

*Commerce, Law, and Erudite Culture:
The Mechanics of Théodore Godefroy's Service
to Cardinal Richelieu*

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By 1627, Théodore Godefroy (1580–1649) had become a respected member of the Republic of Letters.¹ A son of the famous Calvinist humanist juriscult Denis (I) Godefroy, Théodore had been baptized by Theodore Beza. Although most of his family remained Huguenot exiles, he had returned to France and converted to Catholicism. In Paris, he published fifteen books in seventeen years, including histories, editions of historical documents, and learned treatises on ceremonial and dynastic rights. Louis XIII recognized his services, charging him, along with his friend and relative Pierre Dupuy, with compiling a register of the collection of Royal Charters, and naming him a *historiographe du roi*. These commissions gave him valu-

¹ See Klaus Malettke and Ulrich Hatte, eds. *Zur Perzeption des Deutschen Reiches im Frankreich des 17. Jahrhunderts: Théodore Godefroy, Description d'Alemagne* (Münster: LIT, 2002), Klaus Malettke, "Die Perzeption des Deutschen Reiches bei Théodore Godefroy," in *Frankreich im Europäischen Staatensystem der Frühen Neuzeit*. Rainer Babel, ed. (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1995), 153–78, Denis-Charles Godefroy-Méniglaise, *Les savants Godefroy: Mémoires d'une famille pendant les XVI^e, XVII^e et XVIII^e siècle* (Originally Paris, 1873, reprinted Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), 129–30, and N. Jordan, "Théodore Godefroy, historiographe de France (1580–1649)," *Positions des thèses de l'École nationale des Chartes* (1949): 91–95; I could not obtain a copy of her thesis. I thank Caroline R. Sherman for letting me read a copy of her "Building a Dynasty of Scholars: The Godefroy through the Generations," presented at the Society for French Historical Studies Conference, 22 April 2006.

able access to archives and documents, and an annual royal pension of six hundred *livres*. Yet by early 1627, Godefroy was in financial trouble, for his pension, like those of many other scholars, had not been paid for years. Though he performed research for a wide group of *Parlementaire* clients, he had few independent means. As he never ceased to mention to prospective patrons, he was a widower with six children. Godefroy faced a classic challenge of scholarship: how could he make a decent living from erudition?

An opportunity soon presented itself. At the end of January 1627, Godefroy's friend the Dutch polymath Hugo Grotius refused Cardinal Richelieu's offer to become a commercial counselor, serving Richelieu in his new office of "Grand Master of the Navigation and Commerce of France" as he had served the Dutch East Indies Company.² Although Godefroy possessed neither Grotius's knowledge nor symbolic value, he hoped to exploit this moment. With help from other friends in the Republic of Letters, he approached the Cardinal. Jacques Dupuy was soon able to report to Nicolas-Claude de Fabri de Peiresc—who had recommended Godefroy to the Superintendent of Finances, Antoine Coëffier, the marquis d'Effiat—that

Godefroy considers himself highly obliged to you for your offers to assist him with your credit with the Superintendent of Finances. Since then he has twice seen Monseigneur the Cardinal, who knows his worth. He is carrying out for him a great work about the treaties made with foreigners about commerce. The said Lord the Cardinal found his project entirely to his taste, and encouraged him to continue. This should serve him well.³

It did serve him well. Godefroy was paid the arrears of his pension in coin before other scholars received anything; his salary would be raised from 800 to 3,600 livres, and was often paid.⁴ For the next three years, commerce would occupy a prominent place in his work; Godefroy shifted from

² H.J.M. Nellen, *Hugo de Groot (1585–1645): De loopbaan van een geleerd staatsman* (Weesp: Uitgeverij Heureka, 1985), 44–46. For Grotius's work for the VOC, see Martine Julia van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle: Hugo Grotius, Natural Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies (1595–1615)* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

³ Jacques Dupuy to Peiresc, Paris, 12 April 1627, *Lettres de Peiresc*, ed. Philippe Tamizey de Larroque (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1888–98), I, 843.

⁴ Jacques Dupuy to Peiresc (5 April 1627), I, 836. François Fossier thought Godefroy's appointment lasted only until 1628 "La charge d'historiographe du seizième au dix-neuvième siècle," *Revue Historique* 258 (1977): 79 note 3, but a letter from Claude de Bullion to Pierre Dupuy and Godefroy disproves this, From Metz, 21 January, B.N. Collection Dupuy, 881, f 34.

producing works for the delectation of lettered men to royal service, a path that would see him appointed Secretary to the French delegation to the Westphalian peace talks. While this might seem a happy conjunction of knowledge and a patron's demand, it is more puzzling when one notes that in the beginning of 1627 Godefroy had no particular knowledge of maritime law, colonial enterprise, or merchant practice.

Godefroy's engagement with commerce might seem to be of only biographical importance, for scholars with broader interests have never studied the several volumes of papers documenting Godefroy's commercial activities surviving in the Collection Godefroy at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut in Paris.⁵ These papers illuminate the development of a new form of erudition in state service, and suggest a way to reshape the history of early modern economic thought. Godefroy's papers allow us to scrutinize how he fabricated his commercial expertise, and thus the manner in which statesmen confronted the divisive issue of the governance of commerce in an era before the invention of a discipline of "political economy."⁶ His papers tell us more about the nature and quality of French commercial thought in the early seventeenth century than the small canon of French "proto-economic" writings typically scrutinized by historians of early modern "political economy" or "mercantilism."⁷ Godefroy's papers suggest that early seventeenth century commercial debate focused on the just and effective exercise of sovereignty. The governance of commerce came to be a central thread of contention among European powers during the Eighty Years War, when the Dutch challenged Spanish claims to empire over the Indies trade with inventions such as the chartered company and doctrines such as Grotius's *mare liberum*. Commerce, however, did not form a closed "discipline," with recognized principles of inquiry and specialized training, or even a distinct area of legal knowledge.⁸ Commercial counsels combined

⁵ Bibliothèque de l'Institut (Quai de Conti), Collection Godefroy (here after C.G.) See François Gêbelin, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Collection Godefroy* (Paris: Plon, 1914).

⁶ Peter Groenewegen, "Thoughts on the emergence of economics as a science," in *Eighteenth-century Economics: Turgot, Beccaria, and Smith and their contemporaries* (London: Routledge, 2002), 48–96.

⁷ Historians have focused on Antoine de Montchrestien's *Traicté de l'Oeconomie politique* (Paris, 1615). See Nannerl O. Keohane, *Philosophy and the State in France: The Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 163–68, Henry Clark, *Compass of Society: Commerce and Absolutism in Old-Regime France* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2007), 3–26.

