided by Swammerdam)	220–228 (VI)
	Water scorpions (BPL 126 C I, 77v–82r; the explanation of the figures is at 82r–83v)	229–233 (VII)
	Mayfly	234–270 (VIII)
99–127 (84r–96r)		
	Ant (BPL 126 C I, 103r–112v; a separate explanation of the	217–296 (IX)

	figures was not provided by Swammerdam)	
	Bees (BPL 126 C II, 207r–335v; the manuscript of the explanation of the figures is lost)	367–550 (XII)
	Rhinoceros beetle (BPL 126 C II, 151r–186r; the explanation of the figures is at 187r–194r)	300–347 (X)
	Mosquito (BPL 126 C II, 195r–205r; the explanation of the figures is at 205r–206v)	348–362 (XI)
128–138 (97v–102v and 113r–v)		551–560
	Moth (BPL 126 C I, 114r–121v; a separate explanation of the figures was not provided by Swammerdam)	560–570 (XIII)
	Butterfly (BPL 126 C III, 5r–35r; the explanation of the figures is at 35v–42r)	571–602 (XIV)
	Presence of the butterfly in the larva (BPL 126 C III, 43r–52v; the explanation of the figures is at 52v–54r)	603–616 (XV)
139–157 (122r–139r)		617–637
	Fly (BPL 126 C III, 55r–62v; a separate explanation of the figures was not provided by Swammerdam)	637–648 (XVI)
	Horsefly (BPL 126 C II, 65r–100r; the explanation of the figures is at 100r–106v)	649–694 (XVII)
	Cheese mite (BPL 126 C III, 144r–166v; the explanation of the figures is at 167r–169r)	695–722 (XVIII)
	Insects of fruits, tubercles and leaves (BPL 126 C III, 170r–189v; the explanation of the figures is at 189v–216v)	723–788 (XIX)
	Frog (BPL 126 C III, 217r–266r; the explanation of the figures is at 266r–269v)	789–860 (XX)
38–40 (appendix) (140v–141v)		861–863

161–168 and 5–10 and 49
(appendix) (142r–149r)

864–875

Cuttlefish (BPL 126 C III,
270r–290r; the explanation of
the figures is at 290v–295r)

876–902 (XXI)

Sea mouse (BPL 126 C III,
297r–299v; the explanation of
the figures is at 299v–300v)

902–906 (XXII)

Fern spores (manuscript lost)

906–910 (XXIII)

Bibliography

Handwritten sources

Amsterdam, Stadsarchief:

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 462, 464, 493, 508, 1092, and 1131

Arnhem, Gelders Archief:

archieffnummer 0176, inventarisnummer 828.2

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale:

Gal. 280, doc. 51

Haarlem, Teylers Museum:

L 00120 hs

Halle, Franckesche Stiftungen, Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Archiv und Bibliothek, Hauptarchiv:

AFSt/H C 84

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek:

2° Cod. Ms. Hist. Nat. 102

Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken:

archieffnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1267, 1319, 1325, and 6611

archieffnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 540, 541, 622, 780, 841, 916, 1034, 1194, 1243, and 1350

archieffnummer 0508, inventarisnummer 44L and 44M

archieffnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20087, 20088, 20090, 20091, and 20094–20101

archieffnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 7, 8, 10, 13, 17, 22, 25, 224, 232, 236, 237, and 280

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek:

AC (Archieven Universiteit Leiden: Curatoren, 1574–1815) 44.

BPL 126 B

BPL 126 C I–III

MS Leiden Or. 51

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

Mss. Sherard 44–201

Paris, Académie des Sciences:

Fonds Réaumur 69J, dossier 35

Paris, Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle:

MS 1764

Washington, Smithsonian Libraries and Archives, Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History:

QL362 .S96c folio

Printed sources

Van der Aa, Pieter. 1712. *Les délices de Leide: une des célèbres villes de l'Europe; le tout enrichi de tailles douces*. Leiden: Chez Pierre van der Aa.

Abou-Nemeh, S. Catherine. 2013. "The Natural Philosopher and the Microscope: Nicolas Hartsoeker Unravels Nature's 'Admirable Œconomy'." *History of Science* 51(1): 1–32.

Allard, Herman Jozef Petrus Hugo. 1885. *Petrus Golijs of Celestinus a S. Liduina*. Utrecht: P. W. van der Weijer.

Allen, D. E. 2008. "Sherard, William (1659–1728), Botanist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25355. Accessed 15 February 2022.

Van Andel, Tinde. 2018. "Paul Hermann's Ceylon *Herbarium* (1672–1679) at Leiden, the Netherlands." *Botanical History* 67(5): 977–988.

Antoine-Mahut, Delphine. 2016. "The Story of *L'Homme*." *Descartes' Treatise on Man and Its Reception*, ed. Delphine Antoine-Mahut and Stephen Gaukroger, 1–32. Cham: Springer.

Augustine of Hippo. 1576–1577. *Opera [...] per theologos Lovanienses ex manuscriptis codicibus multo labore emendata*. Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini.

Augustine of Hippo. 1646. *XXII boecken vande stadt Gods*. Amsterdam: Voor Ioost Hartgers.

Augustine of Hippo. 1660–1661. *XXII boecken vande stadt Gods*. Amsterdam: By Abraham de Wees.

Augustine of Hippo. 1679–1700. *Operum tomus primus[–undecimus] post Lovaniensium theologorum recensionem [...], opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S.*

Mauri. Paris: Excudebat Franciscus Muguet.

De Baar, Mirjam. 2003. *'Ik moet spreken'. Het spiritueel leiderschap van Antoinette Bourignon (1616-1680)*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.

Baldaeus, Philippus. 1672. *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel, derzelver aangrenzende ryken, en het machtige eyland Ceylon*. Amsterdam: By Johannes Janssonius van Waasberge, en Johannes van Someren.

Bartholin, Caspar. 1611. *Anatomicae institutiones corporis humani utriusque sexus historiam et declarationem exhibentes*. S.l. (Wittenberg): Apud Bechtoldum Raaben.

Bartholin, Thomas. 1678. *De unicornu observationes novae*. Amsterdam: Apud Henr. Wetstenium. First edition 1645.

Bartholin, Thomas. 1686. *Anatome ex omnium veterum recentiorumque observationibus inprimis Institutionibus b. m. parentis Caspari Bartholini: ad circulationem Harveianam, et vasa lymphatica quintum renovata: cum iconibus novis, et indicibus*. Leiden: Apud Jacobum Hackium.

Bartholin, Thomas. 1740. *Epistolarum medicinalium a doctis vel ad doctos scriptarum centuriae*. The Hague: Apud Petrum Gosse. First edition 1667.

Bell, Arthur. 1950. *Christian Huygens and the Development of Science in the Seventeenth Century*. London: Arnold.

Benucci, Elisabetta. 2008. *Galileo e l'universo dei suoi libri*. Florence: Vallecchi.

Van Berkel, Klaas, Van Helden, Albert, and Palm, Lodewijk (Eds.). 1999. *A History of Science in the Netherlands: Surveys, Themes and Reference*. Leiden: Brill.

Blankaart, Steven. 1688. *Schou-Burg der rupsen, wormen, maden en vliegende dierkens*. Amsterdam: By Jan ten Hoorn.

Blasius, Gerard. 1681. *Anatome animalium, terrestrium variorum, volatiliū, aquatiliū, serpentum, insectorum, ovorumque, structuram naturalem [...] proponens*. Amsterdam: Sumptibus viduae Joannis a Someren, Henrici et viduae Theodori Boom.

Blok, Frans Felix. 1949. *Nicolaas Heinsius in dienst van Christina van Zweden*. Delft: Ursulapers.

Boerhaave, Hermann. 1737. "Vita D. Joannis Swammerdammi/Het leven van den heer Jan Swammerdam." In Swammerdam, Johannes. 1737–1738. *Bybel der natuure of Historie der insecten/Biblia naturae sive Historia insectorum*, ed. Hermann Boerhaave, trans. Hieronymus David Gaubius, volume 1, 9–43 (unnumbered). Leiden: By Isaak Severinus, Boudewyn vander Aa,

Pieter vander Aa.

Boerhaave, Hermann. 1962–1979. *Boerhaave's Correspondence*, ed. Gerrit Arie Lindeboom. Leiden: Brill.

Bolt, Marvin, Cocquyt, Tiemen, and Korey, Michael. 2018. "Johannes Hudde and His Flameworked Microscope Lenses." *Journal of Glass Studies* 60: 207–222.

Borch, Ole. 1983. *Olai Borrichii Itinerarium 1660–1665. The Journal of the Danish Polyhistor Ole Borch*, ed. Henrik D. Schepelern. Copenhagen-London: The Danish Society of Language and Literature.

Boyle, Robert. 1680. *The Aerial Noctiluca, or, Some New Phenomena and a Process of a Factitious Self-Shining Substance: Imparted in a Letter to a Friend Living in the Country*. London: Printed by Tho. Snowden.

Boyle, Robert. 2001. *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio, and Lawrence M. Principe. London: Pickering & Chatto.

Brink, Trolis Nielson. 1681. *Beschryvinge van de artillerye: leerende in 't korte alle 't geene dat tot de beginselen en fondamenten van nooden is [...] in ordre gestelt en met figuren versien, en seer klaer en kort beschreven voor alle lief-hebbers*. The Hague: By Gerrit Rammazeyn.

Brugmans, Anton. 1785. "Specimen mechanicae veterum per mechanicam recentiore plenius expositum." *Societatis Regiae Scientiarum Gottingensi* 7: 75–88.

Buning, Marius. 2019. "Privileging the Common Good: the Moral Economy of Printing Privileges in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic." *Buying and Selling*, ed. Shanti Graheli, 88–108. Leiden: Brill.

Carteret, Xavier, and Hamonou-Mahieu, Aline. 2013. *Les dessins de champignons de Claude Aubriet/The Drawings of Mushrooms by Claude Aubriet*. Paris: Publications scientifiques du Muséum.

Chabbert, Pierre. 1970. "Jacques Borelly: Membre de l'Académie Royale des Sciences." *Revue d'histoire des sciences* 23: 203–227.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. 1669. *De officiis libri tres. Item Cato M. vel De senectute, Laelius vel De amicitia, Paradoxa Stoicorum sex, Somnium Scipionis*. S.l. (Amsterdam): Apud Henricum et Theod. Boom.

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. 1676–1677. *Epistolarum libri XVI ad familiares*, ed. Joannes Georgius

- Graevius. Amsterdam-Leiden: Apud Danielem Elsevirium, P. J. et Corn. Hackios.
- Clarke, Adam. 1802–1806. *A Bibliographical Dictionary: Containing a Chronological Account, Alphabetically Arranged, of the Most Curious, Scarce, Useful, and Important Books, in All Departments of Literature*. M. W. Baynes.
- De Clercq, Peter. 1997a. *At the Sign of the Oriental Lamp. The Musschenbroek Workshop in Leiden, 1660–1750*. Rotterdam: Erasmus Publishing.
- De Clercq, Peter. 1997b. *The Leiden Cabinet of Physics. A Descriptive Catalogue*. Leiden: Museum Boerhaave.
- Cobb, Matthew. 2000. “Reading and Writing The Book of Nature: Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680).” *Endeavour* 24(3): 122–128.
- Cobb, Matthew, and Davidson, Michael W. 2001. “Jan Swammerdam Single Lens Microscope.” <https://micro.magnet.fsu.edu/primer/museum/swammerdam1670s.html>. Accessed 15 February 2022.
- Commelin, Caspar (Ed.). 1667. *Observationes anatomicae selectiores Collegii privati Amstelodamensis, figuris aliquot illustratae*. Amsterdam: Apud Casparum Commelinum.
- Commelin, Caspar (Ed.). 1673. *Observationum anatomicarum Collegii privati Amstelodamensis pars altera, in quibus praecipue de piscium pancreate eiusque succo agitur, figuris elegantioribus illustrata*. Amsterdam: Apud Casparum Commelinum.
- De la Court, Pieter. 1669. *Aanwysing der heilsame politike gronden en maximen van de Republike van Holland en West-Vriesland*. Leiden-Rotterdam: By Hakkens.
- Davies, David William. 1954. *The World of the Elseviers 1580–1712*. Westport: Greenwood.
- Delaulne, Florentin, and Delaulne, Pierre. 1694. *Bibliotheca Thevenotiana sive Catalogus impressorum et manuscriptorum librorum bibliothecae viri clarissimi D. Melchisedecis Thevenot*. Paris: Apud Florentinum et Petrum Delaulne.
- Denny, Henry. 1842. *Monographia Anoplurorum Britanniae, or, An Essay on the British Species of Parasitic Insects Belonging to the Order of Anoplura of Leach*. London: H. G. Bohn.
- Descartes, René. 1641. *Meditationes de prima philosophia, in qua Dei existentia et animae immortalitas demonstrantur*. Paris: Apud Michaellem Soly.
- Descartes, René. 1644. *Principia philosophiae*. Amsterdam: Apud Ludovicum Elzevirium.
- Descartes, René. 1662. *De homine figuris et latinitate donatus*, trans. Florentius Schuyt. Leiden:

Apud Petrum Leffen et Franciscum Moyardum.

Descartes, René, Cordemoy, Géraud de, and Rohault, Jacques. 1664. *Le monde [...] ou le Traité de la lumière, et des autres principaux objets des sens. Avec un discours de l'action des corps et un autre des fièvres*. Paris: Chez Michel Bobin & Nicolas Le Gras-Chez Jacques Le Gras-Chez Theodore Girard.

Descartes, René, and La Forge, Louis de. 1664. *L'homme [...] et un Traité de la formation du foetus*, ed. Claude Clerselier. Paris: Chez Charles Angot.

Dew, Nicholas. 2006. "Reading Travels in the Culture of Curiosity: Thévenot's Collection of Voyages." *Journal of Early Modern History* 10(1–2): 39–59.

Dew, Nicholas. 2011. *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Driehuysen, Cornelius. 1668. *Catalogus rarissimorum librorum et instrumentorum mathematicorum [...] Samuelis Caroli Kechelii ab Hollensteyn*. Leiden: Ex officina Cornelii Driehuysen.

Duclos, R. 1790. *Dictionnaire bibliographique, historique et critique des livres rares, précieux, singuliers, curieux, estimés et recherchés qui n'ont aucun prix fixe, tant des auteurs connus que de ceux qui ne le sont pas, soit manuscrits, avant & depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie*. Paris: Chez Cailleau et fils.

Elsevier, Abraham. 1668. *Catalogus insignium in omni facultate linguisque Arabica, Persica, Turcica, Chinensi etc. librorum manuscriptorum, quos Jacobus Golius [...] collegit*. Leiden: Apud viduam et haeredes Joannis Elsevirii.

Engel, Hendrik. 1950. "Records on Jan Swammerdam in the Amsterdam Archives." *Centaurus* 1: 143–155.

Engels, M. H. H. 2012. "Aeneas Menelai / Menelaides (* 1623 - † na 1667), zeer geleerd en reislustig." *MpaginaE*. <http://www.mpaginae.nl/At/AeneasMenelaides.htm#AM>. Accessed 15 February 2022.

Van Epen, Didericus Gijsbertus (Ed.). 1924. *Nederland's patriciaat*, volume 14. The Hague: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie.

Ferriello, Giuseppina, et al. (Eds.). *The Baroukos and the Mechanics of Heron*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.

Fournier, Marian. 1990. "The Book of Nature: Jan Swammerdam's Microscopical Investigations."

Tractrix: Yearbook for the History of Science, Medicine, Technology and Mathematics 2: 1–24.

Francius, Petrus. 1697. *Poemata*. Amsterdam: Apud Henr. Wetstenium.

Frederiks, Johannes Godefridus. 1892. “Belangrijke auctiën in vroeger tijd. 6. De bibliotheek van professor Golius (1668).” *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel* 5: 270–338.

Gagnebin, Ferdinand Henri. 1888. *Liste des Églises wallonnes des Pays-Bas et des pasteurs qui les ont desservies*. Leiden: s.n.

Galilei, Galileo. 1638. *Discorsi e dimostrazioni matematiche, intorno a due nuove scienze attenenti alla meccanica et i movimenti locali*. Leiden: Appresso gli Elsevirii.

Gisselquist, Orloue N. 1968. *The French Ambassador, Jean Antoine de Mesmes, Comte D’Avaux, and French Diplomacy at The Hague, 1678–1684*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. Doctoral dissertation.

Goedaert, Johannes. 1662–1669. *Metamorphosis et historia naturalis insectorum*. Middelburg: Apud Jacobum Fierensium.

Van Goinga, Hannie. 1993. “Een blik op de praktijk van de nederlandse boekhandel omstreeks 1785: Christoffel Frederik Koenig, uitgever van volksblaadjes, Leiden 1782-1786.” *De Achttiende Eeuw* 25: 39–72.

Graevius, Johannes Georgius. 1701. *Catalogus bibliothecae [...] libris, magno studio, dilectu et sumptu quaesitis, instructissimae, a Joanne de Witt*. Dordrecht: Apud Theodorum Goris et Joannem van Braam.

Grässe, Johann Georg Theodor. 1859–1869. *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou, Nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*. Dresden: Rudolf Kuntze.

Gronovius, Jakob. 1709. *Burcheri de Volder laudatio*. Leiden: Apud Cornelium Boutestein.

Grose, Clyde Leclare. 1924. “The Anglo-Dutch Alliance of 1678.” *The English Historical Review* 39(155): 349–372.

Guenellon, Pieter. 1680. *Epistolica dissertatio de genuina medicinam instituendi ratione*. Amsterdam: Apud Adrianum a Gaasbeek.

Guide, Philippe. 1684. *Experience de la vertu singuliere du vin rouge, pour guerir la retention d’urine*. London: Printed by M. F.

Hack, Cornelis, and Lopez de Haro, Felix. 1668. *Catalogus instructissimae in omni facultate*

materia ac lingua bibliothecae [...] Jacobi Golii. Leiden: Apud Cornelium Hackium et Felicem Loopes de Haro.

Hagen, Christiaan. 1670. *Lugdunum Batavorum Anno 1670*. S.l. (Leiden): s.n.

Hagen, Hermann August. 1862–1863. *Bibliotheca entomologica: Die Litteratur über das ganze Gebiet der Entomologie, bis zum Jahre 1862*. Leipzig: W. Engelmann.

Heniger, Johannes. 1986. *Hendrik Adriaan van Reed tot Drakestein 1636–1691 and Hortus Malabaricus: A Contribution to the History of Dutch Colonial Botany*. Rotterdam: Balkema Publishers.

Henkel, Max Ditmar. “Spyck, Johannes van der.” *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Hans Vollmer, volume 31, 419. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann.

Hermann, Paul. 1711. *Catalogus Musei Indici continens varia exotica*. Leiden: Apud Joh. du Vivie.

De Hoest, Daniel. 1670. *Disputatio medica inauguralis de vomitu*. Leiden: Apud viduam et haeredes Joannis Elsevirii.

De Hoest, Nicolaas. 1689. *Disputatio medica inauguralis de sputo sanguinis*. Leiden: Apud Abrahamum Elzevier.

Hoffman, Johann Moritz, Van Horne, Johannes, and Swammerdam, Johannes. 1685. *Dissertationes anatomico-physiologicae, ad [...] D. Johannis van Horne [...] Microcosmum; seu, Brevem manuductionem ad historiam corporis humani annotatae, et experimentis atque observationibus recentioribus illustratae, annexa*. Altdorf bei Nürnberg: Typis Henrici Meyeri.

Hollstein, Friedrich, et al. (Eds.). 1949–2010. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts c. 1450–1700*. Amsterdam: Hertzberger.

Honkoop, Abraham, and Honkoop, Jan. 1684. *Naamwijzer, waar in vertoond werden de naamen van de edel achtbare heeren regenten der stad Leyden. Anno 1684*. Leiden: By A. T.

Horn, Walther, and Schenkling, Sigmund. 1928–1929. *Index litteraturae entomologicae serie I: Die Welt-Literatur über die gesamte Entomologie bis inklusive 1863*. Berlin, Selbstverlag von Dr. Walther Horn.

Houttuyn, Petrus. 1699. “Part of a Letter from Dr. Hotton to Dr. Tancred Robinson, Concerning the Late Swammerdams Treatise de Apibus; the Ahmella Ceylonensibus, and the Faba Sti. Ignatii.” *Philosophical Transactions* 21: 365–366.

Huet, Pierre-Daniel. 1689. *Censura philosophiae Cartesianae*. Paris: Apud Danielelem Horthemels.

- Hulkenberg, A. M. 1975. *Keukenhof*. Dordrecht: Historische Vereniging Holland.
- Huygens, Christiaan, Swammerdam, Johannes, and Lister, Martin. 1675. “Extracts of Three Letters: The One of M. Hugen, about a New Invention of Very Exact and Portative Watches, Serving to Find the Longitudes Both at Sea and Land: The Second, of Dr. Swammerdam, Touching an Un-Usual Rupture of the Mesentery: The Third, Containing Some Observations of Mr. Lister about the Star-Stones; Together with Mr. Rays Annotations Thereon.” *Philosophical Transactions* 10: 272–279.
- Huygens, Christiaan. 1888–1950. *Oeuvres complètes de Christiaan Huygens*, ed. David Bierens de Haan et al. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Ibn ‘arabshāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. 1736. *Vitae et rerum gestarum Timuri qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur historia*, ed. Jacob Golius. Leiden: Ex typographia Elseviriana.
- Japikse, Nicolaas. 1914. “Witt, Johan de (6).” In *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ed. Philip Christiaan Molhuysen et al., volume 3, 1468–1469. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff’s uitgeverij.
- Jorink, Eric. 2003. “‘Outside God there is Nothing’. Swammerdam, Spinoza and the Janus-Face of the Early Dutch Enlightenment.” *The Early Enlightenment in the Dutch Republic, 1650–1750*, ed. Wiep van Bunge, 81–107. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Jorink, Eric. 2010. *Reading the Book of Nature in the Dutch Golden Age, 1575– 1715*. Leiden: Brill.
- Jorink, Eric. 2013. “De profeet en de boekhouder. Johannes Swammerdam, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek en de beginnaden van de microscopie.” *Fascinerend leven. Markante figuren en ideeën uit de geschiedenis van de biologie*, ed. Linda van Speybroeck and Johan Braeckman, 179–208. Ghent: Academia Press.
- Jorink, Eric. 2016a. “Swammerdam, hoveling? Enige kanttekeningen bij de reputatie van een wetenschappelijk onderzoeker.” *Studium* 8(4): 173–197.
- Jorink, Eric. 2016b. “Correspondence of Swammerdam (1664–1679).” *Research Data Journal for the Humanities and Social Sciences* 1(1): 122–133.
- Jorink, Eric. 2018. “*Modus politicus vivendi*: Nicolaus Steno and the Dutch (Swammerdam, Spinoza and Other Friends), 1660–1664.” *Steno and the Philosophers*, ed. Raphaele Andrault and Mogens Laerke, 13–44. Leiden-Boston: Brill.
- Kaiser, Frederik. 1868. *Geschichte und Beschreibung der Sternwarte in Leiden*. Harlem: J. Enschede & Söhne.

Kardel, Troels. 1994. *Steno on Muscles: Introduction, Texts, Translations*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Klerk Saskia. 2020. "Natural History in the Physician's Study: Jan Swammerdam (1637–1680), Steven Blankaart (1650–1705) and the 'Paperwork' of Observing Insects." *British Journal for the History of Science* 53(4): 497–525.

Knipscheer, Frederik Samuel. 1937. "Moine, Etienne Le." *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, ed. Philip Christiaan Molhuysen et al., volume 10, 634–635. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff's uitgevers-maatschappij.

Knoeff, Rina. 2002. *Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738): Calvinist Chemist and Physician*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.

Kohn, George C. 2008. "European Malaria Epidemic of 1678–82." *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence: From Ancient Times to the Present*, ed. George C. Kohn, 118. New York: Facts on File.

Kooijmans, Luuc. 2011. *Death Defied: The Anatomy Lessons of Frederik Ruysch*. Leiden: Brill.

Koole, Reinier Wolfert. 2016. "Families van Gunterstein en belanghebbenden Stichting De Lange a.d. 1623." <https://gw.geneanet.org/kooler?lang=en&iz=4&p=nicolaas&n=de+hoest>. Accessed 15 February 2022.

La Morinerie, Théophile Audebert. 1893. "Les Barin de Marennes." *Bulletin de la Société des Archives historiques, Revue de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* 12: 451–462.

Van Lamzweerde, Jan Baptist. 1674. *Respirationis Swammerdamianae exspiratio, una cum anatomia neologices Joannis de Raei*. Amsterdam: Ex officina Joannis a Someren.

Le Clerc, Jean. 1709. "Éloge de feu Mr. De Volder Professeur en Philosophie et aux Mathematiques, dans l'Academie de Leide." *Bibliothèque choisie* 18: 346–354.

Van Leeuwen, Simon. 1672. *Korte besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden*. Leiden: Voor Johannes van Gelder.

Van Leeuwenhoek, Antoni. 1689. *Natuurs verborgentheden ontdekt: zijnde een tweede vervolg der brieven, geschreven aan de Koninglijke Societeit tot Londen, door Antoni van Leeuwenhoek*. Delft: Gedrukt by Andries Voorstad.

Van Leeuwenhoek, Antoni. 1939–1989. *Alle de brieven van Antoni van Leeuwenhoek/The Collected Letters of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek*, ed. Lodewijk C. Palm. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Leonhard, Karin. 2007. "Kritik an der Hand: zum Verhältnis von Wissenschaftler und Zeichner in

der frühen Mikroskopie.” Evidentia. *Reichweiten visueller Wahrnehmung in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Gabriele Wimböck et al., 235–262. Münster: Lit Verlag.

LePoole, Lodewijk Gerardus. 1905. *Bijdragen tot de kennis van het kerkelijk leven onder de doopsgezinden ontleend aan het archief der Doopsgezinde Gemeente te Leiden*. Leiden: Brill.

Leupe, Pieter Arend. 1862. “Herbert de Jager.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- En Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch-Indië* 8: 17–22.

Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie. 1956. “Boerhaaves Rijkdom.” *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde* 100(1): 919–928.

Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie. 1974. “Boerhaave: Author and Editor.” *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association* 62(2): 137–148.

Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie. 1975. “Het Collegium privatum Amstelodamense (1664-1673).” *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift Voor Geneeskunde* 119(32): 1248–1254.

Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie. 1980. *Het cabinet van Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680). Catalogus met een inleiding uitgegeven*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie. 1981. “Jan Swammerdam als microscopist.” *Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis der geneeskunde, natuurwetenschappen, wiskunde en techniek* 4: 87–110.

Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie. 1982. “Jan Swammerdam (1637-1680) and his *Biblia Naturae*.” *Clio Medica* 17(2–3): 113–131.

Van der Linden, Johannes, and Voorn, Johannes. 1709. *Bibliotheca Volderina, seu Catalogus selectissimorum librorum [...] Burcheri de Volder*. Leiden: Apud Johann. van der Linden et Johannem Voorn.

Locke, John. 1976–1989. *The Correspondence of John Locke*, ed. Esmond Samuel de Beer. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Loescher, Jens. 2016. “How to See Through Swammerdam’s Microscope.” *Monatshefte* 108(1): 1–22.

Luchtman, Samuel. 1739. *Bibliotheca Boerhaaviana, sive Catalogus librorum instructissimae bibliothecae [...] Hermanni Boerhaave*. Leiden: Apud Samuelem Luchtman.

Luchtman, Samuel, and Luchtman, Jordaen. 1784. *Bibliotheca Doeveriana, sive Catalogus librorum Gualth. van Doeverten*. Leiden: Apud S. et J. Luchtman.

Maanen, Johannes A. 1988. *Facets of Seventeenth Century Mathematics in the*

Netherlands/Facetten van de wiskunde in de Nederlanden in de zeventiende eeuw. (met een samenvatting in het Nederlands). Utrecht: Drukkerij Elinkwijk BV. Doctoral dissertation.

Manger, Samuel Hendrik. 1767. “Praefatio.” In Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ‘arabshāh. 1767–1772. *Vitae et rerum gestarum Timuri qui vulgo Tamerlanes dicitur historia*, ed. and trans. Samuel Hendrik Manger, volume 1, I–XVI. Leeuwarden: Apud H. A. de Chalmot.

Martin, Gabriel. 1744. *Catalogue des livres de feu M. Danty d’Isnard*. Paris: Gabriel Martin.

McClaughlin, Trevor. 1975. “Sur les rapports entre la Compagnie de Thévenot et l’Académie royale des sciences.” *Revue d’histoire des sciences* 28(3): 235–242.

McCullough, Roy. 2007. *Coercion, Conversion and Counterinsurgency in Louis XIV’s France*. Leiden-Boston: Brill.

McKeon, Robert. 1970. “Auzout, Adrien.” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. Charles Coulston Gillispie, volume 1, 341–342. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons.

Meijer, Willem. 1908. “Johannes Casearius.” *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 1(1): 398–417.

Meyer, Wilhelm. 1893. *Die Handschriften in Göttingen. Bd. 2. Universitätsbibliothek. Geschichte, Karten, Naturwissenschaften, Theologie, Handschriften aus Lüneburg*. Berlin: Verlag von A. Bath.

Mirto, Alfonso. 2015. “Lettere di Melchisédec Thévenot ai fiorentini: Leopoldo de’ Medici, Cosimo III Granduca di Toscana e Vincenzo Viviani.” *Galilaeana: Journal of Galilean Studies* 12: 145–191.

Molhuysen, Philip Christiaan (Ed.). 1913–1924. *Bronnen tot de Geschiednis der Leidsche Universiteit 1574–1811*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Molhuysen, Philipp Christiaan. 1924. *De voorrechten der Leidsche Universiteit*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

Monti, Gaetano Lorenzo. 1742. “De vita et scriptis Matthaei a S. Joseph Brevis commentarius.” In Zanoni, Giacomo. 1742. *Rariorum stirpium historia: ex parte olim edita, nunc centum plus tabulis ex commentariis auctoris*, ed. Gaetano Lorenzo Monti, 1–11 (unnumbered). Bologna: Ex typographia Laelii a Vulpe.

Nagtegaal, Hans K. 2014. “Het Delftse geslacht Van Bleyswijck.” *Heraldisch Bureau Nagtegaal*. <https://www.nagtegaal.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/watermarked-Bleyswijck-van-27-10-20141.pdf>. Accessed 15 February 2022.

- Naumann, Otto. 1981. *Frans van Mieris the Elder (1635–1681)*. Doornspijk: Davaco Publishers.
- Newton, Isaac. 1687. *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica*. London: Iussu Societatis Regiae ac Typis Josephi Streater.
- Van Nierop, Dirck Rembrandtsz. 1674. *Tweede deel van enige oefeningen, 'twelk is in geographia ofte aertkloots-bescrijvinge*. Amsterdam: By Abel Symonsz. van der Storck.
- Van Nierop, Dirck Rembrandtsz. 2012. *The Correspondence of Dirck Rembrantsz van Nierop (1610–1682)*, ed. Marlise Rijks, Huib J. Zuidervaat, and Ilja Nieuwland. The Hague: Dutch History of Science Web Centre – Huygens ING.
- Nieuhof, Johan. 1682. *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense zee- en lant- reize*. Amsterdam: Voor de weduwe van Jacob van Meurs.
- Nieuhof, Johan. 1682. *Zee en lant-reize door verscheide gewesten van Oostindien*. Amsterdam: Voor de weduwe van Jacob van Meurs.
- Nissen, Claus. 1966–1978. *Die Zoologische Buchillustration. Ihre Bibliographie und Geschichte*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag.
- Nodier, Charles. 1801. *Bibliographie entomologique, ou catalogue raisonné des ouvrages relatifs à l'entomologie et aux insectes. Avec des notes. [...] An IX*. Paris: Chez Moutardier.
- Nordström, J. 1954–1955. “Swammerdamiana. Excerpts from the Travel Journal of Olaus Borrichius and Two Letters from Swammerdam to Thévenot,” *Lychnos* 15: 21–65.
- Parsons, Christopher M. 2018. *A Not-So-New World: Empire and Environment in French Colonial North America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Paucton, Alexis-Jean-Pierre. 1780. *Métrologie: ou Traité des mesures, poids et monnoies des anciens peuples et des modernes*, Paris: Chez la Veuve Desaint.
- Peignot, Etienne-Gabriel. 1810. *Répertoire de bibliographies spéciales, curieuses et instructives*. A Paris: Chez MM. Renouard.
- Peltier, Leonard F. 1984. “Joseph Guichard Duverney (1648–1730) Champion of Applied Comparative Anatomy.” *Clinical Orthopaedics and Related Research* 187: 308.
- Peltjes, Gerrit Jan. 1995. *Leidse Lasten. Twee belastingkohieren uit 1674*. Leiden: Nederlands Historisch Data Archief.
- Peltjes, Gerrit Jan. 2005. “Historische Vereniging Oud Leiden, 200ste Penning en Familiegeld (1674).” <https://oudleiden.nl/werkgroepen/jan-van-hout-archiefonderzoek/200ste-penning-en->

familiiegeld-1674. Accessed 15 February 2020.

Peters, Marion. 1994. "From the Study of Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717). His Life with Books and Manuscripts." *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and its Sources* 21(1): 1–49.

Pettegree, Andrew, and Der Weduwen, Arthur. 2019. *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Prak, Maarten Roy. 1985. *Gezeten burgers: de elite in een Hollandse stad, Leiden 1700-1780/Men of Substance: The Elite in a Dutch Town, Leiden 1700–1780*. Utrecht: Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht. Doctoral dissertation.

Pulvirenti, Santa Gloria, et al. 2017. "The Controversial Biography of Paolo Boccone (1633–1704) and His 'Grand Tour' from the Mediterranean to Northern Europe." *Plant Biosystems – An International Journal Dealing with All Aspects of Plant Biology* 151(3): 377–380.

Rabus, Petrus. 1700. *De boekzaal van Europe, ontsloten met de maanden, January en February 1700*. Rotterdam: By Pieter van der Slaart.

De Raey, Johannes Jr. 1680. *Dictionarium geographicum ofte Schat- en woordt-boeck des aerdrycks*. Amsterdam: By Abraham Wolfganck.

De Raey, Johannes Jr. 1700. *Dictionarium geographicum ofte Woorden-boek des gantschen aerdrycks*. Amsterdam: By Joan ten Hoorn.

De Raey, Johannes Jr. 1709. *Dictionarium geographicum universalis ofte Algemeen woordenboek des gantschen aerdrycks*. Amsterdam: By Jan ten Hoorn.

De Raey, Johannes Jr. 1710. *Dictionarium geographicum universalis, ofte Algemeen woordenboek des gantschen aerdrycks*. Amsterdam: By Johannes Strander, Johannes Ratelband, en Hendrik Blank.

Van Reede, Hendrik Adriaan, et al. 1678–1693. *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus, pars prima*[–*duodecima*], *continens Regni Malabarici apud Indos celeberrimi omnis generis plantas rariores*. Amsterdam: Sumptibus viduae Joannis van Someren, haerederum Joannis van Dyck et Henrici et viduae Theodori Boom.

Du Rieu, Willem Nikolaas (Ed.). 1875. *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV*. The Hague: Apud Martinum Nijhoff.

Robertson, Lesley, et al. 2016. *Antoni van Leeuwenhoek: Master of the Minuscule*. Boston: Brill.

Rohault, Jacques. 1671. *Traité de physique*. Paris: Chez la veuve de Charles Savieux.

Roldanus, Cornelia W. 1931. *Coenraad van Beuningen, staatsman en libertijn*. The Hague:

Martinus Nijhoff.

Rooseboom, Maria. 1950. *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der instrumentmakerskunst in de noodelijke Nederlanden tot Omstreeks 1840: Rijksmuseum voor de Geschiedenis der Natuurwetenschappen*. Leiden: Het Rijksmuseum.

Rosenboom, Hub. 1697. *Stukken met betrekking tot de onenigheden over het curatorschap van Hub. Rosenboom aan de Universiteit van Leiden*. S.l. (Leiden): s.n.

Ruestow, G. Edward. 1996. *The Microscope in the Dutch Republic: The Shaping of Discovery*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

s.n. ca. 1680. *Musaei Indici index exhibens varia exotica animalia et vegetabilia, nativa facie, liquori balsamico innatantia: conspicienda in Horti Academici ambulacro*. S.l. (Leiden): s.n.

Scheffer, Johannes Hendrikus. 1878. *Genealogie van het geslacht Lestevenon*. Rotterdam: Van Hengel & Eeltjes.

Schierbeek, Abraham. 1967. *Jan Swammerdam (12 February 1637–17 February 1680). His Life and Works*, Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger.

Schimmel, Johannes Andreas. 1966. *Burgerrecht te Nijmegen 1592-1810*. Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact.

Schröder, Johannes. 1725. *Ter gedachtenis van het driemaal vyftig jaarig jubelfeest, der Leidsche Akademie*. Leiden: By Isaak Severinus.

Sinia, Rinse. 1878. *Johannes Swammerdam in de lijst van zijn tijd*. Hoorn: P. Geerts.

De Sitter, Willem. 1933. *Short History of the Observatory of the University at Leiden 1633–1933*. Haarlem: Joh. Enschede en Zonen.

Sleigh, Charlotte. 2012. “Jan Swammerdam’s Frogs.” *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* 66(4): 373–392.

Snelders, Henricus Adrianus Marie. 2019. “Gaubius, Hieronymus David (1705–80).” *Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Philosophers*. <https://www.bloomsburyphilosophers.com/home>. Accessed 15 February 2022.

Sobiech, Frank. 2016. *Ethos, Bioethics, and Sexual Ethics in Work and Reception of the Anatomist Niels Stensen (1638–1686): Circulation of Love*. Cham: Springer.

Spinoza, Baruch. 1677. *Opera posthuma, quorum series post praefationem exhibetur*. S.l. (Amsterdam): s.n. (Jan Rieuwertsz).