⁸ Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 5–6.

political arcana with merchant practice, theological doctrine with accounts of unfamiliar places, learned works of Roman and customary law with the fantasies of projectors, and ancient wisdom with rapidly changing news of ministers, merchants, and markets. Commerce thus posed extraordinary challenges to coping with information, because the range of possible sources and authorities was so wide, heterogeneous, and unstable.

Godefroy gathered commercial precedents and examples from across Europe and even the wider world, and assembled them into a body of useful knowledge using common methods of humanist textual practice and juridical logic. That Godefroy could satisfy the Cardinal and his circle by his rapid accumulation of commercial information and counsels indicates that they had moved into an arena of statecraft about which they knew little, but also suggests the efficacy of Godefroy's textual methods in forging the commercial portion of the sort of political knowledge that Bruno Neveu has called "the arms of erudition."⁹ The historian Ann Blair has argued that the abundance of texts available by the late sixteenth century provoked a feeling of "information overload" that sparked the proliferation of new strategies of reading and note-taking to cope with such an impossible diversity.¹⁰ Jacob Soll has called particular attention to how Jean Baptiste Colbert drew upon the services of erudite scholars, including Théodore Godefroy's son, to construct a center for state information; Godefroy's work suggests that Colbert drew upon established patterns of erudite service.¹¹ Yet historians have largely neglected the work of such *doctes* scholars during Louis XIII's reign, despite their importance to reshaping of the notion of counsel during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹² Godefroy's career also suggests that not all scholars upheld a cosmopolitan and universal Republic of Letters even during the Thirty Years War, remaining

⁹ Bruno Neveu, "Les armes de l'érudition dans la guerre diplomatique au XVII^e siècle," in *Les premiers siècles de la République européenne des Lettres: Actes du Colloque international, Paris, décembre 2001*, ed. M. Fumaroli (Paris: Alain Baudry, 2005), 407–25.

¹⁰ Ann Blair, "Reading Strategies for Coping with Information Overload, ca. 1550–1700," *JHI* (2003): 11–23.

¹¹ Jacob Soll, "The Antiquary and the Information State: Colbert's Archives, Files, and the Affaire of the *Régale*, 1663–1682," forthcoming, available at <http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k12884>, accessed on 17 November 2006. See, more generally, Peter Burke, *A Social History of Knowledge from Gutenberg to Diderot: Based on the Vonhoff Lectures given at the University of Groningen* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 118–41.

¹² Orest Ranum, *Artisans of Glory: Writers and Historical Thought in Seventeenth Century France* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 50–57, see also "Richelieu, L'histoire, et les historiographes," in *Richelieu et la Culture*, ed. R. Mousnier (Paris: CNRS, 1987), 137.

aloof from divisive politics and strife.¹³ Godefroy and other citizens of the Republic of Letters hastened to support Richelieu's policies with information, counsel and in print, and did so even in their correspondence with other scholars; the rewards of Richelieu's service, and the pressures of international politics, created a moment when politics entered into scholarship, providing a model for how state service could modify the Republic's normal apolitical sociability.¹⁴ Richelieu valued Godefroy for his ability to assemble information quickly from a wide range of sources, render it accessible by translation, copying, excerpting and organization, and to shape it into useful forms of secret counsels, legal briefs, and even public pamphlets.

Some of Godefroy's service to the Cardinal took lowly and mundane forms. He noted on one occasion that "I've not yet been able to find copies of the foundation of the Chamber of Commerce of 1602, even though it has been printed twice by Mestayer & Saugrain. I will not fail to search tomorrow in all the booksellers."¹⁵ Yet obtaining information often required more than the willingness to pound the pavement and check booksellers' stalls for an obscure pamphlet; it required privileged access that could itself form part of one's assets. Thus, Godefroy recommended himself to Richelieu by noting

I have free entry to three of the best libraries of this city, where one can find many Navigations and Descriptions of Voyages to the Indies and other far-away places, and also the laws of Kingdoms, Cities and Countries for that which concerns navigation and commerce.¹⁶

Godefroy's lists of books from the King's library and the library of Jacques des Cordes survive; he was friends with the King's library's keeper Nicolas Rigault.¹⁷ He also listed books on shipwreck borrowed from the library of

¹³ See, for example, Marc Fumaroli, "Préface," to *Les premiers siècles de la République européenne des Lettres*, ix-xviii, Françoise Waquet, "Qu'est ce que la République des Lettres? Essai de sémantique historique," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 147(1989): 473-502, or Hans Bots and Françoise Waquet, *La République des Lettres* (Paris: Belin, 1997), 34-44.

¹⁴ See Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680-1750* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 174-218, Peter Miller, *Peiresc's Europe: Learning and Virtue in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), and Stéphane Garcia, *Élie Diodati et Galilée: Naissance d'un réseau scientifique dans l'Europe du XVII^e siècle* (Florence: Leo S. Olschkim 2005).

¹⁵ C.G., vol 67, f. 18.

¹⁶ C.G., vol. 67, f. 27.

¹⁷ C.G., 207, f. 27v. Book list headed "Mr des Cordes a tous ce que dessus."

the de Thou family, in the care of his friends the Dupuy brothers.¹⁸ Such access would have been particularly important to Richelieu and his clients before they had built up substantial libraries of their own. It is likely that Godefroy helped assemble the Cardinal's substantial collections of works on commerce, as he certainly bought books on the subject for some of Richelieu's creatures such as Claude de Bullion.

The ability to procure books from the libraries and booksellers of Paris was one of Godefroy's vital assets, for material excerpted from printed works formed a significant part of his commercial collections. He headed several lists of books relevant to commerce with such titles as "must be gone through and excerpted" or "must be read," which might be either reminders to himself, or instructions to his clerks to perform research, indeed often prodigious amounts of research, for the lists frequently exceeded fifty titles, some of them many volumes long.¹⁹ Godefroy tried to find classical examples useful for understanding commercial and maritime affairs, but apart from concepts from Roman law, and a brief mention of the encouraging examples of Themistocles and the Romans during the First Punic war as powers that had been able to quickly construct fleets, ancient texts seemed to yield little of use.²⁰ Godefroy found most of his material in collections of ordinances, books of geography, recent histories, and as his recommendation to Richelieu suggests, collections of voyages. To judge from his excerpts, he found Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes* particularly useful as a source for the privileges of companies, treaties, and other documents. There is little evidence that he was interested in Purchas's own ideological slant.²¹ Godefroy's main sources about Dutch

¹⁸ C.G., 67, f. 136, "Naufrage." On the Dupuys, see Klaus Garber, "Paris, die Hauptstadt des europäischen Späthumanismus, Jacques August de Thou und das Cabinet Dupuy," in *Res Publica Litteraria: Die Institutionen der Gelehrsamkeit in der frühen Neuzeit* eds. Sebastian Neumeister and Conrad Wiedemann (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987), 71–92 and Jérôme Delatour, "Les Frères Dupuy (1582–1696)," *Positions des thèses de l'École nationale des Chartes* (1996): 93–100.

¹⁹ C.G., 207, contains a title page for the "Dictionnaire de la marine" followed by "Il faut parcourir & extraire," followed by a list beginning "Mes Recueils" naming another fifty two books. A to-do list involving commerce is in C.G., 67, 48 v. headed "Mercredy," which begins "Ecrire a ma Mere & Soeurs," but continues "Extraits pour le commerce."

²⁰ C.G., 68, f. 269, "Discours sur le subiect des guerres qui se font par mer, dressé peu apres la prize de la Rochelle," notes on f. 278r.

²¹ London, H Fetherston, 1625. For Purchas's ideology, see James A. Boon, *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions and Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). The translations were by Godefroy himself; C.G., 63 English company charters from Purchas, with Godefroy's interlinear translations.

commerce and commercial thought were two histories: the Latin edition of Johan Isaac Ponatanus's *History of Amsterdam*, which in the second book described Dutch discoveries, navigations, and trade, and a French translation of Emmanuel van Meteren's *History of the Dutch Wars*.²² Godefroy commented in a letter to one of his patrons, Keeper of the Seals Michel de Marillac, that van Meteren "was a merchant of Antwerp, who treats particularly well in his history that which concerns navigation and commerce."²³ Van Meteren not only described commercial disputes, voyages, and the founding of the Dutch East India Company, but also detailed the debates about the truce, even including excerpts from pamphlets. Godefroy frequently supplemented such printed material with manuscripts; for example, he procured a complete manuscript copy of one particularly interesting pamphlet summarized by van Meteren, perhaps obtained from one of his contacts in the Dutch Republic.²⁴

Such material likely came from a contact in the Republic of Letters; he frequently drew upon his contacts both inside and outside France to obtain interesting printed books, as well as manuscripts or even particular information. Peiresc recommended that Godefroy look among the papers of the secretary of state de Loménie, and in the archives of Montpellier and Nîmes for copies of treaties about commerce, and later offered to send other manuscripts and books relevant to his commercial collections, and even to search the archives of the city of Marseille.²⁵ Godefroy queried experienced returned diplomats about the details of commercial treaties and people in the countries where they had been posted.²⁶ Godefroy's royal service permitted him to call upon French diplomats for services and information, but he mainly drew upon his excellent connections in the world of letters to procure books and information from abroad.²⁷ Sometimes these requests were straightforward attempts to procure books not available in France.²⁸

²² Godefroy used the edition *L'Histoire de Pay-bas d'Emanuel de Meteren, ou Recueil des guerres . . .* (La Haye: Hillebrant Jacobz. Wou, 1618).

²³ Draft of Godefroy to Marillac, 21 January 1628, C.G., 67, f. 19.

²⁴ "Discours d'un particulier sur le fait du Commerce de Indes," summary in van Meteren, f. 630 et seq. and contained in the C.G., 66, f. 40.

²⁵ Peiresc to Dupuy (16 may 1627) *Lettres de Peiresc*, I, 230, and Peiresc to Dupuy (17 July 1627), 294.

²⁶ C.G., 68, f. 359v. "Envoyer a Monsieur Hotman."

²⁷ He told some Dutch correspondents to post letters by way of the French ambassador's secretary Boutard, C.G., vol. 67, f. 25r.

²⁸ C.G., 65, f. 3, "Livres d'Alemagne à recouvrer." He noted "Ces livres se peuvent recouvrer par le Librarie Elzivir de Leide ou par Jansonius d'Amsterdam ou bien par quelque autre d'Amsterdam, de Lubec, de Hambourg, ou Rostock."

Other information required more specialized knowledge, and revealed the value of Godefroy's connections.²⁹ He wrote Joachim Camerarius, a member of a prominent Protestant humanist family to whom Godefroy was related by marriage; they had met during Joachim's peregrinations in France. After asking for a copy of his great-grandfather's (also Joachim) portrait for the Dupuys' gallery of famous humanists, Godefroy requested information about the law of shipwreck in Sweden and Denmark, a copy of the Sea Law of Visby, and about the Holy Roman Emperor's relations with Baltic maritime towns. Camerarius was an obvious source not only because of personal ties, but also because he was perfectly placed to collect information about the Septentrional kingdoms as his father, Ludwig, was the Swedish ambassador in the Hague.³⁰ Other correspondents were also well placed. He requested books and ordinances on the law of shipwreck from the geographer Peter Hondius, the chronicle writer Nicolaas van Wassenaar, and the Dutch-East India Company's map-maker Hessel Gerritsoon.³¹ The quality of Godefroy's Dutch contacts might reflect the hidden assistance of Hugo Grotius.

Godefroy actively sought out information, sending out many copies of lists of questions to his correspondents. One group of queries asked for the location and names of the Dutch and Portuguese fortresses and trading posts in the East Indies, the number of houses in Batavia, the treaties the Dutch had with the Princes of the Indies, and the number of the wares that the Dutch companies brought from or took to Africa and the Indies.³² Another questionnaire asked how much the king of Denmark charged for, and made from, the Sound Tolls, about the law of shipwreck in Denmark, and whether the king of Denmark claimed sovereignty over Greenland.³³ Joined to these questions about tolls, merchandise, and claims of sovereignty were queries about the meaning of words in different languages; one list of Dutch names for rare and precious goods was headed "ask of some Dutch Mer-

²⁹ Godefroy's connections resemble Diodati's, see Garcia, *Élie Diodati et Galilée*.

³⁰ Draft of Godefroy to Joachim Camerarius, 21 Jan 1628, C.G., vol. 67, f. 21v. On Camerarius see F.H. Schubert, *Ludwig Camerarius, 1573–1651: Eine Biographie* (Kallmünz: Michael Lassleben, 1955). Théodore's sister Renée married Phillip Camerarius, Joachim's cousin. See *Les savants Godefroy*, 43.

³¹ C.G., 67, Godefroy to "M Gerritz" 10 Feb. 1628, f. 25, and Godefroy to Nic. van Wassenaar, 10 Feb. 1628, f. 23. On these two, see P.C. Molhuysen, *et al.* eds. *Nieuw Nederlandisch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911–37), III, 462, and VIII, 1307–8.