- Spruit, Leen, and Totaro, Pina. 2011. *The Vatican Manuscript of Spinoza's Ethica*. Leiden: Brill.
- Steno, Nicolaus. 1664. *De musculis et glandulis observationum specimen. Cum epistolis duabus anatomicis*. Amsterdam: Apud Petrum Le Grand.
- Steno, Nicolaus. 1667. *Elementorum myologiae specimen, seu musculi descriptio geometrica*. Florence: Ex typogr. sub Signo Stellae.
- Steno, Nicolaus. 1952. *Nicolai Stenonis Epistolae et epistolae ad eum datae*, ed. Gustav Scherz. Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag; Freiburg in the Breisgau: Arnold Busck-Verlag Herder.
- Strazzoni, Andrea. 2011. "La filosofia aristotelico-cartesiana di Johannes de Raey." *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* 7(1): 107–132.
- Strazzoni, Andrea. 2015. "The Cartesian Philosophy of Language of Johannes de Raey." *Lias. Journal of Early Modern Intellectual Culture and Its Sources* 42(2): 89–120
- Strazzoni, Andrea. 2019. *Burchard de Volder and the Age of the Scientific Revolution*. Cham: Springer.
- Swammerdam, Johannes. 1667a. *Disputatio medica inauguralis continens selectas de respiratione propositiones*. Leiden: Apud viduam et haeredes Joannis Elsevirii.
- Swammerdam, Johannes. 1667b. *Tractatus physico-anatomico-medicus de respiratione usuque pulmonum. In quo, praeter primam respirationis in foetu inchoationem, aëris per circulum propulsio statuminatur, attractio exploditur, experimentaque ad explicandum sanguinis in corde tam auctum quam diminutum motum in medium producuntur*. Leiden: Apud Danielelem, Abraham, et Adrian. a Gaasbeeck.
- Swammerdam, Johannes. 1669. *Historia insectorum generalis ofte Algemeene verhandeling van de bloedeloose dierkens*. Utrecht: By Meinardus van Dreunen.
- Swammerdam, Johannes. 1672. *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica, notis in [...] Joh. van Horne Prodromum illustrata, et tabulis [...] adumbrata. Adiecta est nova methodus cavitates corporis ita praeparandi ut suam semper genuinam faciem servant. Ad Illustriss. Regiam Societatem Londinensem*. Leiden: Apud Severinum Matthaei.
- Swammerdam, Johannes. 1673. "Extracts of Two Letters of Dr. Swammerdam, Concerning Some Animals, That Having Lungs Are yet Found to Be without the Arterious Vein; Together with Some Other Curious Particulars." *Philosophical Transactions* 8: 6040–6042.
- Swammerdam, Johannes. 1675. *Ephemeris vita of Afbeeldingh van 's menschen leven: vertoont in de*

wonderbaarelijcke en nooyt gehoorde historie van het vliegent ende een-dagh-levent haft of oever-aas. Amsterdam: By Abraham Wolfgang.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1679a. *Catalogus musei instructissimi exhibens copiosam suppellectilem variarum rerum exoticarum, tam naturalium, quam arte factarum, quas indefesso labore et sumtu minime vulgari quinquaginta annorum spatio collegit Johannes Jacobus Swammerdammius*. Amsterdam: Door d' Erfgenamen.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1679. *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica, notis in [...] Joh. van Horne Prodromum illustrata, et tabulis [...] adumbrata. Adiecta est nova methodus cavitates corporis ita praeparandi ut suam semper genuinam faciem servant*. Ad Illustriss. Regiam Societatem Londinensem. Leiden: Apud Cornelium Boutesteyn.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1679. *Tractatus physico-anatomico-medicus de respiratione usuque pulmonum. In quo, praeter primam respirationis in foetu inchoationem, aëris per circulum propulsio statuminatur, attractio exploditur, experimentaque ad explicandum sanguinis in corde tam auctum quam diminutum motum in medium producuntur*. Leiden: Apud Joannem vander Linden.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1680. *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica, notis in [...] Joh. van Horne Prodromum illustrata, et tabulis [...] adumbrata. Adiecta est nova methodus cavitates corporis ita praeparandi ut suam semper genuinam faciem servant*. Ad Illustriss. Regiam Societatem Londinensem. *Figuris, ante hac erosis, iam accuratissime exsculptis*. London: Typis Johannis Gellirrand & Robert Sollers.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1681. *Ephemeris Vita, or, The Natural History and Anatomy of the Ephemeron, a Fly that Lives but Five Hours*, trans. Edward Tyson. London: Printed for Henry Faithorne and John Kersey.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1682. *Histoire generale des insectes, ou l'on expose clairement la maniere lente & presque insensible de l'accroissement de leurs membres, & ou l'on decouvre evidemment l'erreur ou l'on tombe d'ordinaire au sujet de leur prétendué transformation*. Utrecht: Chez Guillaume de Walcheren.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1685a. *Historia insectorum generalis, in qua quaecunque ad insecta eorumque mutationes spectant, dilucide ex sanioris philosophiae et experientiae principiis explicantur, cum figuris et indicibus necessariis*, trans. Heinrich Christian de Hennin. Leiden: Apud Jordanum Luchtman.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1685. *Histoire generale des insectes, ou l'on expose clairement la*

maniere lente & presque insensible de l'accroissement de leurs membres, & ou l'on decouvre evidemment l'erreur ou l'on tombe d'ordinaire au sujet de leur prétendu transformation. Utrecht: Chez Jean Ribbuis.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1685. *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica, notis in [...] Joh. van Horne Prodromum illustrata, et tabulis [...] adumbrata. Adiecta est nova methodus cavitates corporis ita praeparandi ut suam semper genuinam faciem servant. Ad Illustriss. Regiam Societatem Londinensem. Figuris, ante hac erosio, iam accuratissime exsculptis.* London: Typis Samuelis Smith.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1693. *Historia insectorum generalis, in qua verissimae mutationum, seu lentae in membra epigenescos rationes, duce experientia, redduntur; recepta vulgo insectorum metamorphosis solide refutatur [...] et tandem omnes insectorum mutationes ad quatuor ordines distinctos [...] descriptos revocantur. [...] Editio secunda,* trans. Heinrich Christian de Hennin. Utrecht: Ex officina Otthonis de Vries.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1699. *Afbeeldingh van 's menschen leven, vertoont in de wonderbaarlijcke en nooyt gehoorde historie van het vliegent ende een-dagh-leevent haft of oeveraas.* Utrecht: By Anthoni Schouten.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1717. *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica, notis in [...] Joh. van Horne Prodromum illustrata, et tabulis [...] adumbrata. Adiecta est nova methodus cavitates corporis ita praeparandi ut suam semper genuinam faciem servant. Ad Illustriss. Regiam Societatem Londinensem. Editio quarta, prioribus correctior.* Leiden: Apud Joh. du Vivie.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1729. *Miraculum naturae sive Uteri muliebris fabrica, notis in [...] Joh. van Horne Prodromum illustrata, et tabulis [...] adumbrata. Adiecta est nova methodus cavitates corporis ita praeparandi ut suam semper genuinam faciem servant. Ad Illustriss. Regiam Societatem Londinensem. Editio quinta, prioribus correctior.* Leiden: Apud Theodorum Haak, et Samuelem Luchtmans.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1733. *Historia insectorum generalis, in qua verissimae mutationum, seu lentae in membra epigenescos rationes, duce experientia, redduntur; recepta vulgo insectorum metamorphosis solide refutatur [...] et tandem omnes insectorum mutationes ad quatuor ordines distinctos [...] descriptos revocantur. [...] Editio nova,* trans. Heinrich Christian de Hennin. Leiden: Apud Johannem van Abkoude.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1737–1738. *Bybel der natuure of Historie der insecten/Biblia naturae sive Historia insectorum,* ed. Hermann Boerhaave, trans. Hieronymus David Gaubius. Leiden: By

Isaak Severinus, Boudewyn vander Aa, Pieter vander Aa.

Swammerdam, Johannes, and Haller, Albrecht von. 1738. *Tractatus physico-anatomico-medicus de respiratione usuque pulmonum. In quo, praeter primam respirationis in foetu inchoationem, aëris per circulum propulsio statuminatur, attractio exploditur, experimentaque ad explicandum sanguinis in corde tam auctum quam diminutum motum in medium producuntur. Editio altera, cui subiuncta est [...] De diaphragmatis musculis dissertatio anatomica*. Leiden: Apud Conradum Wishoff.

Swammerdam, Johannes. 1975. *The Letters of Jan Swammerdam to Melchisédech Thévenot: With English Translation and a Biographical Sketch*, ed. and trans. Gerrit Arie Lindeboom. Amsterdam: Taylor & Francis.

Sylvius, Franciscus. 1674. *Disputationum medicarum decas, primarias corporis humani functiones naturales, nec non febrium naturam, ex anatomicis, practicis et chemicis experimentis deductas, complectens*. Jena: Impensis Joh. Fritschii, prodibat typis Joh. Gollneri. First edition 1659–1663.

Symmachus, Aurelius. 1653. *Epistolarum libri decem. Cum Ambrosii nonnullis*. Leiden: Imprimi fecit Gerhard Wingendorp, Excudebat Severynus Matthaei.

Terrall, Mary. 2011. “Frogs on the Mantelpiece: The Practice of Observation in Daily Life.” *Histories of Scientific Observation*, ed. L. Daston and E. Lunbeck, 185–203. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Thévenot, Melchisédech. 1663–1672. *Relations de divers voyages curieux*. Paris: De l’imprimerie de Jacques Langlois et al.

Thévenot, Melchisédech. 1681. *Recueil de voyages*. Paris: Chez Estienne Michallet.

Thijssen-Schoute, Caroline Louise. 1967. *Uit de republiek der letteren: 11 studiën op het gebied de ideeëngeschiedenis van den Gouden Eeuw*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Tjaden, W. L. 1976. “Sébastien Vaillant’s Flora of Paris, *Botanicon Parisiense*, 1727.” *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 8: 11–27.

Ulrichs, Friederike. 2003. *Johan Nieuhoofs Blick auf China (1655-1657): Die Kupferstiche in seinem Chinabuch und ihre Wirkung auf den Verleger Jacob van Meurs*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag.

Vaillant, Sébastien. 1727. *Botanicon Parisiense ou Denombrement par ordre alphabétique des plantes, qui se trouvent aux environs de Paris*, ed. Hermann Boerhaave. Leiden: Chez Jean et Herman Verbeek, et Balthazar Lakeman.

Vesalio, Andrea. 1725. *Opera omnia anatomica et chirurgica*, ed. Hermann Boerhaave and Bernhard Siegfried Albinus. Leiden: Apud Joannem du Vivie et Joan. et Herm. Verbeek.

Vesling, Johann, and Blasius, Gerard. 1666. *Syntagma anatomicum, commentario atque appendice ex veterum, recentiorum, propriisque, observationibus*. Amstelodami: Apud Joannem Janssonium a Waesberge, et Elizeum Weyerstraet.

Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von. 1753–1754. *Merkwürdige Reisen durch Niedersachsen, Holland und Engelland*. Frankfurt am Main-Leipzig-Ulm: s.n.

Van de Velde, Hans. 2010. “From Qusā b. Lūqā to Carra de Vaux. On the History of the Edition and Translation of the *Barulcus*, also called ‘Mechanic’, by Heron of Alexandria.” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 1(1): 95–100.

Van de Ven, Jeroen. 2022. *Printing Spinoza: A Descriptive Bibliography of the Works Published in the Seventeenth Century*. Boston: Brill.

Du Vivié, Johannes. 1682. *Bibliotheca Heinsiana, sive Catalogus librorum, quos [...] collegit [...] Nicolaus Heinsius*. Leiden: Apud Joannem de Vivié.

Du Vivié, Johannes. 1696a. *Catalogus insignium in omni facultate, linguisque, Arabica, Persica, Turcica, Chinensi etc. librorum M.Ss. quos [...] Jacobus Golius [...] collegit*. Leiden: Apud Joannem du Vivie. In quarto.

Du Vivié, Johannes. 1696b. *Catalogus insignium in omni facultate, linguisque, Arabica, Persica, Turcica, Chinensi etc. librorum M.Ss. quos [...] Jacobus Golius [...] collegit*. Leiden: Apud Joannem du Vivie. In octavo.

De Volder, Burchard. 1674–1676. *Disputatio philosophica de rerum naturalium principiis, prima[–quintadecima]*. Leiden: Apud Viduam et Haeredes Johannis Elsevirii.

De Volder, Burchard. 1676–1678. *Disputatio philosophica de aëris gravitate prima[–quinta]*. Leiden: Apud Viduam et Haeredes Joannis Elsevirii.

De Volder, Burchard. 1680–1681. *Disputatio philosophica contra atheos prima[–quarta]*. Leiden: Leiden: Apud Viduam et Haeredes Johannis Elsevirii.

De Volder, Burchard. 1682. *Oratio de coniungendis philosophicis et mathematicis disciplinis, cum philosophicae professioni adiunctam mathematicam rite auspicaretur*. Leiden: Apud Jacobum Voorn.

De Volder, Burchard. 1690–1693. *Exercitationum philosophicarum adversum Censuram prima[–*

vicesima octava]. Leiden: Apud Abrahamum Elzevier.

Voogt, Nicolaus Jansz. 1680. *Astrolabium catholicum, ofte een grondige onderwijsing, aangaande d'oorspronk, 't maakzel en 't veelvuldigh gebruyk des algemeenen starre-thoneels*. Amsterdam: by Jacobus Robyn.

Voorn, Jacob, and Lopez de Haro, Felix. 1682. *Catalogus variorum et insignium cuiuscunque generis et disciplinae librorum [...] Christiani Melder*. Leiden: Apud Jacobum Voorn et Felicem Lopez [de Haro].

Der Weduwen, Arthur, Pettegree, Andrew, and Kemp, Graeme. 2007. "Book Trade Catalogues: From Bookselling Tool to Book Historical Source." *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, and Graeme Kemp, 3–32. Leiden: Brill.

Der Weduwen, Arthur. 2017. *Dutch and Flemish newspapers of the seventeenth century*. Leiden: Brill.

Weiss, Harry B. 1927. "Jan Jacobz Swammerdam." *The Scientific Monthly* 25(3): 220–227.

Weiss, Nathanaël. 1916. "Une dénonciation contre Marc Guitton, chapelain de l'ambassade de Hollande, 1725." *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 65(4): 305–312.

Wiesenfeldt, Gerhard. 2002. *Leerer Raum in Minervas Haus. Experimentelle Naturlehre an der Universität Leiden, 1675-1715*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.

Wiesenfeldt, Gerhard. 2016. "Academic Writings and the Rituals of Early Modern Universities." *Intellectual History Review* 26(4): 1–14.

Willegaerts, Cornelis. 1696. *Catalogus [...] librorum [...]. Omnia [...] collecta a Viro Amplissimo Jano Albino*. Dordrecht: Apud Cornelium Willegaerts.

Wingendorp, Hermann. 1674. *Paraphrasis historica in Prophetiam Danielis. Ad calcem operis subiectae sunt breves notae*. Leiden: Apud Adrianum Severini.

Wingendorp, Hermann. 1680. *Prophetia Danielis paraphrastice reddita, et cum prophanae historiae monumentis collecta*. Leiden: Typis Cornelii Boutesteyn.

Witkam, Jan Just. 1980. *Jacobus Golius (1596-1667) en zijn handschriften: lezing voor het Oosters Genootschap in Nederland gehouden op 14 januari 1980*. Leiden: Brill.

Witsen, Nicolaes. 1705. *Noord en Oost Tartarye*. Amsterdam: By François Halma. First edition 1692.

Zanoni, Giacomo. 1675. *Istoria botanica*. Bologna: Per Gioseffo Longhi.

Van Zon, A. C. P. J. 2020. “Genealogie van Zon, van Son, van der Son, Sonmans, Sonnemans, Sonnius, Broekhoven.” <https://www.genealogie-van-zon.nl/index.php?ID=42636>. Accessed 15 February 2022.

Zuidervaat, Huib J. 2007. *Telescopes from Leiden Observatory and Other Collections 1656–1859. A Descriptive Catalogue*. Leiden: Rijksmuseum Boerhaave.

Zuidervaat Huib J., and Anderson, Douglas. 2016. “Antony van Leeuwenhoek’s Microscopes and Other Scientific Instruments: New Information from the Delft Archives.” *Annals of Science* 73(3): 257–288.

Van der Zwaag, Pieter. 1970. *Wouter van Doevert, medicus: 1730-1783*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Index of manuscripts

Amsterdam, Stadsarchief:

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 462

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 464

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 493

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 508

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 1092

archieffnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 1131

Arnhem, Gelders Archief:

archieffnummer 0176, inventarisnummer 828.2

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale:

Gal. 280, doc. 51

Haarlem, Teylers Museum:

L 00120 hs

Halle, Franckesche Stiftungen, Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke, Archiv und Bibliothek, Hauptarchiv:

AFSt/H C 84

Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek:

2° Cod. Ms. Hist. Nat. 102

Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken:

archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1267
archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1319
archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 1325
archiefnummer 0501A, inventarisnummer 6611
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 540
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 541
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 622
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 780
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 841
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 916
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1034
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1194
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1243
archiefnummer 0506, inventarisnummer 1350
archiefnummer 0508, inventarisnummer 44L
archiefnummer 0508, inventarisnummer 44M
archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20087
archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20088
archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20090
archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20091
archiefnummer 0518, inventarisnummer 20094–20101
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 7
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 8
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 10
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 13
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 17
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 22

archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 25
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 224
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 232
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 236
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 237
archiefnummer 1004, inventarisnummer 280

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek:

AC (Archieven Universiteit Leiden: Curatoren, 1574–1815) 44.
BPL 126 B
BPL 126 C I–III
MS Leiden Or. 51

Oxford, Bodleian Library:

Mss. Sherard 44–201

Paris, Académie des Sciences:

Fonds Réaumur 69J, dossier 35

Paris, Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle:

MS 1764

Washington, Smithsonian Libraries and Archives, Joseph F. Cullman 3rd Library of Natural History:

QL362 .S96c folio

Index of names

Van der Aa, Boudewijn
Van der Aa, Pieter Jansoon
Van der Aa, Pieter
Van der Aar, Nicolaas
Van Abkoude, Johannes
Abou-Nemeh, S. Catherine
Albinus, Bernhard Siegfried
Allard, Herman Jozef Petrus Hugo
Allen, D. E.
Van Andel, Tinde
Anderson, Douglas
Antoine (not identified)
Antoine-Mahut, Delphine
Augustine of Hippo
Aurangzeb 'Ālamgīr I
Auzout, Adrien
De Baar, Mirjam
Baldaeus, Philippus
Barbou (not identified)
Barin, Théodore
Barra (not identified)
Bartholin, Caspar
Bartholin, Thomas
Bassand, Jean-Baptiste
Bell, Arthur

Benucci, Elisabetta
Van Berkel, Klaas
Bernhard (not identified)
Bernj, de, brothers (not identified)
Van Beuningen, Coenraad
De Bie, Alexander
Blaeu, Willem Janszoon
Blankaart, Steven
Blasius, Gerard
Van Bleijswijk, Ewout Hendriksz.
Van Bleijswijk, Hendrik
Blok, Frans Felix
Boccone, Paolo Silvio
Boerhaave, Hermann
Bolt, Marvin
Boom, Dirck
Boom, Hendrik
Borch, Ole
Borelly, Jacques
Bosboom, Dirk
Boulliau, Ismaël
Bourignon, Antoinette
Boutesteyn, Cornelis
Boyle, Robert
Brink, Trolis Nielson
Brugmans, Anna
Brugmans, Anton

De Bruyn, Johannes
Buning, Marius
Burgersdijk, Franco
Vander Burgh (not identified)
Burman, Pieter
Carteret, Xavier
Casearius, Johannes
Celestino di Santa Liduina/Golius, Petrus/Van Gool, Pieter
Chabbert, Pierre
Cicero, Marcus Tullius
Clarke, Adam
Clavius, Servatius
De Clercq, Peter
Clignet, Nicolaas
Cobb, Matthew
Cocquyt, Tiemen
Commelin, Caspar
Cordemoy, Géraud de
Hack, Cornelis
Corver, Geertruijd
De la Court, Pieter
Craanen, Theodoor
Curtis, Nicholas
Danty d'Isnard, Antoine-Tristan
Davidson, Michael W.
Davies, David William
Delaulne, Florentin