³² C.G., 64, f. 35.

³³ C.G., 65, f. 6.

chant what do these words mean.”³⁴ Godefroy thus could and did supplement his textual material with information available only from those with current experience.

Godefroy’s work was not yet done when he had collected his texts and questionnaires. As his word lists suggest, translation to French posed the first problem; Godefroy had recommended himself to Richelieu as being suitable for commercial work “because of knowing the Latin, Italian, Spanish and German languages.”³⁵ As noted above, he also used English sources, but unfortunately his knowledge of English was less than perfect; the first request he addressed to an unknown English correspondent was for an English-French or English-Latin dictionary, should one exist.³⁶ Perhaps he never found one, for Peiresc reported that a Scottish friend had found Godefroy’s translation of a document from Purchas to be full of omissions and errors.³⁷ The difficulty of translating might have prompted Godefroy to begin work on a “Maritime Dictionary,” defining technical terms in many languages.³⁸ Alongside the practical problems of translation of technical terms, however, Godefroy’s interest in the details of language and the particular ways of speaking likely reflected his humanistic and juridical approach to knowledge.

Godefroy also organized his collection to make the information easily accessible, part of his larger effort to accumulate files of information on subjects that might be suitable either for printing, or to produce works to meet patrons’ demands. He created many tables of contents for his commercial collections as he added new material to it, and as he anticipated patrons’ changing needs. The earliest tables enunciate explicitly the principles along which he organized his materials. The collection had six principal sections. Four of them contained original documents, with little interpretative matter. The first two sections contained copies of treaties or

³⁴ “s’enquerir de quelque Marchand Hollandois de ce que signifient ces mots” C.G., 67, f. 45; another copy of this list, with translations in another hand, is f. 71.

³⁵ Undated draft of letter to Richelieu, C.G., 67, f. 27, “pour avoir l’intelligence des Langues Latine, Italienne, Espagnolle, & Allemande.”

³⁶ List headed “Je desire sçavoir,” C.G., 67, f. 59.

³⁷ Peiresc to Dupuy (22 Nov. 1628) *Lettres de Peiresc*, I, 749–50.

³⁸ “Dictionnaire de la Marine, ou, Explication des mots, & Manieres de parler, comme aussi des Regles et Maximes servans à la navigation, & au commerce & trafic sur mer, let tout recueilly de plusieurs Histoires, Navigation, & Ordonnances, Statuts, Traictez, Accords, & autres memoire, escripts en langue latine, Italienne, Espagnolle, Portugaise, Françoisse, Alemande, Angloise, & Flamande.” Drafts of the Dictionary in C.G., 207 and 208; the title page is 207, f. 29. Godefroy crossed out the last phrase, listing the languages.

extracts of treaties with commercial implications; section one contained treaties to which France was a party, and section two treaties between other sovereignties. In section three, Godefroy collected documents about disputes between princes and republics about maritime and commercial jurisdiction and sovereignty, such as the dispute between the English and the Dutch over fishing on the coasts of England. He often wrote a short history of the dispute, to include with the collection of documents. The fifth section contained the charters and privileges of companies from throughout Europe. Godefroy turned from legal documentation to broader concerns in the sixth section, which contained information about where and what different people traded, where forts and trading posts were located, and what routes were used for the voyages.

The fourth section, on the other hand, contained argumentative material. He called it "Rules and Maxims about the differences which arise concerning Navigation, and the Liberty and Security of Commerce among Kings, Princes and Republics, or their subjects."³⁹ The use of the phrase "rules and maxims" is significant, for Godefroy, with his juridical background, probably evoked the legal usage of those words to mean the first principles, partaking of natural reason, used to establish conformity on topics where different customs or ordinances rendered the law obscure.⁴⁰ His brother, Jacques, was interested enough in the use of maxims to write a commentary on the final title of the *Digest*.⁴¹ Legal rules and maxims resembled but were not the same as the rhetorically driven commonplaces, for legal rules were used to illustrate extant principles of equity rather than generate beautiful and persuasive speech. They may provide an alternative source to the juridical "rhetoric of citations," discussed by Marc Fumaroli.⁴²

³⁹ "Regles & Maximes sur les differences qui surviennent touchant la Navigation, & la liberté & Seureté du Commerce entre les Rois, Princes, & Républiques, ou leurs subjects," C.G., 66, f. 133.

⁴⁰ See Peter Stein, *Regulae iuris: From Juristic Rules to Legal Maxims* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), 167–70 and Chapter IX, *passim*.

⁴¹ *Commentarius in titulum de diversis reguli iuris antiqui* (Geneva, 1652). Théodore's correspondence with Jacques mostly does not survive, but see Bruno Schmidlin and Alfred Dufour, eds. *Jacques Godefroy [1587–1652] et l'Humanisme juridique à Genève: Actes du colloque Jacques Godefroy* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1991).

⁴² Marc Fumaroli, *L'Âge de l'éloquence: Rhétorique et "res literaria" de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque classique* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), 473–74, and 485–92; See also Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996); and Ian Maclean, *Interpretation and meaning in the Renaissance: The Case of Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

But Godefroy turned this usage to near-polemical intent because his “rules and maxims” were, almost without exception, politically charged points of contention. Godefroy’s very first maxim took up the subject of Hugo Grotius’s *Mare Liberum* arguing that “the Spanish can not prevent the French, the English and other nations from navigating and trading beyond the Canary Islands on the coasts of Africa, or beyond the Azores in the West Indies.”⁴³ Although no excerpt of Grotius’s *Mare Liberum* remains in the collection, Godefroy obviously knew the book well. He defended the work from responses to it by Seraphin de Freitas (whom Godefroy accused of misquoting the Truce of Vaucelles to support Spanish claims to the Indies) and a Jesuit named Nicolas Bonnartius from Brussels, who had written a *Mare non liberum* in 1627 or 1628.⁴⁴ Most of Godefroy’s titles took up controversial positions about the interaction of dominion, commerce, and navigation, although they were more concerned with relations among states than those between sovereign and subject. As Alan James has recently argued, Richelieu attempted in the early part of his ministry to construct the legal and administrative machinery that would allow the monarchy to respond to international disputes with commercial and maritime measures such as embargoes and reprisals.⁴⁵ Godefroy intended his maxims to act as a theoretical appendage to such legal machinery. One maxim argued that neutral ships carrying arms and munitions to a realm at war were just prizes, provided that no special privileges had been granted on the subject. Another maintained that Princes could increase their tolls and charge foreigners more than native subjects, unless an unbroken treaty existed between the two realms. Others argued that treaty provisions that limited trade to particular cities or to a particular nation were unjust, and thus could and should be revoked. Arguments about such points of debate were likely when French statesmen constantly disputed claims to jurisdiction and domination of the seas.