Delaulne, Pierre
Denny, Henry
Descartes, René
Dew, Nicholas
Dircxdr., Aeltie
Van Doeveren, Wouter
Dommen, Pieter
Driehuysen, Cornelius
Du Moulin, Pierre
Duclos, R.
Duverney, Guichard Joseph
Elsevier, Abraham
Elsevier, Daniel
Engel, Hendrik
Engels, M. H. H.
Van Epen, Didericus Gijsbertus
Faithorne, Henry
Ferriello, Giuseppina
Foglia, Pietro *see* Matteo di San Giuseppe
Fournier, Marian
Francius, Petrus
Francke, August Hermann
Frederiks, Johannes Godefridus
Van Gaasbeeck, Abraham
Van Gaasbeeck, Adrian
Van Gaasbeeck, Daniel
Gagnebin, Ferdinand Henri

Galilei, Galileo
Gaubius, Hieronymus David
Gellirrand, Johannes
Geulincx, Arnold
Gisselquist, Orloue N.
Goedaert, Johannes
Van Goens, Rijckloff
Van Goinga, Hannie
Golius, Jacob
Golius, Matthaeus
Golius, Petrus *see* Celestino di Santa Liduina
Van Gool, Pieter *see* Celestino di Santa Liduina
De Graaf, Regnier
Graevius, Joannes Georgius
Grässe, Johann Georg Theodor
's Gravesande, Willem Jacob
Gronovius, Jakob
Grose, Clyde Leclare
Guenellon, Pierre
Guenellon, Pieter
Guide, Philippe
Guillaume (not identified)
Guitton, Marc
Haak, Theodoor
Van Haastenraadt, Engel
Hack, Cornelis
Hack, Pieter

Hagen, Christiaan
Hagen, Hermann August
Haller, Albrecht von
Hamonou-Mahieu, Aline
Hartgerzs, Joost
Hartsoeker, Nicolaas
Heidanus, Abraham
Heinsius, Anthonie
Heinsius, Nicolaas
Van Helden, Albert
Heniger, Johannes
Henkel, Max Ditmar
De Hennin, Heinrich Christian
Hermann, Paul
Heron of Alexandria
Heucher, Johann Heinrich von
Van Heul (not identified)
De Hoest, Daniel
De Hoest, Daniel (father)
De Hoest, Daniel (grandfather)
De Hoest, Daniel (son)
De Hoest, Elijsabeth
De Hoest, Gertruid
De Hoest, Jan Hendrik
De Hoest, Nicolaas
Hoevenaer, Anthony
Hoffman, Johann Moritz

Hollenstein, Samuel Carolus Kechel ab
Hollstein, Friedrich
Honkoop, Abraham
Honkoop, Jan
De Hooghe, Romeijn
Van Hoogmade, Gerrit
Van Hoogmade, Jacob
Hoogvoorst, Nicolaes
Hooke, Robert
Horn, Walther
Van Horne, Johannes
Houttuyn, Petrus
Hudde, Johannes
Huet, Pierre-Daniel
Hulkenberg, A. M.
Huygens, Christiaan
Huygens, Constantijn
Ibn ‘arabshāh, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad
Indischeraven, Gerrit
Indischeraven, Lysbeth
De Jager, Herbert
James II of England
Japikse, Nicolaas
John Frederick, Duke of Brunswick-Calenberg
Jorink, Eric
Joubert, Jean
Justel, Henri

Kaiser, Frederik
Kardel, Troels
Kemp, Graeme
Kersey, John
Klerk Saskia
Knipscheer, Frederik Samuel
Knoeff, Rina
Knorr von Rosenroth, Christian
Kohn, George C.
Kok, Cornelis Jelmersz
Kok, Jakob Jelmersz
König, Christoffel Frederik
Kooijmans, Luuc
Koole, Reinier Wolfert
Korey, Michael
Kramer, Adriaan
Krull, Maria
La Forge, Louis de
La Morinerie, Théophile Audebert
De Laet, Daniel
De Laet, Johannes
Van Lamzweerde, Jan Baptist
Landwehr, Ernst
Le Clerc, Jean
Le Moine, Étienne
Van Leeuwen, Simon
Van Leeuwenhoek, Antoni

Van Lennep, Cunera
Leonhard, Karin
LePoole, Lodewijk Gerardus
Lestevenon, Elisabeth
Lestevenon, Susanna
Leupe, Pieter Arend
Van Limborch, Philipp
Lindeboom, Gerrit Arie
Van der Linden, Johannes
Lisabeth Wingendorp
Lister, Martin
Locke, John
Loescher, Jens
Lopez de Haro, Felix
Lopik, Jan Bastiannsz.
Luchtmans, Jordaen
Luchtmans, Samuel
Luyken, Jan
Maanen, Johannes A.
Van der Maersschen, Pieter
Malebranche, Nicholas
Malpighi, Marcello
Manger, Samuel Hendrik
Mariotte, Edme
Martin, Gabriel
Mary II of England
Matham, Jacob

Matteo di San Giuseppe/Foglia, Pietro
Matthaei, Severinus
McClaughlin, Trevor
McCullough, Roy
McKeon, Robert
Medici, Cosimo III de'
Medici, Leopoldo de'
Meijer, Willem
Melder, Christiaan
Menelaides, Aeneas *see* Minnes Loenen, Aeneas
Merault (not identified)
Mesmes, Jean-Antoine de
Mesmes, Jean-Jacques de
Metz, Coenraet
Meyer, Hieronymus
Meyer, Wilhelm
Michallet, Étienne
Michele di Sant'Eliseo
Van Mieris, Frans, the Elder
Van Mieris, Jan
Van Mieris, Willem
Minnes Loenen, Aeneas
Mirto, Alfonso
Molhuysen, Philip Christiaan
Monconys, Balthasar de
Monti, Gaetano Lorenzo
Van Musschenbroek, Jan

Van Musschenbroek, Johan Joosten

Van Musschenbroek, Pieter

Van Musschenbroek, Samuel

Nagtegaal, Hans K.

Naumann, Otto

Newton, Isaac

Van Nierop, Dirck Rembrandtsz.

Nieuhof, Johan

Nissen, Claus

Nodier, Charles

Nordström, J.

Oldenburg, Henry

Ort, Johan

Ostome, Jean

Palm, Lodewijk

Parsons, Christopher M.

Paucton, Alexis-Jean-Pierre

Peignot, Etienne-Gabriel

Peltier, Leonard F.

Peltjes, Gerrit Jan

Pergens, Anna

Peters, Marion

Pettegree, Andrew

Prak, Maarten Roy

Pulvirenti, Santa Gloria

Rabus, Petrus

De Raey, Johannes

De Raey, Johannes Jr.
Réaumur, René-Antoine Ferchault de
Van Reede, Hendrik Adriaan
Ribbius, Johannes
Riberolles, de (not identified)
Du Rieu, Willem Nikolaas
Robertson, Lesley
Röell, Hermann Alexander
Röell, Willem
Rohault, Jacques
Roldanus, Cornelia W.
Rooseboom, Maria
Rosenboom, Hub
Ruestow, G. Edward
Ruysch, Frederik
Scheffer, Johannes Hendrikus
Schenkling, Sigmund
Van Scherpenbrant, Cornelis
Van Scherpenbrant, Pieter
Schierbeek Abraham
Schimmel, Johannes Andreas
Van Schooten, Frans Jr.
Schouten, Anthony
Schrader, Justus
Schröder, Johannes
Schuliers, Agatha
Sebastiani, Giuseppe Maria

Senguerd, Arnold
Severinus, Isaak
Sherard, William
Sinia, Rinse
De Sitter, Willem
Sladus, Cornelius
Sladus, Matthaeus
Sleigh, Charlotte
Sloane, Hans
Slujter, Johannes
Smith, Samuel
Snaphaen, Pieter
Snel, Willebrord
Snelders, Henricus Adrianus Marie
Sobiech, Frank
Sollers, Robert
Spinoza, Baruch
Spruit, Leen
Van der Spyck, Hendrik
Van der Spyck, Johannes
Steno, Nicolaus
De Steur, Gillis
Strazzoni, Andrea
Sulaymān I
Swammerdam, Jacob
Swammerdam, Jan *see* Swammerdam, Johannes
Swammerdam, Johanna

Swammerdam, Johannes
Swammerdam, Johannes Jacobsz.
Swammerdam, Neeltje
Syen, Arnold
Sylvius, Franciscus
Symmachus, Quintus Aurelius
Terrall, Mary
Thévenot, Melchisédech
Thielen, Adriaen
Thijssen-Schoute, Caroline Louise
Tjaden, W. L.
Van Toornvliet, Dirck
Totaro, Pina
Turretti (not identified)
Tyson, Edward
Uffenbach, Zacharias Conrad von
Ulrichs, Friederike
Vaillant, Sébastien
Valerio di San Giuseppe
Van de Velde, Hans
Van de Ven, Jeroen
Vermande, Jacob
Vesalio, Andrea
Vesling, Johann
Du Vivié, Johannes
De Vlamingh, Willem
Volcker, Gerrits

Volckers, Margarita
De Volder, Burchard
Voogt, Nicolaus Jansz
Voorn, Jacob
Voorn, Johannes
De Vries, Ottho
Van Walcheren, Willem
Der Weduwen, Arthur
De Wees, Abraham
Weiss, Harry B.
Weiss, Nathanaël
Van der Wiele, Jacobus
Wiesenfeldt, Gerhard
Willegaerts, Cornelis
William of Orange
Van der Willicxs, Sara Barentsdr
Wingendorf, Mathias
Wingendorp, Gerhard
Wingendorp, Hermann
Wingendorp, Lisabeth
Wingendorp, Lodovicus
Winslow, Jacques B.
Wishoff, Coenraad
Witkam, Jan Just
Witsen, Nicolaes
De Witt, Jacob
De Witt, Johan

De Witt, Johan Jr.

Wittens, Cornelis

Wittich, Christoph

Wolfgang Abraham

Van Wyland, Catharina

Van Wyland, Christopher

Van Wyland, Jacob

Yeates, Nicholas

Zanoni, Giacomo

Van Zon, A. C. P. J.

Zuidervaart, Huib

Van der Zwaag, Pieter

‘Abbās II

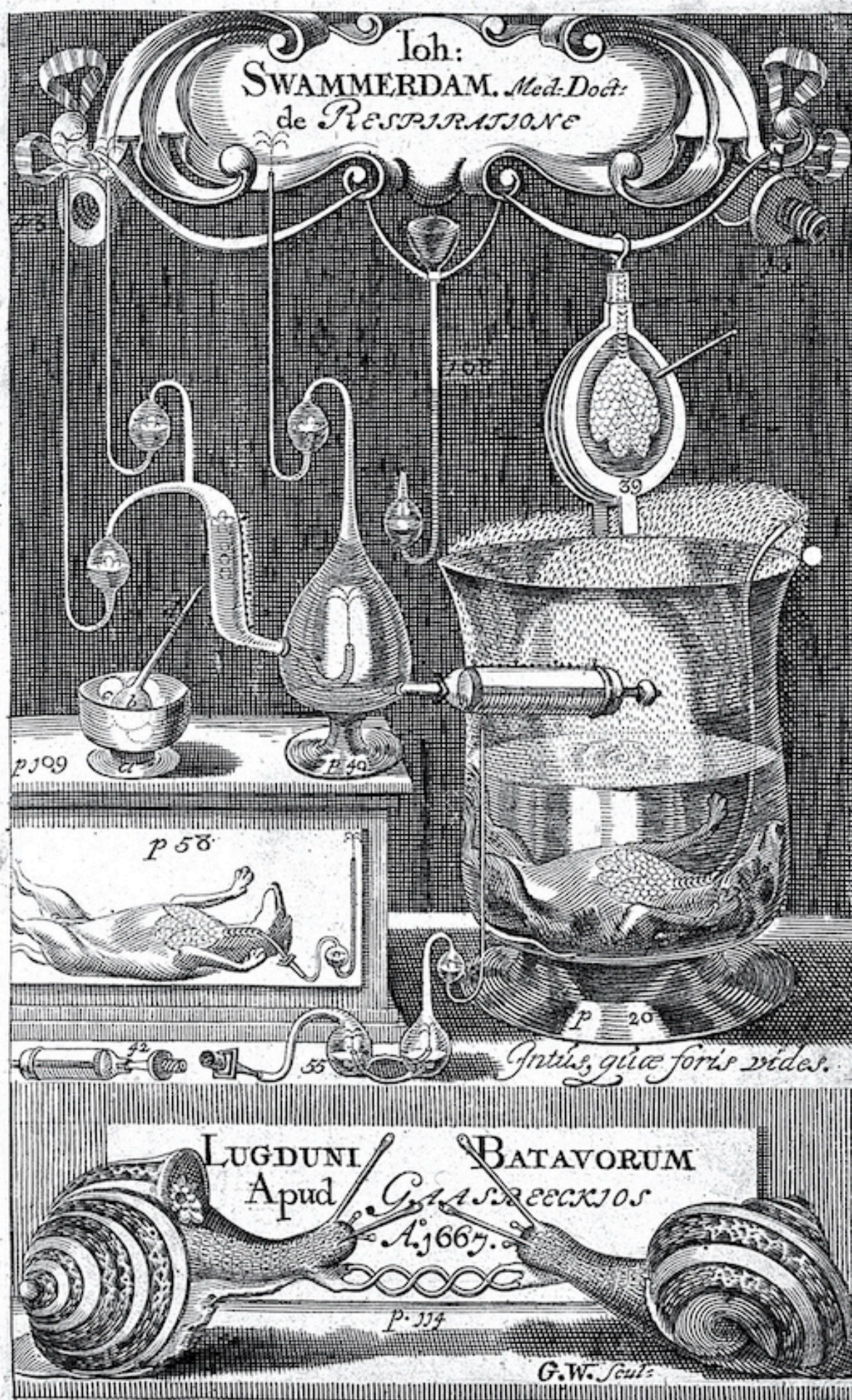


Figure 1

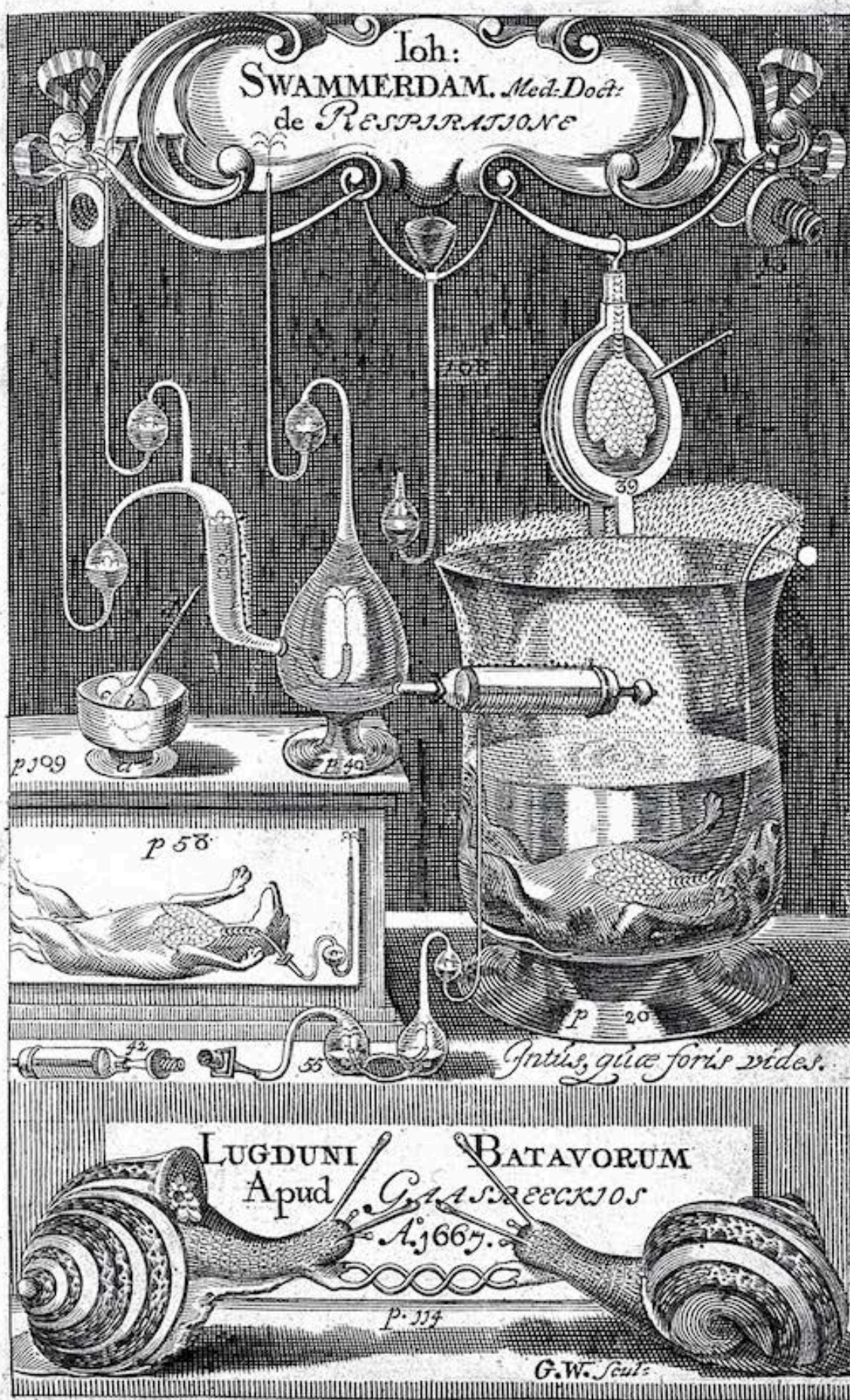


Figure 1

Ik kan ook de Luys van de walvis vercoomen
die ten naechten bij een duym lang is, en een half
breed, eenmaal een centnael in een animal, seer naar
74 JOHANN SWAMMERDAM signum.

a. Pulex

Vorders stellen wy onder deese eerste order de a.
Plop / de welke sijn oorspronk meede uyt een Neet
neemt, ende seer aardig sijn rossche veruw in de selve
op de manier van andere dierkens, in gestalte van Pop-
kens sijnde, komt aan te neemen. Want alle sijne ver-
anderingen die hy in de neet sijnde ondergaat, ende
hoe hy van wit in swart verandert, kunnen seer net met
een vergroot glas beschouwt werden. Het welke naa
ons oordeel van geen kleen gewigt is, ende een seer
grootte nuttigheid bevaad; alswe't sijner tijd toonen sul-
len.

Nog stellen wy onder deese eerste order een dierken
dat we gemeenelijck inde regenbakken bevinden; ende
naa ons schijnt, van Goedaert, in sijn derde deel, aande
letter x, onder den naam van Waterlups beschreeven.
Dan alsoo her selve in aard ende maaksel van een Luys
seer verschilt, ende in beyde ook seer seltsaam is; soo
is't dat we het selvete gelijk naa't leeven ende in't groot
sullen afbeelden, ende de beschrijving daar by voe-
gen.

Het dierken dan't geen in deese b. afbeeldingen by
de letter A. naa't leeven vertoont werd; is het selve
dat by de letter B. in't groot ende op syde werd afge-
beelt. In het selve vertoonen wy behalven het uyerlijck
maaksel van het lichaam dat als vierkant is; nog in't
hoofst de pogen ende de bek: in de borst de armen die
als takken van boomen sijn: ende in de buyk het deur-
schijnende lichaam, de beenen, de start, ende de eye-
ren.

Wanneer men dit beesken in't kleen, ofte soo het
fig aan't gesigt vertoont, besiet; soo schijnt het als een-
oogig te weelen, naademaal de oogen, de welke wy,
deur een vergroot glas, als een netteken gemaakt te sijn
be-

74

X Men heeft mij verbaalt, dat Menfienre 55.
leliuich Broek tot dieft, ander vanden broek,
dat de vledy als een vermiculus, sijn in
de naa seumer nyl sijn ey kromt, en sijn
in een Bleda beschouwt, waar in hy tot de
maand van meer sijn beschouwt blyv'n.
Wat frier van is, kan de voor legent woonig
mille beggen: En ook of hy vande e gdwante
van een chrysallijst nyl nyl p. h. a. d. aar binn
in een neemt. Alse welk sijnde soo son
hy eygenlyck onder de derde order be-
horen, en mit ind e eerste. Dan by occasie
sal ik dit meer sprek naa sijn, en op de
punft der waarheid stellen, dat licht
tel doch is.

wy drierhande bevinden. Als voor eerst, heeft het
een regt draatsse beweging, waar door, wanneer het sijn
getakte armen sonder onderlaten uyt slaat, het om hoog,
om laag, ende naa de syden, sonder eenige verpoofing
te maaken, regt uyt beweegt werd.

Vorders, heeft het een beweging, als die volgelkens
de welke Mosschen gemeenelijck genoemt werden: want
gelijk de selve door het uytbreiden ende het saamen
vouwen haarer vleugelen, een ongelijke beweging inde
lugt verkrijgen, ende dan eens te daalen dan eens te
rijlen koomen, soo komt ook dit beesken wanneer het
sijn getakte armen by poofen in't water slaat; ende door
dit

K 2

dit

Order de Naam van gen
takte Waterlup

X Soo ist dat ik B. 4. v. 1.
Lijgelyk van B. 4. v. 1.
en ook, in het groot sal
afgebeeld. In myn
particuliere v. d. B. 4. v. 1.
lingh, van B. 4. v. 1.
B. 4. v. 1. al waar B. 4.
in de 3. Tafel, kan
nagelicht worden: En
sijn beschrijving in
mediant, op de luyf.

pulex arborescens.

b. Tab 1.

A.

B.

7
 Ioannes Swammerdam Medicinæ Doctor Amstelædani, anno 1600, 25 Janu-
 arii, lethali ter aegrotans, legavit Melchisedeo Thevenolo, legato quondam
 Regis galliarum ad Temp. Genuefium, omnia sua manuscripta origi-
 nalia, quæ spectant naturam, & anatomiam apium, papilionum, et tabi-
 larum 52 numero, quæ omnia jam sunt penes Wingendorp. Legat
 ut tractatus de apibus etiam edatur Belgice: ad gloriam Dei; quæ vera
 sapientiam, & omnipotentiam Eius inrefragabiliter demonstrat. Ipse excerpti
 ex apographo Notarii. Notato X. Non ita diu post mortuus est. 16¹⁷ 00
 2

Bernardus Wingendorp habitabat Leydæ, vendendo in varias linguas vitium
 quædam, acceperat ea ab Autore, ut verteret Latine, vel in alias linguas: ut successe ederet.
 Etiam tractatum de Strictione utroque miferis pro Swammerdamio Latine prius verterat.
 Christoffel van Wylandt, & Margarita Volckers, uxor Danielis de Roest
 Doctoris medicinæ, & Apothecarii, Leydæ, executores testamenti Swammer-
 damiani. Ipse excerpti ex apographo Notarii. Notato I. Ex literis quædam.
 volebat Wingendorp sibi retinere illa omnia. Roest usquebat a Thevenolo, ut
 sibi restitueret, ex vi testamenti, cuius executor Roestia fuit, nullo modo mortuo.
 Inde lites protractæ usque ad May. 1602. Tunc Volckers recipit scripta
 pro Thevenolo. ut vidi in Eius literis. Notatis T.

Animus erat Thevenolo, curare, ut ederentur sermone Belgico, sive in Hollandia.
 Vidi in literis Volckers ad Eum 16²⁰ 02. Notatis II. & ex Roestianis 16²⁰ 02. Notatis II

Reliquit J. Swammerd. 1. Menbram anatomicam, arte fingam confectam, a Samuele Muf-
 fchenbroek. Dat ex capro, cum duobus tabulis æneis, quorum uni microscopio
 2. Anatomica præparata. æstimata 1600.
 3. Insecta, hominiquæ iconæ. L. 1500. Iconæ. 550.
 mille tabulæ anatomical. aut si fuerint, lesantur præcedes se
 referre, ubi videri fuit.
 Vidi in literis D. de Roest ad Thevenolum. 16²³ 01. Notatis I & 16²⁶ 01. 7
 10.

iniquissime examinari omnia manuscripta, nil reperi, nisi quod ad unum pertineret librum et
 unum. Vidi in literis Volckers ad Thevenolum. Notatis II.

Icon defuncti nunquam picta fuit. In Roestianis 16²⁴ 01. Notatis B.

Io. Swammerd. habebat postulatam apicem cadavera defunctorum in nomenclis Amstelæ-
 dani, ipsi datam auspiciis. C. van Bléningan. Quenellon. 16²² 09. 9. Matthæus Pla-
 tus erat ipsi amicissimus, qui studium, & ingenio, obsequens, cum multum apud ipsum valet. Ibid.
 figuram finalis medullæ Blasianam ipse delineavit manu sua, in collegio,
 ubi Blasius, alii viri egregii, & Swammerdam, congregati, omni 14 die Sectiones
 anatomical instituebant. Tunc jam fuerat in galliis. Ita scripsit ad Thevenot.
 16²⁶ 01. 1. totam medullam Blasianam. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 2. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 3. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 4. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 5. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 6. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 7. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 8. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 9. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.
 10. Vidi in Roestianis in serolis parte communis, percurantur. 5. 1. 1.

Figure 3

Dit Volgd immediat agter de Bijen

128

JOHANN: SWAMMERDAM

op de tweede wijze

Optellinge vande Dierkens, dewelke, onder de derde
Order vande natuurelijke veranderingen,
Gulde-popken genoemd behooren.

relatē

1 *Papilio nocturnus*

3 *— diurnus*

1 animal in animal

5

Erzelen

Figure 4

X
p. 95
Nog bewaare ik een zeer rare dyotischid cicada, ^{kracht}
die welke het dooft als een luyden en broegz
bisschops myler gemaakt heeft, of het
eent bisschops, soo dat het meer als een
Cynus en een vriendeel, bovende oogten
voornut heeft, dat wonderlyke om te
sien is; en de admirabel werken Gods
in de natuur ont voorstell. Nog mochten
wy welken, dat onder de cicadid de
mannen alleen de luyden hebben,
waar van wy het ^{rommelig} zijn paan in bewaare,
en het deelen, te geen ^{geen} het luyden moduleert,
of de luyden te geen het ^{rommelig} luyden be
wachten.

Figure 5

Plumbi Galena granulata et sepiata,
particulis paulatim magnitudine decresecenti-
bus, nitidissimis, corio suo lapideo utrin-
que secta.

Ex Freiberg.

¶
Hec cernere licet, sepias sentin decresecentes ab his
in granula majora, haeque paulatim in minima,
ut sepiata et granulata galena vix nisi in
magnitudine particulae videantur differre.

200

902

58.

Illustrissime Vir,

Ultimas Excell. Tuae, huius vel illius, sed ignoti amici opera mihi
redditas, grato animo accepi: atque utinam illa rerum mearum ratio
esset, ut quam me debere gratiam agnosco, referre statim possem.

Nunc quod praetor paratum ad obsequia animam promittam, nihil habeo.

Titulus operis erit:

BIBLIA NATURAE,

Historia sive Insectorum

in certas classes redacta, et nec non
exemplis, et anatomico variorum
animalculorum examine, antiquae
tabulis illustrata, a

Joanne Stammerdammo,
Amstelod. Med. D.

vel. Joannes Stammerdammi
Amstelod. Med. D.

Biblia naturae etc

99
1/2
1/2

Quod reliquum est Excell. T. me melius novit, quid in hoc pascu desideretur,
nec dubito, quin id, quod rebus meis maxime prodesse poterit, tuo tanti
promotoris beneficio consecutus sim. Studia apud nos frigent, nec sactenus
quod sciam istiusmodi quae apud nostras bibliopolas prodit, quae ceterorum
oculis satisfaciunt. Deus te, Illustrissi. Vir, quam diutissime incedam ferret,
id quod te anima precatur et vovet

Excell. T.

eg. Sun.

1 genitalium ranae masculi sub microscopio delineata.

testiculi.

3. Renes.

et appendices testicularum. an pinguissima vel
aer locale constant.

et ex eorumdem numero. Apertum singulis
in utero ranae. In utero ranae
sanguinea in foveis testiculi.

apices vasis seminalium testiculi
aliquot testicularia et diphana. huiusmodi vasa
testicularia.

testicularia vel vasa seminalia per quae semen
transit ad vas communis deferens descendit.

per quae semen testiculi ad vas commune deferens descendit
et cum huius deferente coniunguntur.

coherencia in vasis ranae.

et arteriae testales ranae genitalio delineatae.

arteriae heterogeneae sub cute ranae.

per vasa deferentia ranae.

in ranae.

in rana rectum in quo vasa sunt deferentia cum
testibus seminalibus partem suam perficiuntur.

in ranae partem.

in ranae huius.

2. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

1. Ovarium alterius lateris et vasa
genitalia ranae.

2. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

3. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

4. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

5. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

6. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

7. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

8. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

9. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

10. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

11. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

12. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

13. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

14. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

15. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

16. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

17. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

18. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

19. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

20. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

21. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

22. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

23. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

24. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

25. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

26. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

27. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

28. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

29. Pars posterior et vasa genitalia.

30. Pars anterior et vasa genitalia.

X. Duo ova in ventre et regione tubarum
sita.

O. Ovarium in ipso tubo.

P. Ventriculus in situ contractus.

Q. Uterus ex lobulis hepatis.

R. Folliculus folliculi.

SS. Pulmones, quorum dexter contractus.

ST. Auricula cordis.

VVV. Dissecta partes ventris et pectoris.

Fig. 5. Dispositio ovarum in ventre
ranae, ubi versus tubas
promoveatur.

A. Aliquot ova in ovario.

BBB. Ova in ventre dispersa.

C. Ovarium prope ipsum tubae orificium.

DDD. Ova in ipsis tubis.

E. Ovarium in principio tubae.

FF. Ova quae per extremitates tubarum versus
uterum promoveantur.

G. Ova non nisi modice per uterum transfluentia.

H. Ova disiecta in vasis incurta, ubi uterus
aeri expositus est.

I. Extremitates huiusmodi uteri qui transversi postius
habetudine ab eo loco, quo tubas recipit,
in intestinum rectum deferuntur.

K. Principium arteriae magna, nec non cor et
auricula cordis.

LL. Naturale orificium et apertum tubarum.

MM. Pulmones, tubas nonnihil obtegentes, in suo situ.

Fig. 6. Pars anterior pedum vel
brachiorum ranae masculi in
forma maiore.

A. Crassus pollex.

B. Nigrae in eodem occurrentes papillae.

De Geinsinuerende Goetvader als d'wone syde spelt
 van de Medecutrice, sonder dat de principal of de
 Executrice of het conculleum, inder als d'wone syde
 by de Heere Insinuanten sijde, dat sy Broeders monder
 wansat, dat by de Heere Bevenot gesonden was, dat
 wilsyde insinuatie te doen, inder dat in so mysterieuse
 als sacht niet delyk was, mit te luttel tynst apparente is,
 als de Heere Insinuant te kenan alle mandataris, die by de
 wylde toe, dat het wilsyde syne volcomenlyc luttel sal hebbe, wilsyde.
 Ende nochtan dat de sacht te principaly, ontfleunde alle imper-
 tinente, illation, vort dit tot meesters eluciatie van syn gesproken
 darsby, dat by de manuscripten in de boekvader wilsyde op
 de wilsyde vort vander Autscer ontfangt hebbe, als syn tractat,
 de mulchris uteri structura, by hem geinsinuerende, inder ontfangt
 inder delyk d'wone wilsyde het manuscript noch wilsyde onder
 hem is wilsyde sonder, sonder dat de Autscer hem oit inder byt wilsyde,
 oft wilsyde het manuscript wilsyde praten, gesproken
 wilsyde hebbe wilsyde in d'wone de placten tot dat wilsyde wilsyde
 wilsyde Rekening van de Heere Bevenot van hem geinsinuerende, wilsyde,
 wilsyde dat de geinsinuerende onnodig aeght in de klacht
 wilsyde wilsyde wilsyde te wilsyde, de wilsyde het wilsyde gediecke
 vander Heere Insinuant, in d'wone als de wilsyde is wilsyde
 syn wilsyde de volcomenlyc markt, om te d'wone wilsyde te wilsyde,
 wilsyde wilsyde d'wone, als wilsyde inderende syn wilsyde
 wilsyde wilsyde wilsyde, wilsyde wilsyde wilsyde.

van dien eeneleken Beer, 12 Bollen gelyk =
 eenen manneer. Eynvollyk heeft hy my
 by de figure van de rade mier, wy een afbeelding
 van een ^{keutvottek} rade, met yde lichte ^{agter en} vollen g. lichte,
 dat mede beer A/B. Hier beugt hy in de
 reus; en dit
 heeft ook wy =
 lyke plaats in
 alle die vollen.
 De welke op hylt lant leeren;
 dat 12 vollen lant.

By de op:

op

Figure 12

u. op de Byen, De nati cor nis Scarabidi
En daar op de Bil mond runde Ming

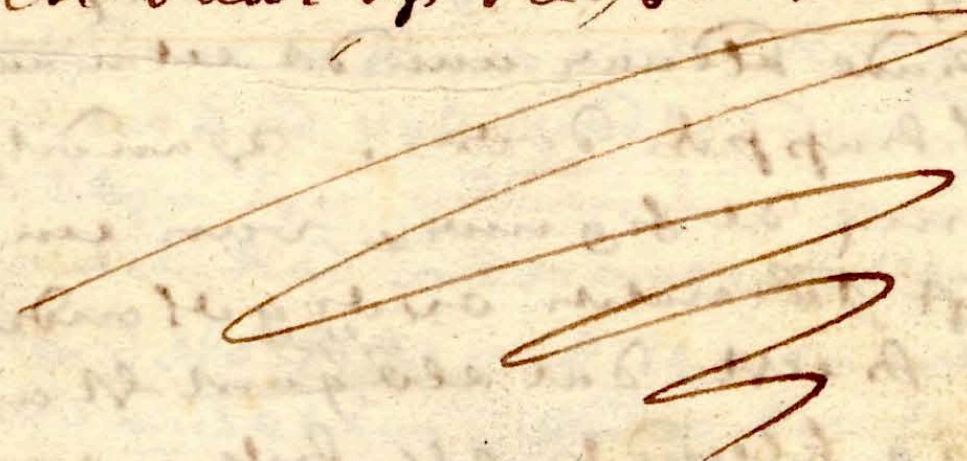


Figure 13

Subsistere intra ternarii numeri metrum, et huius quarti ordinis
 nymphas referre in nympharum tertii ordinis seriem poteram,
 nisi aliqua inter utraque differentia, ^{intercederet} quae primo aspectu levior
~~videri poterat intercedere~~. Successive faciem mutat, et novum
 mutationis ordinem constituit.

Id ut recte intelligatur notandum: huius quarti ordinis nympham a tertii
 ordinis nymphae hoc solo differre
 scilicet, intercedens inter utraque, ut ubi primo aspectu levior
 constituta, novi ordinis effluat constitutione regreditur.

Nympha quarti ordinis a nymphae ^{terti}secundi ordinis hoc solo differt
 quod faciem illam sub cute assumit quam deponit
 quo fit ut nymphae quarti ordinis tantum duas, contra
 hoc non nisi unam cutem deponat.

Nympha quarti ordinis a tertii ordinis nymphae hoc solo differt
 quod hoc, ubi nymphae formam assumit, cutem deponit, quam illa
 servat quo fit ut ubi iam veram animalis faciem induit, ^{deponat} crassam
 loco unius cuticulae duas deponat, unam teneriorem et internam, alteram magis
 + huius quarti ordinis quam antecedentium trium multo obscurior ratio sit, et ut
 nymphae, ^{membris suis omnibus}

Etenim Nympha quarti ordinis a tertii ordinis nymphae hoc solo differt quod hoc
 ubi nymphae faciem assumit, cutem ^{exteriam} externam cutem ^{internam} deponit, quam illa
 servat: quo fit ut huius quarti ordinis quam antecedentium trium multo obs-
 curior ratio sit, et ut nymphae ubi iam veram animalis faciem ^{assumit} deponat
 loco unius duas cuticulas deponat, unam interiorem et teneram, alteram
 magis crassam et externam: atque haec externa cutis major vel minor cras-
 situdine nonnullis maior in aliis minor crassities magna in hac animalium gene-
 re constitutis causa est. etenim quanto paulo magis crassa sit, quia componere
 ob substantiae fructuram suam qualitatem ad incassum corporis modum non potest
 veraciter faciem ^{magis} expressit, cum coacta si tenerior et magis molli sit
 forma, constitutionem corporis sequatur, et obliuiscens exterioribus ^{substantia} huius generis potest
 ostendere quam veraculam aut sui generis nympham referre debeat.



JOHANNIS SWAMMERDAM, M.D.

Algemeene verhandeling

V A N D E

Bloedeloofse Dierkens.

Waar in de waare gronden, van haare langfaame aangroeyingen in leedemaaten, klaarelyk werden voorgestelt; kragtiglyk vande gemeene dwaaling der vervorming gefuivert; ende in vier onderscheide ordenen van Natuurlijke uytbottingen in leeden begreepen.

HET I. HOOFTSTUK.

Behelsende, soo de reedenen vande tegenswoordige verhandeling; als de afdeelingen van de selve.

DEn aard ende het maaksel vande alderminste schepselen, tegen die van de aldergrootste, omsigtig overweegende, soo ist dat ^{te} we gedwongen werden, niet alleen in gelijken graat ofte trap van waardigheid haar te plaatfen; maar ook als boven de selve haar te stellen. Ende inder waerheid ernstig bemerkende de driften ende de tochten vande eene, als mede de manieren vande andere; wie sal kunnen loochenen, datse niet beide te saamen van een ver-

A

stan-

vuyt geworden sijnde; soo dat ons daar door de fuyver
ende nette veranderingen deser diereken, onder vreen
de oneygentlijke ende verwarde gedaanten sijn voorgestelt;
weder uyt de gront fullen ophaalen: ende deselve
vervolgens, vande vuyligheid onser inbeeldingen, ende
de de valse overleveringen der Wijsgeeren, gesuyver
hebbende; eyndelijk met onse stellingen als met ha
waare vernis vande natuur selver op helderen: op dat
alsoo de selve in haar regte glans ende eygen schoon
heid, ons wederom mag verschijnen.