Godefroy’s collection contained materials gathered speculatively to anticipate the needs of future patrons, but also copies of materials that

⁴³ “que les Espagnols ne peuvent empescher les François, Anglois, & autres Nations de naviger & trafiquer par delà les Isles des Canaries és Cotes d’Afrique, & és Indes Orientales. Et par delà les Isles de Asores és Indes Occidentales,” C.G., 67, f. 141–44: “Memoires pour la navigation et le Commerce de France.”

⁴⁴ For Seraphin de Freitas, C.G., 64, f. 40, and for Nicolas Boonartius, C.G., 65, f. 10.

⁴⁵ Alan James, *Navy and Government in Early Modern France* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2004), 32–76, and “The Development of French Naval Policy in the Seventeenth Century: Richelieu’s Early Aims and Ambitions,” *French History* 12 (1998): 384–402.

responded to patrons' particular demands. For example, Richelieu commissioned Godefroy to write a treatise proving that shipwrecks were a royal right. In late January 1627, two Portuguese carracks were wrecked on the coasts of Gascogne.⁴⁶ Richelieu, in his office of Grand Master, claimed the wreckage for himself, but Jean-Louis de Nogaret de la Valette, the Duke of Epernon, also claimed rights to it as governor of Guyenne. In an undated note to Godefroy, Richelieu directed that "you must show in the Treatise of Rights of Shipwrecks, that such rights are royal and completely inalienable, and that it is an abuse to think that they can be patrimonial as some particular lords would like to pretend."⁴⁷ If such rights were Royal, as Richelieu wanted Godefroy to demonstrate, they could be given and revoked at the will of the king and assigned to Richelieu. At issue were not only these particular Portuguese wrecks, but two things dear to Richelieu: his personal income from any future wrecks and the authority of the king.⁴⁸ Godefroy responded to this demand to defend the King's majesty and Cardinal's income with a memorandum containing copious citations of sources: ordinances from France, Aragon, Poland, Piedmont, England, and the Holy Roman Empire, the customs of Brittany and Normandy, propositions of the Roman jurist Ulpian, and a treaty between a King of France and a Duke of Brittany. He collected, in addition, the customs of Oleron, the Mediterranean, and Visby, ordinances from kingdoms from Sicily to Scotland, and even a few examples of shipwreck and their legal implication collected from books of voyages to the Orient.⁴⁹ Despite this profusion of legal sources, Godefroy's argument that rights to shipwrecks were regalia verged on being an analytical truth; he argued that kings have rights to wrecks because they have jurisdiction over (if not the dominion of) the seas, as shown by the punishment of pirates and the imposition of tolls. Godefroy may have placed this particular topic under the heading "rules and maxims" because its argument, though supported by example from custom and precedent, was a generally applicable product of reason.⁵⁰ Godefroy had completed a version of the "Treatise on shipwrecks" by the end of

⁴⁶ Yves-Marie Bercé, "L'affaire des caraques échouées (1627) et le droit de naufrage," in *État, Marine, et Société: Hommage à Jean Meyer* eds. Martine Acerra, Jean-Pierre Pous-sou, Michel Vergé-Franceschi, and André Zysberg (Paris: Sorbonne, 1995), 15–24.

⁴⁷ "[il] faut montre au Traitté des Droits de Bris, que tels Droits sont Royaux et du tout inalienables, Et que c'est un Abbus de penser qu'ils puissent estre patrimonniaux a quelques seigneurs particuliers comme quelques uns voudroient pretendre," C.G., 67, f.

⁴⁸ Joseph Bergin, *Cardinal Richelieu: Power and the Pursuit of Wealth* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 97–102, and 116.

⁴⁹ Archives nationales, AB XIX, 3192, dossier 3; C.G., 67 is filled with relevant excerpts.

⁵⁰ Bercé, "L'affaire des caraques échouées," 22–23.

1627, and the Cardinal rewarded him for his efforts with a gratification of 2400 livres. Godefroy, however, continued to revise the treatise for another two years, finally giving it to the Cardinal in 1630, after the original conflict with the Epernon had been settled.⁵¹

During that time, Godefroy's connections with those around Richelieu and the scope of his work on commerce expanded. He presented copies of his writings on commerce to the Marquis d'Effiat, secretary of state Claude Bouthillier, and others in Richelieu's circle, as well as to the *procureur général* of the *Parlement* of Paris Matthieu Molé, who had supervised Godefroy's and Dupuy's work with the *Trésor des Chartes* and in 1627 was entrusted in addition with overseeing the *Parlement* of Paris's registration of Richelieu's charge of *Grand Maître*.⁵² Surviving letters provide more details of his relations with particular members of Richelieu's circle. He began to assist the influential Claude de Bullion, a member of Richelieu's Council of the Marine, to find ordinances about naval and commercial affairs. Bullion, in turn, commended Godefroy once again to Richelieu, writing "I think that it would be a propos if you please to get the King to order him some livres. I think that his work will not be without merit, and particularly that which concerns commerce, of which he says that he wants to discover the methods of the Dutch and the English."⁵³ A few weeks later, he reminded Richelieu of his suggestion.⁵⁴ In October, 1629, he informed Richelieu that "Monsieur Godefroy is working incessantly to research everything that can be found" about whether the jurisdiction of the admiral of France extended to all of the seas of the kingdom, that is, to the provinces of Provence and Languedoc. At the time, Richelieu was trying to expand the powers of his new office to those provinces; Charles de Lorraine, the duke of Guise, defended his rights of Admiral of the Levant and Governor of

⁵¹ See a copy in Godefroy's hand, (6 December 1627) in the C.G., 67, f 31. He wrote a number of draft letters to Richelieu in January, 1628 announcing the tract's completion, but they were probably not sent, C.G., vol. 67, f. 1 (dated 1 Jan. 1628), f. 5 (dated 5 Jan.) and an undated letter on f. 27. Grillon, V (1630), 38–39, Godefroy to Richelieu, 20 Jan. 1630.

⁵² C.G., undated "to-do lists" 67, f. 64 v, and 68, f. 349 v. *Mémoires de Mathieu Molé*, ed. Aimé Champollion-Figeac (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1855): 1, 419–48.

⁵³ Grillon, III (1628), 26 (12 Jan. 1628): Grillon omits the passage "J'ay recouvert les ordonnances avec quelques autres Edits et reglements sur le fait de la marine et L'Admiral de la Popleniere.[sic] Je faicts le tout relier et les vous envoiey par la premier commodité," C.G., 270, f. 209.