Soo dat we drie dingen, in dese onse verhandeling
doen fullen: Eerstelijk fullen wy voorstellen den eenigen
grontvest van alle de natuurelijke veranderingen
der genoemde Bloedeloofse Beeskens: ende op dat niet
mant door het woord Verandering misleyd soude wer
den, soo is't, dat we nu in't begin seggen, daar soo hier
als ook in't vervolg, niet anders deur te willen ver
staan; als een langsaame ende naatuurelijke aangroey
ing in leedemaaten. Ten tweeden fullen wy verhandelen
hoe desen gront ofte die beelt der natuurelijke ver
anderingen is vervuyt ende verdonkert geworden, het
welke wy dan wederom verklaaren ende herstellen sul
len. Ten derden fullen wy vier stellingen ofte orderen
van veranderingen uyt den Natuur te voorschijn bren
gen; waar onder wy alle de verwisselingen der Bloed
eloofse Dierkens, dewelkemaar een grontvest hebben,
bevatten fullen. Ten vierden, sal ik op

yder order, van de natuurelijke veranderingen
in leedemaaten; eenige praetantien
voorbereiden, in de Dierken.

HET

Salen elken volghen, en die niet Praetantien
Signen. En de mynlyggige orden der Dierken
Soo klaar en onder schuyden licht
verlyghen, als men sonken men des
Deven.

HET II. HOOFSTUK.

Bevattende den eenigen grontvest van alle de veranderingen
der bekende a Bloedeloofse Dierkens; den welken een
b. Popken te sijn aangeweesen werd; als mede de ma
nier op welke de Warmen en de Rupsen daar in
veranderen.

Gelijk onder alle veranderingen, inden aard der
dingen, aanmerkelijk; niet naahet gemeene ge
voelen verwonderlijker is, als dat een c. Rupsen aan
neemt de gestalte van een gevleugelt gedier: soo is't
egter, intende den eygentlijken aard van dese veran
dering, ende de seer nette overeenkoming vande selve
niet alleen met het aan groeyen der andere Dieren, maar
ook met het uyt puylen ende knoppen der planten ende
bloemen: dat we tegen het algemeene gevoelen klarelijk
bevinden, de selve niet verwonderlijker, als eenige an
dere verwisselingen ofte de genoemde verandering der
planten, te wesen; ende al haar onbegrijpelijkheid
alleenig in onse inbeeldinge gelegen te sijn. Soo dat
we den eenigen oorspronk deeser verwondering, al
leenig uyt de onkunde van den aard ende het wesen van
een d. Popken ofte een e. Gulde-popken, waar in het
dierken eenven als een bloem in sijn knop is, sien gebo
ren te sijn.

Maar op dat we naader tot de saak koomen, soo is't
ten hooghten naukeering te weten: dat den eenigen
grontvest van alle de veranderingen, soo vande eyeren
der Bloedeloofse Dierkens in't gemeen, als vande Wur
men ofte de rupsen der selver in't besonder: alleenlijk
bestaat in een klaare ende onderscheidentlijke kennis
van een f. Popken, anders Paapken, Draakken, ofte

Chrysalis: welke naam in de daet ofte
niet alleen tot Dierken, maar welke
betekend saak, ook voor een en al
selvst mede gelhouden worden.

a. Insecta.

b. Nympha.

pha.

c. Eruca.

d. Nympha.

pha.

c. Chrysalis.

f. Nympha.

pha.

c. Chrysalis.

ofte Au

relia.

TAB II

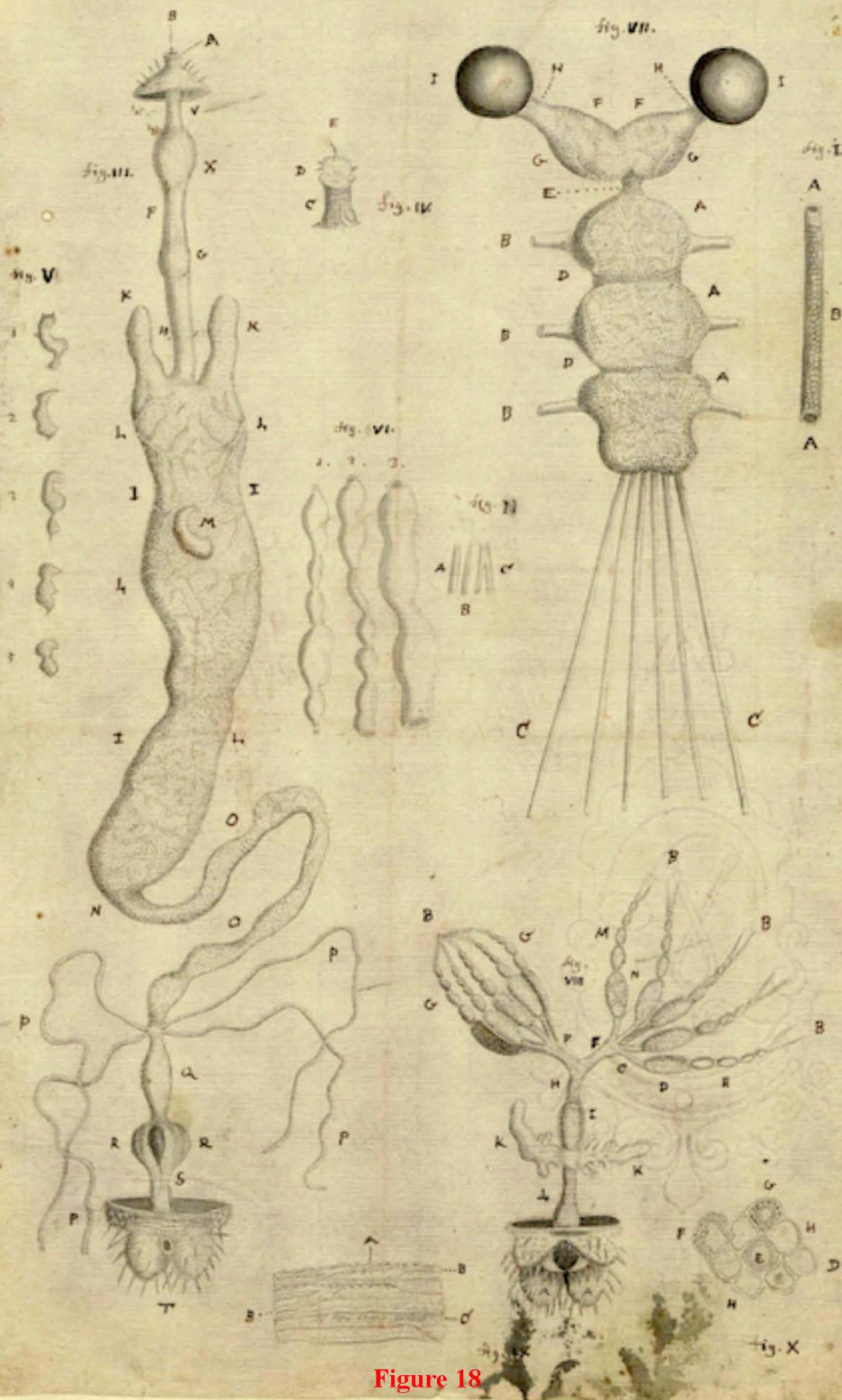


Figure 18

Perla vel
chloride.

TAB. VI Tab. 12.

SECUNDUS. ORDO.
Nympha vermiculus Wurm - popken.

TAB. XII

Ova-
rium



Crura

III



Vermis



Pupa

Nym-
pha



Perla.



fig. VII

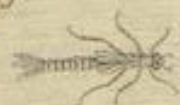


Figure 19

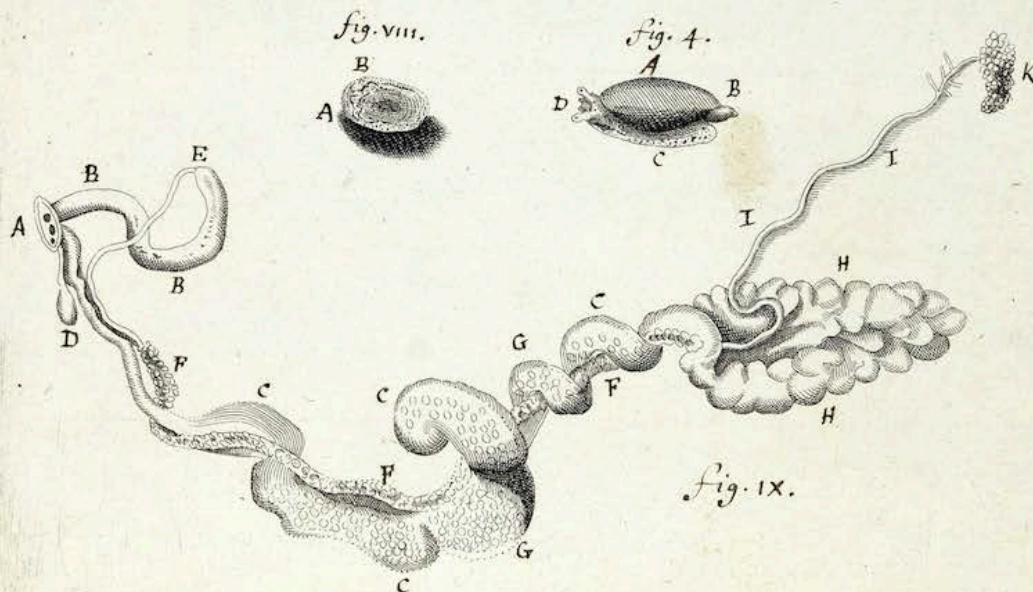
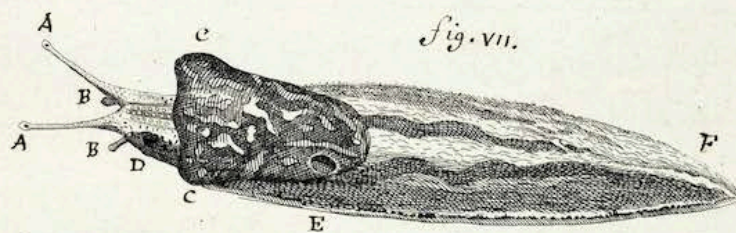
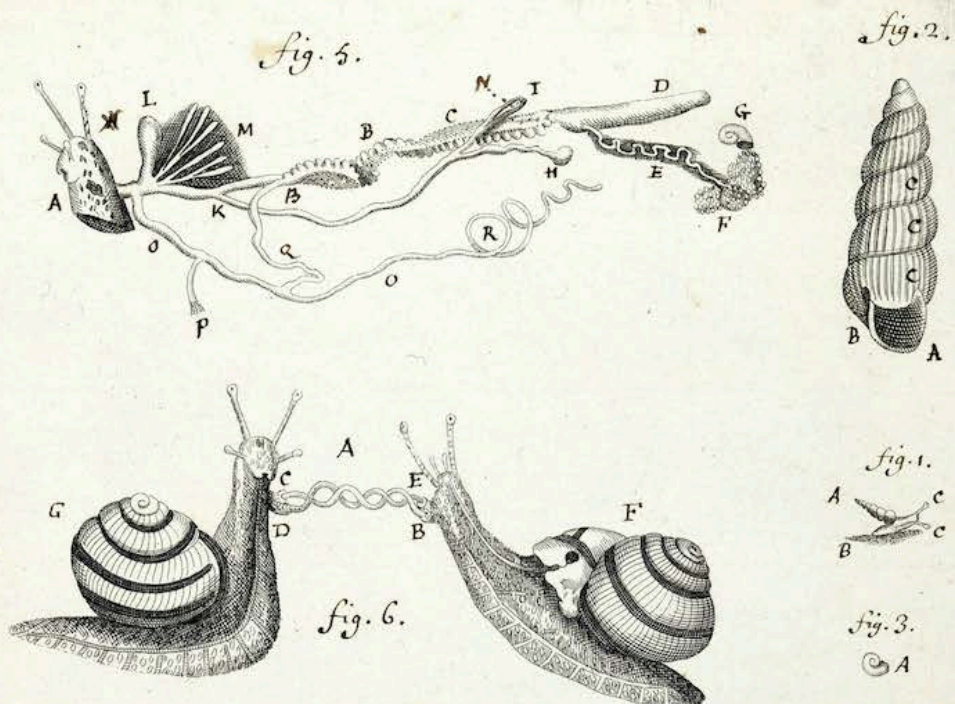


Figure 20

Specialia experimenta et artificia . 77

Joannis Swammerdami 590.8.

Circa Insecta .

Scilicet

*Historia Apum, Ephemeræ,
Ranarum, Cochlearum &c.*

Iconibus expressa .

quarum Iconum

Tabulæ ænea elegantissima

triginta sex, duo

nondum editæ ,

et eiusdem Celeberrimi authoris

Manuscripta Insectorum Anatomica,

quæ deperdita putabantur,

prostant Parisiis in Musæo

Clarissimi viri

D. D. Guicharti-Josephi Du Verney,

Consilarii Doctoris Medici Regis Ordinarii,

Academiæ Regiæ Scientiarum Socii

et in Horto Regio Parisiensi

Anatomici et Chirurgiæ Professoris.

anno 1700.

*On n'a tiré que deux Exemplaires de ces figures,
Savoir celui cy, et un autre qui est dans le
Cabinet de Monsieur Guillaume Sherard
à Londres, Capitale du Royaume d'Angleterre.*

De manieren zoo in voort komen, en wat men
meer daarin kan aan merken; waar van ik voor de
woordig niet meer zal by brengen, alsoo ik ver-
moed is van alle de voozghende zaken te obse-
veren ende te beschrijven. Waaron ik my nu be-
geef in die oerkeus te verhandelen, de welke
deels selve onder behoort, maar die was
naghes der haren leedematen verhoort: om welke
reden de deels maniere van verandering, in een
word, die op de tweede wyte toegaat, ook willen
onder schynen. Soewel sy uytgaat, niet als
toevallig verscheen.

Figure 22

Gelyk dit van de ontfenken in't Jaar 1667
ontvonden hebben den Heer van Horne, en
Swammedam, gelyk in defst boek de mira-
culis naturae te zien is.

Nog is dit seer merkelyk onderfkeyt huffende
beginfelen der kleyne, ende der grooten dierem
dat de kleyne dieren in haer beginfelen merke-
lyker ende kennelyker sijn al of de grootste; waar
bynog komt, dat (als God de kleyne dieren een
Perk van niet grooverste kunnen groeyen geftelt
heeft en het welck perk mogelyk beftaat in de
swaarte van het hest, dat alle de kleyne tegens
de swaarte van de perfende luyt moet uit fitten)
daar door de kleyne dieren volmaakter ende
volkomender in haer beginfelen al of de grootfijn.

Maar om nader tot myn voorftel te koonen fo-
st, dat hebbende in't Jaar 1669 in het boek de
Insectij byzonderlyk belooft van de Structuur der
insecten te handelen, ende dat oock tegelyk van de
Beyen gedaen hebbende, daar ik de Fucien een
manniken, de Koning een Wyfken, ende de gemeene
werkbeeyen, nog manniken hogewyffken genaamt
hebben: so is dat ik nu voornamentlyk de struc-
tuur van deef drie foorten van dierken fal afhan-
delen fullende na gelegendheyt, daar huffen in
nog van enige andere dierken haare particuliere
fcheydenfpreken, welckes structuur ik in haer geheel
op een andere tyd, fo het godt welvoet, fal afhandelen
ende befchryven.

Als ik op den 22 Augustij 1673 een korf met Beyen
die geswermt had quam te openen, so vond ik daar
in enige duysend gemene Beyen, enige honderde
Fucien, ende een Koning. Maar alfo daer eygent-
lyk geen Koning, nocht oock geen Fucien in de korven
der Beyen ooft te vinden sijn, en dat, door een seer
groot en onverfchoneelyk misverftand deef dier-
kenf de gefeyde naamen sijn gegeven ende toegeey-
gent, so fal ik alhier in het begin vermanen, dat
ik nial in myn volgende werck, de gefeynde
Koning der Wyffken der Beyen fal noemen, Apes
femina, ende de Fucien fal ik het manniken
der Beyen heeten, Apes mas, ende ten laasten
de gemene Beyen fal ik Apes operarias, tot
onderscheyt heeten. waer van ik dan van
allaf de reeden in het vervolg klaarlyk ende
onwiderfprekelyk fal geve, toone en bewyfen.

Op de gefeyde tyd dan een korf met Beyen
openende, so vond ik daar in behalven de
manniken, het wyffken, ende de werkbeeyen,
nog draderhande ende onderscheydelike
Huyfken, kamerken of Celleken, Tavi a
favendo gelyk men segt genemt:

Wge van Horne en Swam A.
medam klaar aantoonen.

De Kleyne dore sijn in haer
beginfelen kennelyker al of
de groote.

rede, waarom?

So, merk in deef verha-
deling van den luteins.

Wat men voor de Koning
af de Beyen moet houden.

Wie het manniken geygent.

En welck de Gemeene Beyen
sijn.

Draderhande Huyfken
in de Bey korf

L'histoire naturelle du cousin traduite sur l'original flamand qui-
ne s'est point trouvée avec l'explication
des figures. ~~On a ajouté quelques~~
figures à celles de l'ancienne planche.

Figure 25

*L'histoire naturelle de l'éphémère
avec les figures.*

*Traduction françoise faite sur l'original flamend, qui ne s'est
point trouué*

Figure 26

4

Il est bon de vous avertir que j'ay trouvé dans
les marges du manuscrit deux sortes de nombres des
figures, les uns de la main de l'auteur rayez par une
main différente qui en substitue d'autres en la place, il
en est de même de quelques lettres qui sement de remoy
aux figures, j'ay cru qu'il falloit laisser l'un et l'autre
dans ma traduction, on ne n'ay rayé que superficiellement
les caractères de l'auteur rayez dans le manuscrit par
une main différente, et j'ay substitué les caractères et
des nombres substituez pour les distinguer par exemple
fig. *** de l'auteur ~~VVVVVV~~ de l'auteur
fig. 1. tab. 6. substitué K K substitué

Quant aux mots que j'ay fabriquez ou derivez du
latin faute de connoistre les termes françois qui fussent
propres, s'il y en a quelques uns que vous n'entendiez
pas, vous n'avez qu'à m'en envoyer une liste, et je
vous en donneray les definitions dans le sens où l'auteur
les employe.

Het was in't jaar 1673, dat d' H. J. Swammerdam
in zyn gemoedt krachtig geraakt zynde door het
lezen van de Procken van Juffr. A. B. grote begeerte
kreeg om met die Juffrou in briefwisseling te
komen over den toestand van zyn ziele. Die
Juffr. was toen ter tyd in Holstein met eenige
van haare beste Vriende, onder welke Vrienden
was een zeker jong Koopman van Amsterdam
uit eene niet onaanzienlyke familie, geheten
Johan Tielens, aan welken Heer Tielens d' H.
Doctor Swammerdam eenige kennis hadde.
Dus schreef hy aan dezen Heer Tielens eenen
brief gedateert Amsterdam den 18 Maart van het
voorz. jaar 1673, om hem te verzoeken om een
adresse om aan hem en die Juffr. te schryven.
Waarna hy aanderzelve zynen eersten brief schreef,
gedateert den 29 April van't gezeyde jaar: en de
Juffrou antwoorde hem daarop den 17. Aug. van't
zelve jaar. Na deze eerste brief heeft die Juffrou
noch verscheide andere aan hem geschreven, in't
byzonder alze van hem verstonde, hoe zyn Vriend
de vermaarde Anatomicus Nicol. Steno, die tot de Catolyke
Religieuw overgaan, en zich na florenzen by den Groot
ertog van Toscaen begeven hadde ernstig by hem
anhielt om hem mede van Religie te doen veranderen,
en zich mede na ~~de~~ florenzen by dien Groot Hertoo

2

All nom de Dieu ainsi soit il
En l'année mil six cens quatrevingt de la naissance de
nostre seigneur et sauuer Jesus Christ, Le Vingt-cinquieme
januier sur les Midy Vers une heure Comparut pardeuant
moy Jacob Matham Notaire public admis par la Cour de
Hollande, resident dans Amsterdam, et les temoins cy apres
nommez, Le sieur Jean Wammerdam Docteur en Medecine
Demeurant sur le Agtergragt en cette Ville, connu a moy notaire,
estant Visité par Dieu toutpuissant d'une Griue Maladie, qui le
menaceoit a tous momens de la mort, jouissant ^{pleinement} néanmoins
de ses sens, memoire et entendement, comme il ^{constoit} paroïsoit exte-
rieurement Lequel Voulant &c

Figure 29

Avant propos.