⁵⁴ "J'estime qu'il seroit à propos qu'il vous plaise luy faire ordonner par le Roy quelque livre. J'estime que son travail ne sera inutile, et particulièrement sur le fait du commerce, dont il dit vouloir descouvrir la science et des Hollandois et des Anglois," Bullion to Richelieu, Paris 27 January [1628], C.G., 270, f. 231–32, not in Grillon.

Provence. Godefroy had suggested that one needed to search the registers of the *Parlements* of Paris, Toulouse, and Aix for documents, but opined that he doubted that the jurisdiction had in fact ever extended to Provence.⁵⁵ Lacking precedent, he wrote a memorandum arguing that kings have the power to create and change any offices, and that it was necessary for the commerce and navigation of France to attach the Admiralty of Provence to Richelieu's office of Grand Master.⁵⁶

Apart from legal research and argumentation, however, Godefroy also provided counsel, which was intended for a restricted audience of influential readers.⁵⁷ In these commercial counsels, he approached closer to the rhetorical range of the typical projector—someone who proposed new institutions, laws, or monopolies in order to improve the commerce of the realm—than in the rest of his collection. He came closest when he simply translated a work into French, and circulated it as his own proposal. Thus in 1631 or 1632, he extracted a proposal from the Spanish *arbitrista* Pedro Fernández Navarrete's *Conservación de monarquías y discursos políticos* to found colleges to train as sailors the idle and exposed infants. He entitled this extract "Advice given to the Cardinal Duke of Richelieu" and on the back of the page a list of other names to whom the advice might have been given, including Molé, Effiat, and the new Keeper of the Seals Charles de l'Aubespine, marquis de Châteauneuf, among others.⁵⁸ Godefroy collected, excerpted, and commented upon many proposals to improve the commerce of realms. French reform proposals seem to have been collected as much for historical value as for the composition of advice. For example, Godefroy unearthed Chancellor Antoine du Prat's 1517 reform proposal submitted to the *bonnes villes* of the kingdom in the unpublished history by du Prat's secretary Jean Barrillon and in the *Trésor des Chartes*, and put it together with excerpts from reforming propositions presented to the Estates General

⁵⁵ Bullion to Richelieu, 17 October [1629], *Les Papiers de Richelieu*, IV (1629), 645–46. C.G., 67, f. 40 undated draft.

⁵⁶ C.G., 64, f. 92–99: Versions of "Que le Roy peut & doit separer la charge d'Admiral de Levant d'avec celle de Gouverneur de Provence, et unir la dicte Charge d'Admiral à celle de Grand maistre de la navigation de France" in Godefroy's hand.

⁵⁷ See John Guy, "The Rhetoric of Counsel in Early Modern England," in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 292–310.

⁵⁸ "Advis présenté au Cardinal duc de Richelieu," C.G., 68, f. 346, "Pour faciliter le commerce de France sur Mer,"; the list of names is on 348r-v; another copy is in C.G., 64, f. 197. See *Conservación de monarquías*, ed. Michael Gordon (Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, 1982), 363–64.

during the sixteenth century.⁵⁹ He also collected Isaac le Maire's proposal to found a company in France.⁶⁰ Although he knew of them, he did not excerpt or comment upon the works of the Chamber of Commerce under Henri IV, or Barthélemy de Laffemas's associated works. Nor did he refer to Antoine de Montchrestien, although he may have heard of him; he noted that he borrowed Laurens Bouchel's *La Bibliothèque ou Thresor du Droit François*, which summarized under the heading "commerce" Montchrestien's *Traicté de l'Oeconomie politique*.⁶¹ He similarly ignored François du Noyer's projects.⁶² Godefroy might have thought that these works were of little value, and instead preferred to collect manuscript copies of earlier proposals made to French kings. Perhaps these proposals had more of the savor of secrets of state, the *Arcana imperii*, or had taken on the status of official or historical documents.

Godefroy collected his counsels, and earlier projects, in the sixth and final section. Although it contained proposals to "improve and increase the commerce of France by the example of that seen in foreign kingdoms and states," it did not take a consistent approach to commercial advice.⁶³ Some proposals, such as those of du Prat, argued that France would become wealthier the closer it came to autarky, and that self-sufficiency would follow from royal prohibitions on foreign goods and foreign merchants.⁶⁴ Other counsels maintained that foreigners should be prevented from buying French wares in France, which should rather be exported by French merchants, and that tolls and fees should be higher for foreign merchants. The French should export not only those goods "which the earth produces," but also manufactured wares, and good workers and artisans should be encouraged to settle in France to teach the best ways to make them. Trade

⁵⁹ C.G., 66, f. 121. He probably used the Dupuy's copy, which he used for his work on ceremonies, see *Journal de Jean Barrillon, secrétaire du Chancelier Duprat, 1515-1521*, ed. Pierre de Vaissière (Paris: Renouard, 1897-1899), 1, 17, n 3, and I, 284-302.

⁶⁰ C.G., 62, f. 8 and in the *Table*, f. 5, # 59.

⁶¹ C.G., 67, f. 136 under "Naufrage," lists books borrowed from Dupuy and Des Cordes, including "les lieux communs de Bouchel," or Laurens Bouchel *La Bibliothèque ou Tresor du Droit François*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Pierre Baillet, 1629); Montchrestien in I, f. 628, left column.

⁶² See L.A. Boiteux, "Un Économiste Méconnu: Du Noyer De Saint-Martin Et Ses Projets, 1608-1639," *Revue d'Histoire des Colonies* 44 (1957): 5-68.

⁶³ "Moyens pour faciliter et entretenir le Commerce en France, à l'exemple de ce qui s'observe és Royaumes, & Estats estrangeres." C.G., 67, f. 144, XXXV.