La Seiche est un poisson sans Coquille des plus extraordinaires, tant pour sa forme Extérieure, qu'en ses parties intérieures. Je décriray ici ce que j'ay observé de plus particulier, et le Lecteur jugera si les Conjectures que j'en tire sont raisonnables, ou non. à la vérité, la nature mesme qu'il faut consulter, ne sera pas trompée.

Tab. 50.

deefe i met ~~met~~ Rippes
tot den bek toe

NB de Bek d'uydelijker

Fig. I.

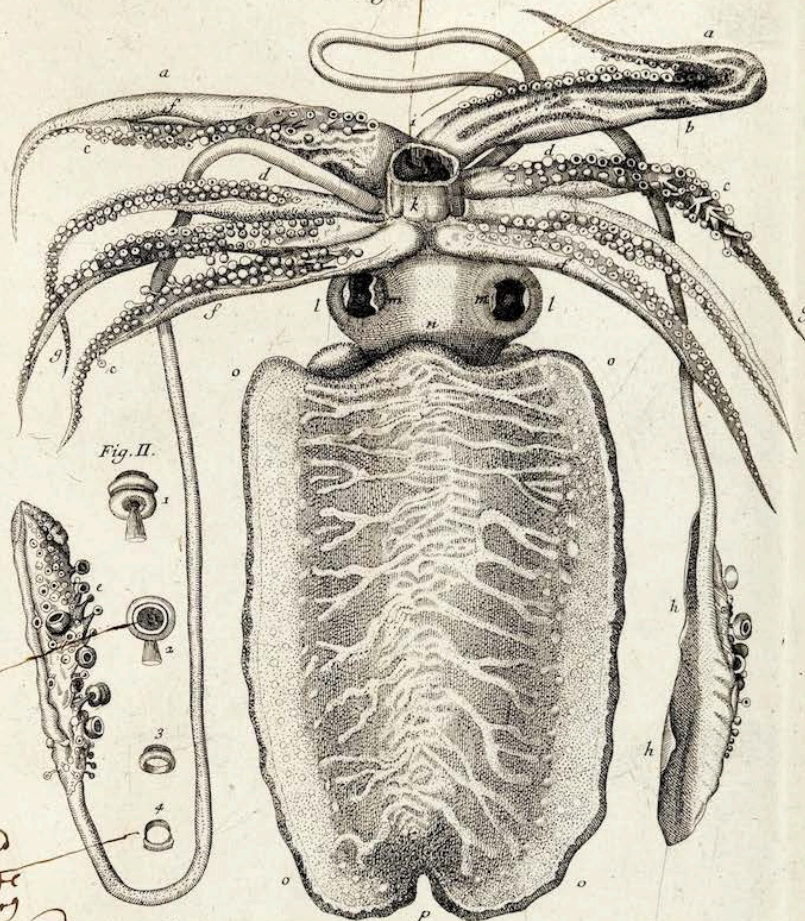
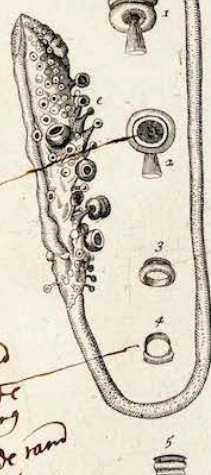


Fig. II.



het binnenste
duydelyker

dit moet vonds
zyn als een
ring; die de
lekening
en boven de rand
waars

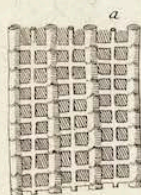
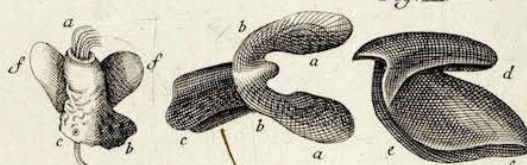


Fig. VII.

Fig. III.



NB dit moet e sijn

Fig. IV.

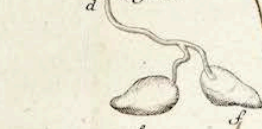


Fig. V.



Fig. VI.



deefe leuf was d'uydelijker

dit moet e sijn

Figure 31

Histoire naturelle de l'Yver

drif ver

Qui se trouve dans le Fromage
représentée par des figures

Table 1 are.

Table 1 are.

la premiere figure qui represente le ver de la grandeur qu'il pousse
de la grandeur naturelle

~~La Grande Prairie~~

2. fig. *a nos yeux*

~~Leonde Agues~~ la même ver comme on le voit avec le Microscope

on circulation

12345678910 Les douze anneaux du corps du ver

A la Teste on peut remarquer les deux Griffes de ses pieds, qui lui servent ^{avec} à ^{pour sauter} liquer il se prend son d'œuvre

B les larvings de ~~L. japonica~~ ^{de} la Trachee au lere hors ~~de~~ ^{de} la peau

cc L'endroit ou l'on voit acbrassers de la grande passion, les deux
plus grands ^{rameaux} branches de la trachee artere qui envoient dans
rameaux plus petits qui s'anastomosent ou subissent avec ceux
qui passent dans la quatrième aorte

DDDD 64 Anes l'ombré des poumons qu'on trouve au travers des ardoises
quand le corps du ver ^{est} divisé ou dans les du corps du ver

F-6 Une partie de la gomme passement et endroit au tronc de la peau
Quelques petites coques transparentes
Un gros ~~Vestibule~~ gros rambeau de la Tronche aspire au

partir en est entrain de l'extirpation on a vu du
corps du vent ^{qui partait} en treuve de si plus grande branches

H Un petit morceau de grappe blanc, pareux, sur la rive. Division
antérieure duquel, la rive. Division on voit les deux souches
~~fig~~ des rameaux de la brachélastère

Figure 32

1

Venite et videte opera Dei; reuerendus est actio
erga filios hominis Ps. 66.

Avant propos ou introduction

Quoyque la grandeur du Dieu incorruptible, son invincibilité, sa puissance
éternelle et la divinité, s'entend^{ent} évidemment, et se voy^{ent} à decouvert par toutes les
creatures: il est cependant que l'une creature semble nous représenter le Dieu
invincible plus ouvertement, et plus clairement que l'autre; comme cela pa-
raîtra clairement par le traite suivant des abeilles. c'est pourquoy ^{il a plu q} comme
Dieu tout sage et tout bon, de benir favorablement mon travail vigilant et constant
jespere aussi, que par le meme, la divine toute puissance et sagesse infinie, et
aussi notre tres faible impuissance reluiront si clairement, que chacun qui prendra en
main le traite suivant, ^{apprendra} par la, la grandeur, admirera son esprit et
benira sa suffisance; c'est ^a pourquoy si ces ombres, ^{ebauches} essais d'images, et faibles
descriptions des ouvrages admirables de Dieu peuvent parer le lecteur, j'estimerai
mon travail non seulement bien payé, mais aussi pleinement beni et rendu
fructueux par la misericorde divine.

L'histoire naturelle
des Abeilles
expliquée par figures
et par Lettres.

Planche première.

figures La Première, et la Seconde figure, représentent
1.^{re} et 2.^e l'abeille commune, dont chaque partie sera
décrite séparément dans les figures qui suivent.
figure 3.^e L'abeille femelle, communem^t appelée
le Roi des Abeilles, elle est assez semblable
aux autres, si ce n'est que son aiguillon
est un peu tortu.

A le gausier

B le ventricule ou l'organe dans lequel
muches vivantes de fibres charnues

C le pylon le nœud qui estoit de mesme
estoit rempli d'une substance visqueuse

fig. 1. DD l'intestin grêle lequel lorsqu'il est
rempli paroît acouffe de tous costez
il fait comme l'intestin gros le
l'on pouoit voir dedans quelques
valvules en forme de demy lune

EE la plaque ou ces in-
testins se referent et l'on
i'ay trouvé un grand nombre

de petits intestins blancs si fortement
attachés ensemble que ie n'ay pas peu me
mieux qu'ils sont représentés dans la figure

FF les petits intestins avec
leur membrane



Figure 36

Preface

Advertisements

Lors que c'est jure est apparu, il vit dans l'eau, respire
 par la queue, et se jeta sur le rivage, et quand il en
 devint coque, ~~se jeta~~ ^{se jeta} dans la paille dans laquelle il est
 renfermé, et lors qu'il est ^{changé} en homme, il ne peut plus vivre dans
 l'eau, de sorte qu'il est en danger de sa vie, et il est en danger
 pour lui de mourir.

se change en fin en hydrocantha^{nus} après qu'il a ~~avec~~
assésuscu dans l'eau; car alors il en sort, et achève
son changement en terre, mais ce cy est de Conjecture.

La mouche chevaline a une autre manière
de se nourrir, elle a une trompe et un aiguillon
pour ce qui est de son vex, j'en parleray plus
amplement, lorsque je traiteray du premier
ordre. Son vex respire par son derrière et ses pieds
sont placés proche des mâchoires comme s'ils estoient
dans sa gueule.

Fig. VI. Les trous par ou l'escargot respire
veüts dans leur situation, avec les
anneaux du Corps déjà représentés
dans la nymphe ou coque, et peuvent
y estre encore veüts.

- A. 1. Le premier point ou trou de la respiration situé
de travers par derrière, et dans l'os de la
poitrine sur le 2^e anneau.
- B. 2. Le second trou qui est ^{2 plus} bas, et aussi en travers,
ensuite on le voit aussi sous les aîles ~~sur~~
sur le 3^e anneau.
- C. 3. Le 3^e un peu plus haut, placé sur le bord du bas
ventre, il se voit ~~aussi~~ ^{sur} sous ~~les~~ ~~lignes~~ ~~sur~~ le
6^{me} anneau.

Monsieur

2

Je vous enuoyay il y a quelques jours la figure de l'uterus ou
Ovarium du Bouc: ~~Aujourd'hui~~ ^{en est un} c'est une anatomie entiere ~~de cet~~
~~animal que je vous presente~~: Vous y trouverez bien des merveilles
et dans la moindre de ~~ses~~ ^{de cette espèce} parties, de grandes marques de la sagesse
infinie ~~du~~ ^{de} Createur. L'on verra avec estonnement dans ce petit animal,
les mêmes ~~à proportion~~ ^{choses} que les hommes ont déjà admiré dans les
animaux qu'ils tiennent les plus parfaits. Pourmoy, Monsieur, je
vous devois cet ouvrage, puisque je ne scay personne qui soit plus touché
que vous de cet admiration pour les ouvrages de Dieu, et qui soit plus
persuadé que ces découvertes peuvent servir à détacher les hommes des
engagemens qu'ils prennent trop légèrement pour les choses du monde
et qui les ramènent d'avantage ^{à l'homme} au Vray culte de la divinité: vous m'avez
toujours porté à ces recherches depuis que je fus admis à cet assemblée
qui se tenoit chez vous. Cette conformité de sentimens et d'étude
m'a toujours attaché avous par une estime et une amitié très
particulière, et les soins que vous avez pris d'y correspondre en toute
sortes d'occasion, m'obligeront à estre toute ma vie.

L'anatomie d'un Bouc

Avant que je décrive les parties intérieures de ce petit
animal il faut que j'en fasse ^{quelques} remarques ^{de} ce que j'ay vu au dehors.

Le ~~deuant de sa teste~~ ^{à la regarder par devant} a la figure d'un ovale, par derrière
elle est tournée en rond, la peau est dure semblable à un fort par-
chemin, elle est transparente, et hérissée ça et là d'un poil semblable
à ~~une soye~~ ^{de pourceaux}

Le ~~son~~ ^{de} aiguillon ~~est~~ au deuant de sa teste, on le voit très

conserve de ceux de capture grande espèce quatre jours par ce moyen, et
et ceux de capture petite en un ou deux jours.

*
mis sur du papier noir
et que l'on

Quand on a étendu sur son doct cap de juse de jlen mieu de
l'ourin avec de la cisaure d'une pointe de force de l'écie, qu'avec la lancette jlen
soit une eau, qui est sous sang, ce qui est de même d'une tour de juse de
excepte le ven de force d'un le sang est rouge: et si l'on se d'ou ensuite.

Figure 41

B l'extremite l'Enomac e suole quel on vou quel quer petiter
Branches de la trachee artere.

C Le pilore.

DD l'intestin grele

EE Le gros intestin e suole quel on vou auer d'aur de longueur
Lignes au traver de la membrane que le compose.

F l'intestin dion avec ses vides.

G Valvule en forme de croissant.

fig VII . Le cerueu, la moelle de l'espine et les nerfs qui en
Sortent.

Explication des figures de l'histoire
Des grenouilles.

Planche XLVII.

Fig. 1. Les parties de la generation de la
grenouille male, vues avec le
microscope.

A.A. les testicules.

B.B.B.B. les reins.

C. quelques appendices des testicules, qui sont
remplies d'une matiere huileuse.

D. une de ces appendices representee seule

E. une autre de ces appendices, qui se divise en
deux branches.

F. vaisseaux sanguins qui paroissent sur les
testicules.

G.G. Les extremités des canaux qui paroissent
comme autant de globules.

Explication des figures du Cancellur

Explication de la Table I.

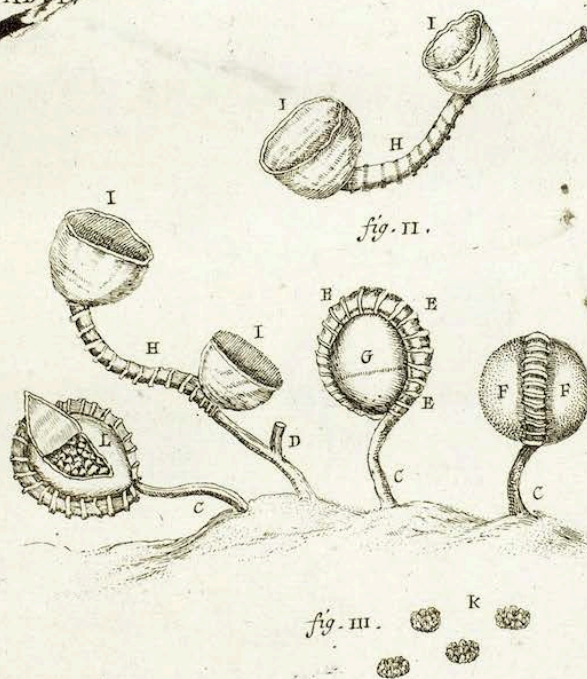
- A. La coquille du cancellur avec ses cinq cerclés.
 B. La pointe de la coquille.
 D & E. Les yeux antennier ou cornes avec dix poils.
 E. Le bras droit avec ses pinces.
 F. Le bras gauche qui en le plus petit.
 G. Les quatre pieds antérieurs.

Table II.

- AA. Les yeux rouges et à leur extrémité d'une couleur de
 Wood brun, jls sont jussement attestés par un petit anneau de
 même substance que le reste de la coquille. La partie supérieure
 de l'œil est dure, la supérieure au contraire en tout sa
 fait tendre.
 BB. Les cornes, dont la figure ne vous représente pas
 mal l'artifice.
 C. Le bras gauche.
 D. Le bras droit.
 EE. Les quatre pieds de devant.
 FF. Les pieds d'après.
 GG. La quatrième ~~partie~~ partie de pied d'après
 laquelle jly a cela de remarquable; que ces jambes ou
 pieds à l'endrois marqué LL, sont percés par deux
 petits conduits ou canaux ~~par où sortent~~ par où sortent
 de la semelle ou la semence du mâle.
 HHH. Trois antennes ou soies divisées par dix petites.

4. Tap. 53

TAB



Tab. 1. en foy
une feuille de la fougere
masle

BB les tubercules ou pelles
mineures sur la feuille de la
qui sont composés de quelques
petits fruytes et de petits
filiqueux ou geasses qui va ser-
vir à la graine de
la fougere

Fig. II

long de ces geasses

se voit une une

la microscope

de 2 de ces geasses

dont la partie se

divise en deux

branches

ces 3 autres geasses

dont la partie ne se

une branche

EEE l'endron ou la

partie ou la

la geasse

FF l'endron ou la

partie ou la

la geasse

HH le petiole ou la

partie ou la

la geasse

III la geasse

ou deux parties

La même branche de la geasse ou une
casquette que l'on voit de deux
graines dans l'endron ou une

Fig. III

la geasse

K V graines l'endron ou la geasse ou l'endron ou la geasse

elles sont composées de quelques
petits fruytes et de petits
filiqueux ou geasses qui va ser-
vir à la graine de la fougere

Figure 45

Figure 1.^{re}
Une feuille de la fougere
masle

B B. Les tubercules ou petites eminences
sur la ~~surface~~ ^{de la fougere,} la feuille, qui sont
composees de quelques petites
feuilles, et de petites siliques, ou
gousses qui renferment la graine
de la fougere.

Figure 2.^e Cinq de ces gousses comme on
les voit ~~dans~~ ^{au} le microscope

c.c.c.##
D. ## Une autre
Cinq de ces gousses dont le pied
est divisee en deux branches.

ces trois ~~autres~~ ^{deux} gousses dont le
pied n'a qu'une Branche.