⁶⁴ See Lionel Rothkrug, *Opposition to Louis XIV: The Political and Social Origins of the French Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 10-35.

should be made an honorable profession, by maintaining merchants and artisans in their privileges. Companies should be formed and given the exclusive right to some wares and furnished ships and cannons at the king's expense. Godefroy may have attempted to explain the failure of Richelieu's first companies, which were based in small towns, by noting that in England, Holland, and Spain, companies were based in large cities.⁶⁵ Other proposals—including one on the legal framework of the Muscovy trade—seemed to encourage the use of treaties or companies to secure the same privileges for French as for other merchants.⁶⁶ Still others argued against the restriction of trade to a privileged group of merchants, even French. One suggested that in order to encourage foreign merchants to bring goods to France, the right of *aubaine*—the inheritance tax paid by foreigners upon dying in France—should be abolished, justice administered cheaply and impartially, and even “that [merchants] should not be molested for their religion if they do not give scandal.”⁶⁷ Yet Godefroy also collected arguments that it was just, and not just useful, to charge foreigners higher tolls than regnicoles, and criticized a 1629 proposal by an unknown Flemish merchant to establish free commerce in France, objecting that some of the proposals, including the *aubaine*'s abolition, were contrary to law.⁶⁸ Godefroy's practice of collecting excerpts and composing pieces for particular occasions did not encourage consistency, though perhaps he would have delineated the line between the just and the useful had he elaborated upon his maxim “Of monopolies and permissions to particular merchants to carry out their own traffic in certain merchandise. And in which cases such monopolies can be tolerated.”⁶⁹ Godefroy's patrons, however, apparently never demanded such an elaboration.

Godefroy also provided information and wrote polemics about the interaction of politics and commerce throughout Europe. In late December 1627, Michel de Marillac asked Godefroy for information about the Hanseatic cities; French councilors knew about Spanish and Imperial plans to stifle Dutch trade by encouraging the Hanseatic cities to join a company

⁶⁵ C.G., 68, f. 63 and C.G., 64, f. 195–96, # X.

⁶⁶ “Des empeschements et difficultez qui se rencontrent au Commerce de France en Moscovie,” C.G., 66, f. 86v–87v.

⁶⁷ C.G., 64, f. 196r, # 11. See Charlotte Wells, *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 46–47, 81 and 94–120.

⁶⁸ C.G., 68, f. 285–88 “Aucuns Points considerables touchant l'Establissement du libre Commerce de la Mer, en France,” with Godefroy's comments, f. 289–90.

⁶⁹ C.G., 66, f. 143, r. #XVIII.

that would interlock with the Spanish *Almirantazgo*.⁷⁰ In the beginning of February in the next year, Godefroy wrote Marillac that

I sent you previously . . . two packets, where there were memoranda concerning the Hanseatic cities. You will see the results by this one. And I have translated from the German the proposition made to the Senate of Danzig on behalf of the Emperor and the King of Spain to introduce trade there more and more by the establishment of a sovereign council for commerce in the city of Madrid, and a company at Seville, for the Spanish trade in Germany and Poland. One of my greatest wishes is to do something agreeable to you.⁷¹

However, Godefroy soon adapted this work to serve as an anti-Hapsburg tract, which was probably not agreeable to Marillac, who hoped that Louis would ally with Philip IV in the Catholic cause. Godefroy had originally called this memorandum to Marillac “Of the Admiralty and Commercial Company in Seville,” but soon sharpened it to the more emphatic “Of the Spanish plot to attract the principal commerce of Europe.”⁷² By this plot, Godefroy argued, the Dutch would lose the Baltic grain trade, the foundation of their wealth. The King of Spain would tie Polish and German merchants to him, increasing his wealth and power. The Spanish king would have so many ships that he would threaten France, “surrounding us on all sides on the sea.” With the ability to invade all the coasts of Europe and truly hold the Indies, the King of Spain could realize his desire to become a Universal Monarch. Godefroy circulated this anti-Spanish tract widely in

⁷⁰ See “Bericht aus Wien” from 19 Sept. 1627 in *Les Papiers de Richelieu: Section Politique Extérieure: Empire Allemand*, ed. Adolf Wild (Paris: Pedone, 1982), volume I (1616–29), 368–69, and Nicolas de Bar, Seigneur de Baugy, Baugy to [secretary of state Raymond Phélypeaux] d’Herbaut, 14 January 1628. Archives des affaires étrangères (Quai d’Orsay) Correspondance politique, Pays-Bas Espagnols, 7, f. 11. See Jonathan I. Israel, “Spain, the Spanish Embargoes, and the Struggle for the Mastery of World Trade, 1585–1660,” and “The Politics of International Trade Rivalry during the Thirty Years War: Gabriel de Roy and Olivares’ Mercantilist Project, 1621–1645,” in his *Empire and Entrepreneurs: The Dutch, The Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London: Hambleton, 1990), 206–7, and 213–31.

⁷¹ C.G., 67, f. 122, another draft f. 87.

⁷² Godefroy accompanied his memoranda with translations of the Emperor’s propositions to Lubeck and Danzig; C.G., 69, f. 2.

manuscript before it was printed in the *Mercure de France*, the annually published collection of news controlled by Richelieu's clients.⁷³

Godefroy's engagement with collecting commercial information soon receded, although he did not abandon it. In one optimistic moment, he suggested that the Cardinal should employ six clerks to copy excerpts for his commercial collections, a proposal that would have allowed his clerks to collect pay from the king. He even suggested the king employ a dozen useless people who received royal pensions—he added in the margin, with the disdain of the learned for the merely eloquent, "comme poètes"—as commercial agents in foreign cities.⁷⁴ Rather than expanding the commercial reporting, Richelieu found other uses for the Godefroy's skills and willingness to be serviceable, commissioning him to sack archives in Lorraine and to write memoranda to prove France's title over surrounding principalities.⁷⁵ Yet Godefroy did not abandon his commercial collection in 1629, for it represented a considerable investment, although he never again focused upon it as he had for the previous two years. He continued to collect curious texts and information about the commercial world.⁷⁶ He did not change his collection's organization, but persisted in querying Dutch contacts, updating his lists, and inserting interesting excerpts into appropriate sections.⁷⁷ Lettered men regarded Godefroy as a commercial authority. In the mid-thirties, Claude Barthélemy Morisot sent him a manuscript of a

⁷³ *Mercure François, ou suite de l'Histoire de nostre temps, sous le regne du Tres Chrestien Roy de France & de Navarre, Louys XIII* (Paris, 1629), 14: 355–68. See Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early-Seventeenth Century France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 136–37, and works cited there.

⁷⁴ C.G., 64, f. 195v.-196r. # 6 & 7.

⁷⁵ On Godefroy's new duties, see L. Delavaud, "Quelque collaborateurs de Richelieu" in *Rapports et notices sur l'édition des Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France, 1907), 2: 140–44, Fritz Dickmann, "Rechtsgedanke Und Machtpolitik Bei Richelieu: Studien an Neu Entdeckten Quellen," *Historische Zeitschrift* 196 (1963): 265–319, William F. Church, *Richelieu and Reason of State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 361–72, and Marie-Catherine Vignal, "Des papiers d'État d'un ministre aux archives diplomatiques du ministère des affaires étrangères: la destinée des dossiers politiques de Richelieu," *XVII^e Siècle* 208 (2000): 376–77.

⁷⁶ A "Memoire des matieres, dont il se peut faire des Recueils" dating from 1638 lists topics of commerce from # 25–28, C.G., 50, ff. 140–44.

⁷⁷ Later additions include a memorandum from Dirck Granswinckel from December, 1641, (C.G., vol. 66, f. 48), a 1642 list "Namen vande plaetsen die in Orienten bie de Portugesen ende Nedderlanders werden besaten & gefrequentert," (C.G., vol. 66, f. 52.) and Swedish company charters by Willem Usselinx, translated in Godefroy's secretary's hand in Dupuy, 464, f. 140–52, from *Argonautica Gustaviana: Das ist, nothwendige Nachricht von der neuen Seefahrt und Kauffhandlung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1633).

book on the history of navigation from ancient times until the present day. Godefroy praised its Latin style, though noting that it was at least a third again too long and that it would be more useful in French.⁷⁸ In late 1636, Peiresc encouraged him to write memoranda about Dutch commercial organization.⁷⁹ Godefroy's commercial memoranda can be found in other manuscript collections.⁸⁰ Royal officials also continued to ask him for information about commerce and maritime affairs.⁸¹ His work with commercial affairs might have given Chancellor Pierre Séguier the idea to allow Godefroy to catalogue his collections about coinage.⁸² Commerce also played a small part in his work at the Westphalian Peace conference. He annotated a memorandum on the freedom of commerce presented by the Hanseatic cities, and he took notes on a Latin diplomatic polemic against the "plot of the House of Austria to dominate the Baltic Sea" written by someone in the circle of the French delegates to the Westphalian peace talks, who had probably used Godefroy's own papers on the subject.⁸³

Godefroy's son, Denis (II), attempted to make use of his father's commercial collection to attract ministerial patronage. Denis prepared title pages for his father's maritime dictionary and commercial collection "augmented at the end by many acts and important memoranda" for presentation to the controller-general of finance Jean-Baptiste Colbert; the pages were dated 1665, the year when Colbert became superintendent general of commerce.⁸⁴ Among the assets Théodore left to his son were his papers;

⁷⁸ C.G., 66, f. 106. The book was *Orbis Maritimi sive rerum in Maris et Littoribus Gestarum Historia* (Dijon, 1643).

⁷⁹ Peiresc to Saint-Saulvier du Dupuy (28 Octobre 1636) *Lettres de Peiresc*, 3, #CLXVI, 597.

⁸⁰ Documents feature in the Dupuy Collection B.N. Dupuy, 318, 319 and 464, and in that of Henri-Auguste de Loménie, count of Brienne. See B.N. *Nouvelles acquisitions françaises*, 7287, collection de Brienne 319, memoires starting on 267, 276, 288, 296, 298, 300, 304, 312, and 363. Fonds Français 4925 contains nothing but copies of Godefroy's "Mémoires pour la Navigation et le commerce de France."

⁸¹ François Foucquet to [Théodore Godefroy] (19 mai 1635), B.N., Collection Dupuy, vol. 881, f. 41.

⁸² B.N. Fonds français 18503-18504.

⁸³ "Le dessein de la Maison d'Austriche de dominer en la Mer Baltique," C.G., 66, f. 254. Godefroy's notes, C.G., 67, f. 59-60; The book is the *Dissertatio, super vetere Austriacorum Proposito, de Occupando MariBalthico Omnibusque & Poloniae, & Septentrionalis Germaniae, Mercaturis ad se attrahendis, in Galliarum & Foederati Belgij Detrimentum: una cum Mediis quae hanc Perniciem avertunt* (*Eminentissimo Cardinali Mazarino Dictata*) (Paris: 1644) in the Bibliothèque Mazarine call number 14076, B, with the Ms. note "Pour Monseigneur [Claude de Mesmes] le comte d'Avaux."

⁸⁴ "augmenté à la fin de plusieurs actes et memoires importants," C.G., 68, fol. 435-36. Some of Théodore Godefroy's commercial memoranda can be found amongst Colbert's

Denis used his father's commercial papers for the same purpose his father had: to attempt to attract the patronage of a minister interested in commerce. Commerce, for the Godefroys, formed part of a multi-generational pattern of royal service; the pattern would also include Denis's voyages to newly conquered archives, searching out documentation of French rights, and recommending the publication of earlier historians of France.⁸⁵

Richelieu clearly valued Godefroy's commercial erudition enough to enlist his skills in other pressing matters of state. Scholars, however, have largely overlooked this aspect of Godefroy's career, and indeed have underestimated the significance of politicized erudition. At worst, they might dismiss Godefroy as a hack using his erudition to win a statesman's favor, producing a collection about commerce with only competent use of typical tools of early modern scholarship. Historians of economic thought have noted, with disappointment, that writers in the early seventeenth century failed to grasp the opportunity to make "commerce" or "political economy" an autonomous instrument of intellectual, political, and even critical power, as writers would soon enough come to do. As Richelieu, and other statesmen, came to see commerce as a crucial problem of statecraft, they increasingly came to require information and counsel that they lacked the time, the connections, and the skills to procure on their own. Godefroy used his cosmopolitan connections and erudite textual practices to solve this particular problem of information overload. We should not be surprised that the techniques and methods he used to deal with commerce resembled those that he used to deal with other aspects of history, statecraft, and law, for his work with commerce serves both to demonstrate the continuing importance of erudite techniques to early seventeenth-century statecraft and the emergence of a new form of expert knowledge. His commercial collection, in which he gathered documents, facts, maxims, arguments and counsels from hundreds of books and experts across the continent, served as an armory of erudition to defend Richelieu's commercial and maritime projects. Statesmen and other members of the Republic of Letters would defer to and profit from his expertise; while statesmen formed policies whose reasons were often secret, scholars drew upon Godefroy's knowledge to create public knowledge about commerce and its place in history, law and the polity. In our desire to cherish the ideal of a disinter-

papers; see the 500 de Colbert, 203, f. 57, 81, 123, 140, 142, 146, 152, 155, 162, and 172.

⁸⁵ Théodore Godefroy's brother Jacques, a citizen of Geneva, also wrote a book on maritime law—the *De Imperio maris deque jure naufragii colligendi*—in 1637.

ested and pacific community of scholars, we should not overlook singularly interested scholarship's role in the expansion of knowledge. Rather than searching for something that better equals our vision of economics, we might accept that Godefroy fabricated a form of commercial erudition that met the French statesmen's expectations of useful knowledge about the vexed question of how to combine commerce and governance.

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