EEE. L'endroit ou le ~~peduncule~~ ^{peduncule} ~~entre~~
entoure la gousse,

FF. L'endroit ou l'on voit paroistre
la gousse des deux costez du
peduncule qui l'embrasse, et luy
~~sertant~~ ^{sertant} comme de corniches

G. L'endroit ou la gousse s'ouvre

HH. Le peduncule estendu en droite
ligne, par le moyen d'un espee
de ressort,

II &c. La gousse ouverte, et divisee
en deux parties,

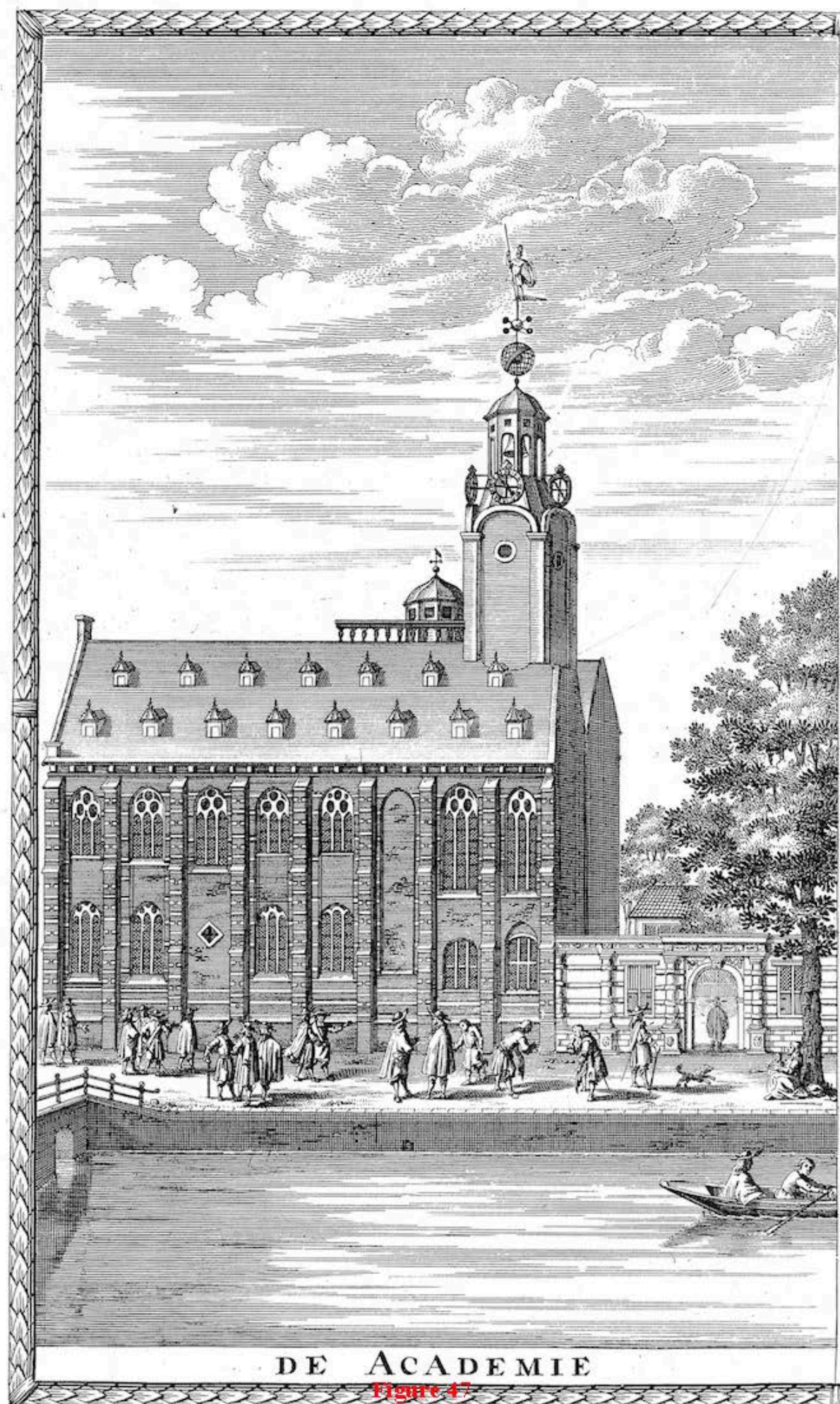


Figure 47

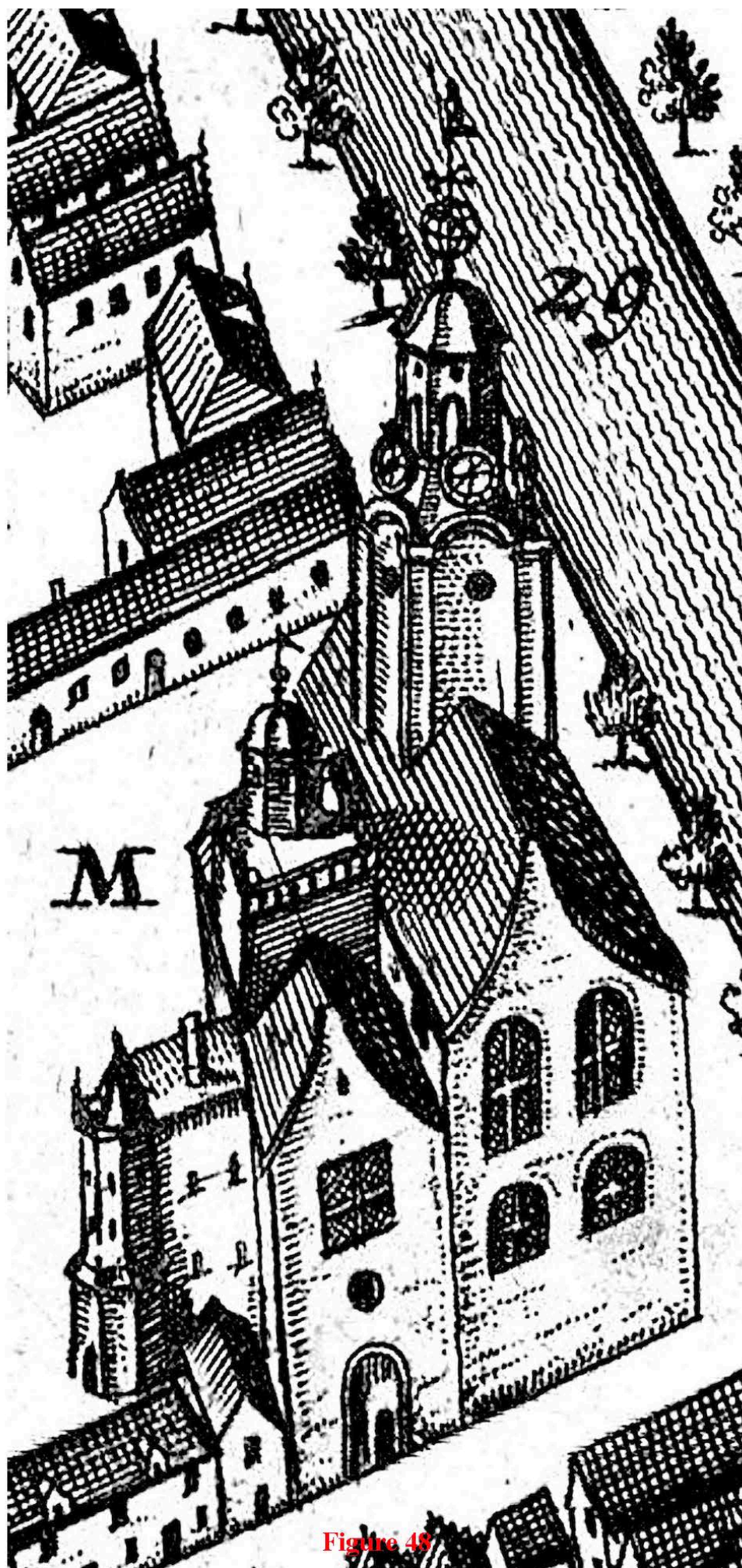


Figure 48

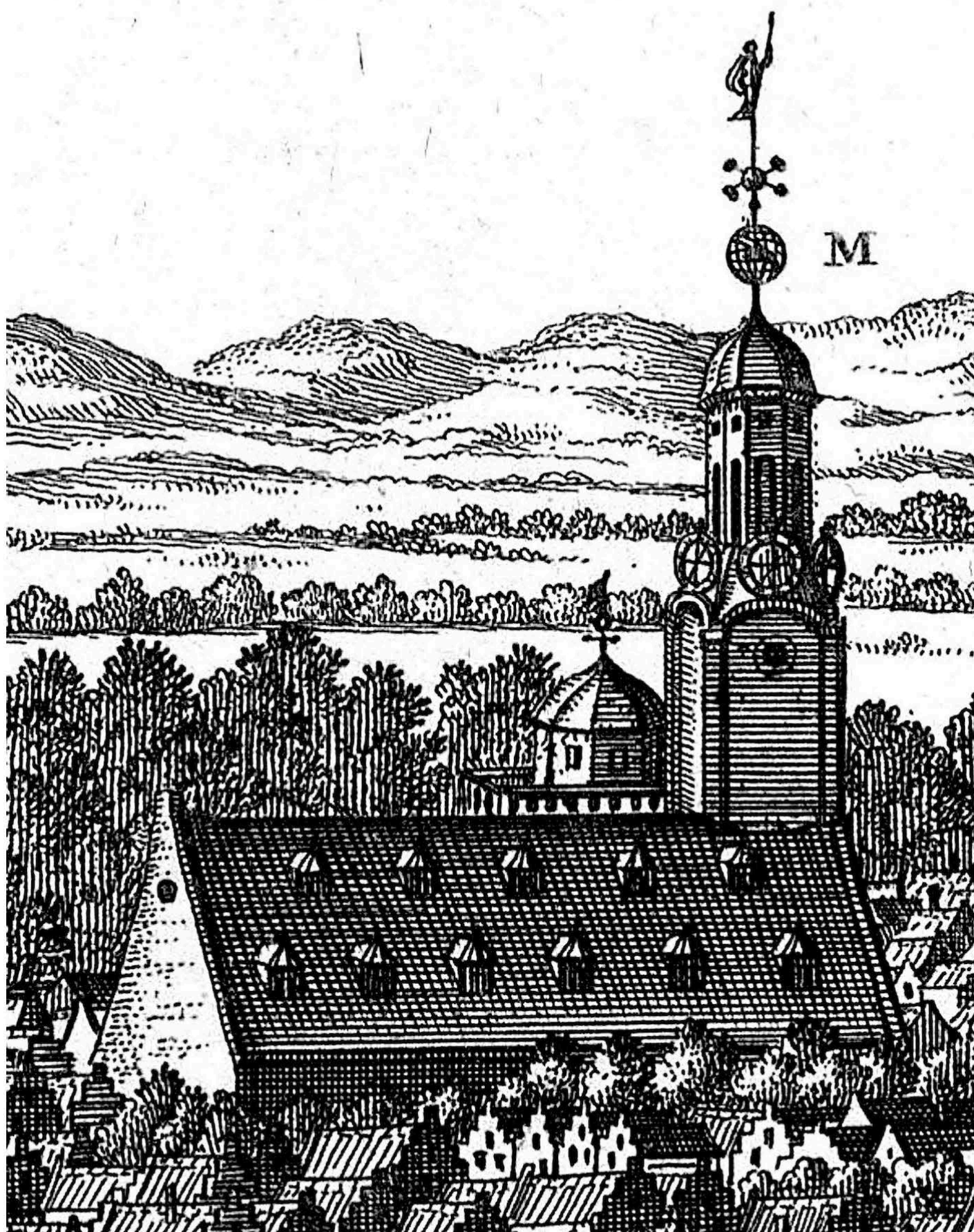
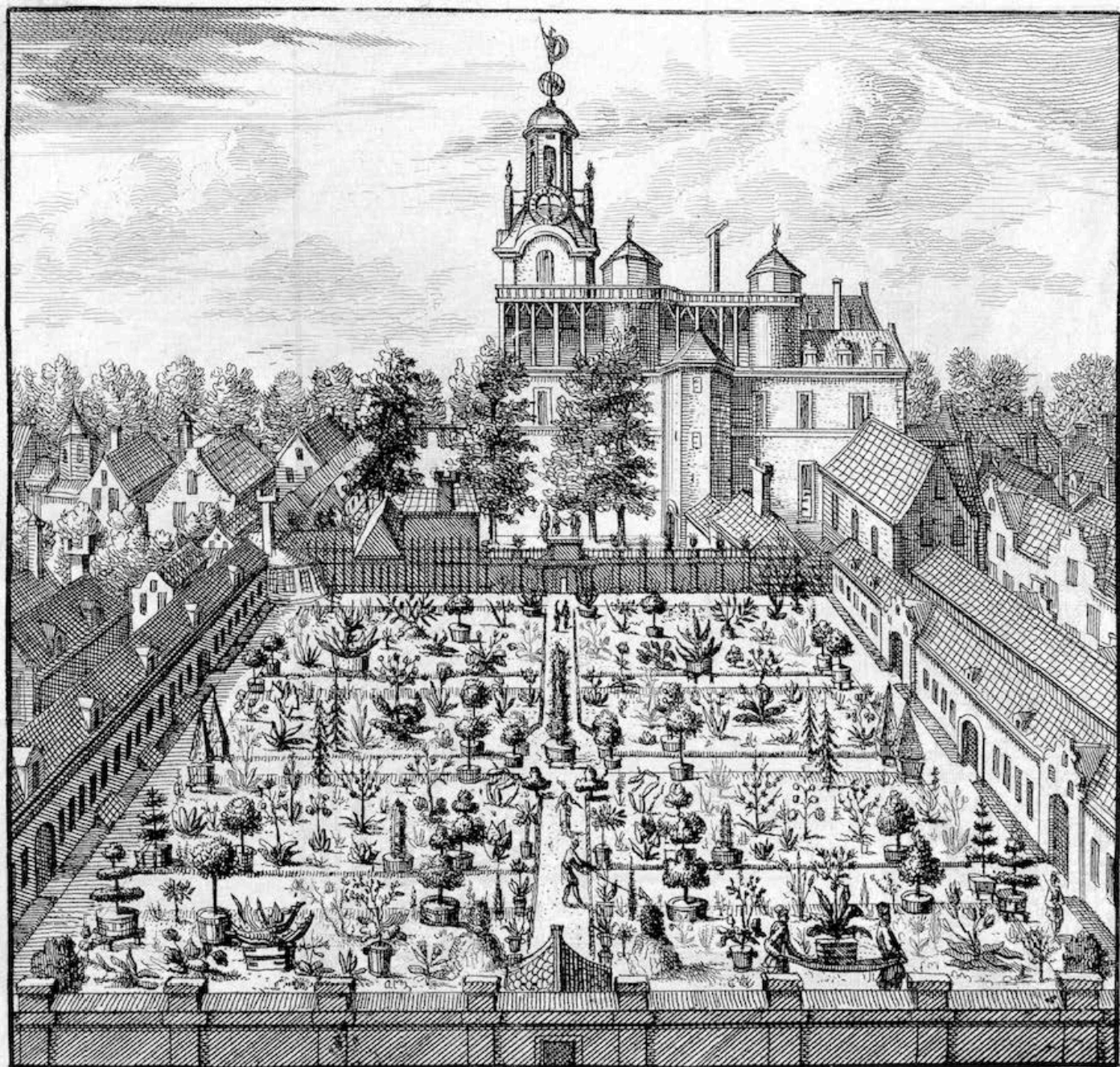


Figure 49



Figure 50



Le Jardin de l'Academie, tel qu'il est à present.

Figure 51

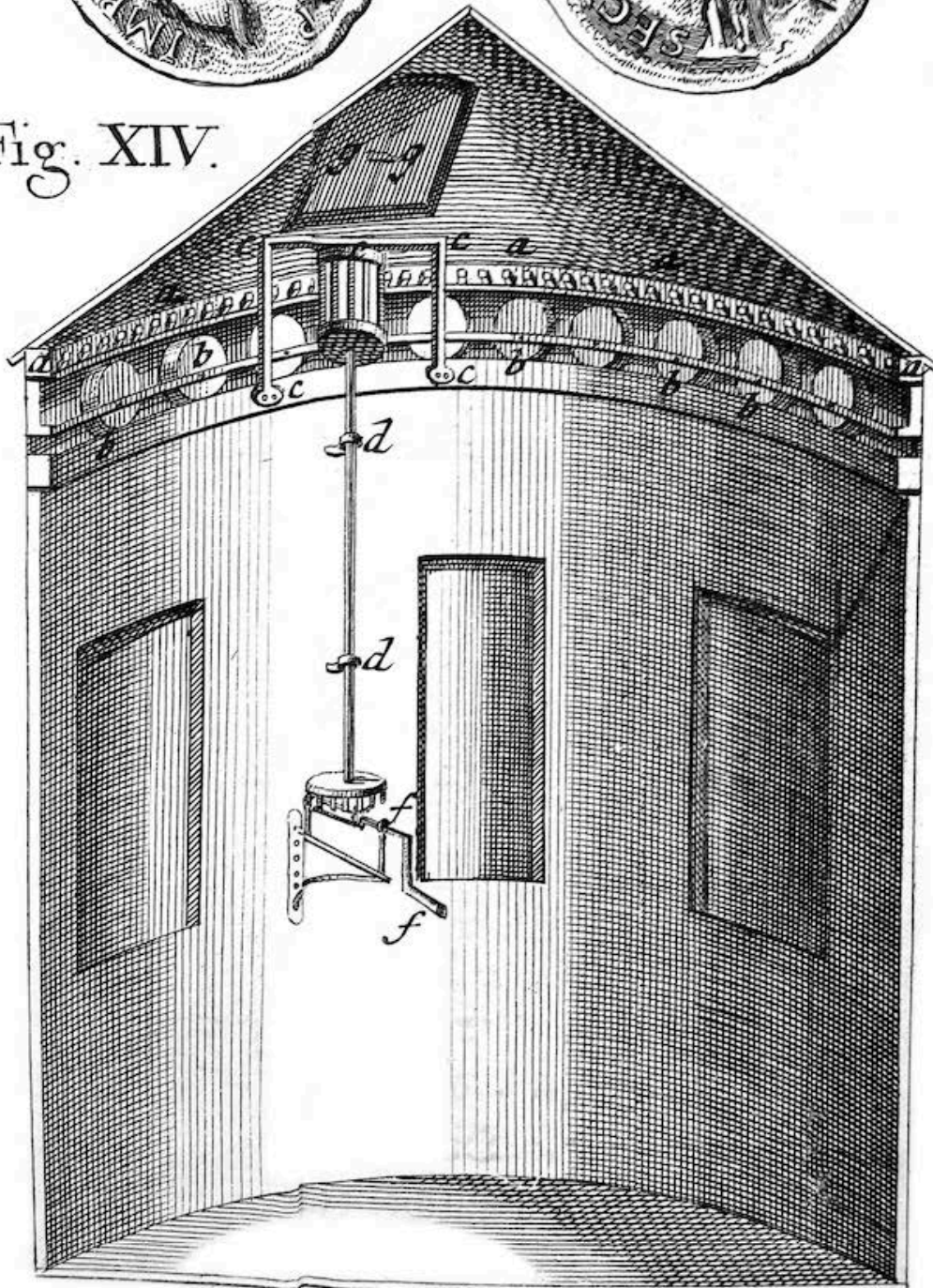
(ad Fig. 19.)



Æ



Fig. XIV.



Je vous ay fait mes plaintes de Mr. Van Hoest
 et de la supposition qu'il m'auroit eue que
 J'aurois traité avec Wighendrop de ses
 planches, Je luy ay fait les memes plaintes et
 de luy du q de ce mois, ou il continue dans
 cette fiction, a diuستانه na V besitter
Zijnde van de platen en wat er meer is
de afdruckels daer van tot een redelijke
prijs den boeck drucker soude konnen
doen behauegen, et finit par une
priere de pouruoir retirer les esqz de
langh onder my behouden dat ukzeligens
myn exemplar estationere en uyge
doe nemen. Je voit par la que l'on ne
 fait le pucey que pour auoir le temps
 de faire l'edition latine et la flamande

ser^{mo} Principi

117

Ho eseguito gli ordini di V. A. S.^{ma} nella distribuzione de' libri e ricapito
delle lettere ma non saprei come rappresentare i sentimenti di obligato
servito che le debbo per tanti grazie. S'è dato finalmente
principio alle lezioni della nuova Accademia a' soggetti nominati
qu'è vostra Altezza hanno aggiunto il sig. Marchese come sin
golar nella cognizione di Langlet e che per tale via insegna
le apprese il defunto duca d'Orléans, nella prima istituzione data
a Mathematica in tutte le università e chi cinque volte di quattro
cento anni senza interruzione e con a titolo di professori e d'aiuto di
corsi, s'è discusso l'obbligo nella Palazzo del Louvre luogo
destinato da Enrico 4.^o a Orleans e insegnate la geometria, ma
sto mancando di fin' ma perche dimittito al sig. Marquis e a' signori
vedendo che hanno pensato di mantenerci qualche altro soggetto,
di V. A. S.^{ma}

Quoniam et obligat^{us} sum
R. M. de la Roche
Lecuyer