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Established Libraries as a Destination for Newly Published Works in a Manuscript Culture.  
Medieval Authors' Perspectives

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Riassunto

L'articolo propone una riflessione sul ruolo delle biblioteche istituzionali come destinatari delle opere appena pubblicate dagli autori medievali. I casi selezionati, che abbracciano un periodo dal secolo VI fino alla metà del Quattrocento, rappresentano una varietà di rapporti tra letterati e custodi delle biblioteche. Si comincia con gli autori che in virtù del ruolo occupato avevano a disposizione un repository librario, per passare a quelli che essendo associati a repository istituzionali o scrivendo su commissione vi videro le loro opere subito recepite. Il terzo gruppo consiste in letterati che per propria iniziativa, forse ispirati da modelli patristici o antichi, cercarono di depositare copie delle loro opere presso istituzioni loro estranee, che disponevano di un repository librario. Si tratta di biblioteche di sovrani e papi, di monasteri e conventi, di collegi universitari. Tali repository garantivano più sicurezza, conferivano autorità, ma da alcuni autori erano anche considerati come editori e distributori dell'opera.

This chapter is part of a broader research agenda that seeks to assess the role that medieval book collections, especially institutional libraries, played in the publishing of newly composed works in a manuscript culture.<sup>1</sup> This research agenda is defined by two principal questions. The first asks whether medieval libraries were in a position to increase the dissemination of new compositions. I posit that the potential to do so increased in proportion to the degree to which two specific conditions were met: (a) that libraries were willing to include recent writings; (b) that libraries were accessible and their stocks available to readers who did not belong to the community or institution that owned the collection. Previous scholarship has shown that many medieval libraries, to various extents, met the condition of accessibility, especially during the late Middle Ages,<sup>2</sup> well before the idea of a library freely

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<sup>2</sup> See among other studies: Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, 'Normes médiévales régissant l'accès aux bibliothèques', *Usages des bibliothèques, lieux d'histoire et état des lieux : actes de la table-ronde organisée par Histoire au Présent et l'Institut Historique Allemand de Paris*, ed. by Jean-Yves Mollier, Sources : travaux historiques, 41-42 (Paris: Histoire au présent, 1997), pp. 31-44; Marie-Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, 'Le prêt des livres à la fin du Moyen Age (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)', in *Du copiste au collectionneur : Mélanges d'histoire des*

open to the public, not seen in Europe since the late patristic period, was relaunched at the end of the fourteenth century and became actual during the fifteenth.<sup>3</sup> The question of libraries' receptivity to recent works has had less currency in previous scholarship and will be addressed in a separate study.<sup>4</sup>

It is the second question of my agenda that I wish to discuss in this essay, that is, whether medieval authors actively wanted their works to be taken into institutional book repositories, and therefore made efforts to install them there. If the answer is positive, then the extent to which medieval writers actively considered a library to be a channel for the circulation of their works is something that deserves further investigation. The question has not escaped the attentions of scholarship, although rarely has it been considered as a broader phenomenon, beyond the recitation of individual instances. Francisco Gimeno Blay has captured its importance when discussing the routes by which late medieval Catalan works obtained readerships. He would regard the placing of a work in an archive or library as a variant of handing a copy to a patron, an act to guarantee its conservation and ease its dissemination. Gimeno Blay insists on the potential of patronage in that broadest sense: nothing seems more appropriate for the sake of knowledge of a work than the giving of a copy to a public person whose collection of books was accessible to interested readers; he refers to a handful of Iberian authors.<sup>5</sup> In what follows, I focus on established repositories owned by corporate authorities or religious institutions and communities, including certain libraries at the disposal of literary patrons invested with public authority, but excluding strictly private collections, albeit the distinction governing the latter category is not always clear cut (see the examples of Charlemagne and Onorato Caetani, discussed below). I shall attempt a typology of situations that are documented in the sources from the sixth century to the middle of the fifteenth, and illustrate the agency of, and various patterns of relations between, author and repository keeper, be the latter corporate or individual.

I shall begin by mentioning a particularly advantageous setting, in which authors themselves had direct access to an important book repository by virtue of their social or institutional role.

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*textes et des bibliothèques en l'honneur d'André Vernet*, ed. by Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda and Jean-François Genest, *Bibliologia*, 18 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 339-74.

<sup>3</sup> Jakub Kujawiński, 'Between the Ancient Model and its Humanistic Revival: the Notion of *bibliotheca publica* in the Middle Ages', in *Totius mundi philohistor: studia Georgio Strzelczyk octuagenario oblata*, ed. by Małgorzata Delimata-Proch, Adam Krawiec and Jakub Kujawiński (Poznań: Wydział Historii UAM, 2021), pp. 415-29 (pp. 427-29), with reference to previous scholarship).

<sup>4</sup> A rare instance of a study discussing the scale of attentiveness of medieval book custodians towards recent writings is offered by Donatella Frioli, 'Le biblioteche monastiche: note per un'analisi diacronica', in *Scriptoria e biblioteche nel basso medioevo (secoli XII-XV): atti del LI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 12-15 ottobre 2014*, Atti dei convegni del Centro italiano di studi sul basso medioevo - Accademia Tudertina, LI: n. s. 28 (Spoleto: CISAM, 2015), pp. 335-441.

<sup>5</sup> Francisco M. Gimeno Blay, 'Entre el autor y el lector: producir libros manuscritos en catalán (siglos XII-XV)', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 37 (2007), 1, pp. 305-66 (pp. 306-07 and 318-23). The freely rendered utterance reads: A fin de que fuese conocida una obra, nada resulta más oportuno que encomendar la custodia de un manuscrito a una persona pública y poseedora, además, de una colección de libros que podía, obviamente, ser visitada o a la cual podían acceder otros lectores interesados (p. 319).

The case with Pope Gregory the Great (r. 590–604) is archetypal, not least because his example had the potential to shape the practices of later authors. Not only did the pope deposit working transcripts of his works in the *scrinium* of the Roman see; but he also referred to the same archive as a repository of authorized exemplars of his works, which were available to interested readers for consultation and collation.<sup>6</sup> Pope Gregory's practice adds an interesting dimension to the famous plea of his contemporary fellow bishop, Gregory of Tours (d. 594). Sometime between 591 and 594 Gregory added to his *Histories* a catalogue of bishops of Tours, ending with an entry dedicated to himself. Having listed his writings, Bishop Gregory implores his successors to keep them intact.<sup>7</sup> That utterance has often been

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<sup>6</sup> This is what Pope Gregory states in the letter to Bishop Secundinus of Taormina, accompanying a copy of his *Homilies on the Gospels* (594): *Tua itaque fraternitas sacris semper lectionibus intenta, si praedictum locum euangelii inuenit sub dubietate prolatum, uel easdem homilias repperit ita ut praedixi non esse dispositas, has inemandatas remansisse cognoscat, et iuxta eas quas per praesentem portitorem mittere studui corrigat, nulloque modo illas sine emendatione remanere permittat. Editae autem in scrinio sanctae ecclesiae nostrae retinentur, ut si qui forte a tua fraternitate longe sunt, hic inueniant unde in his quae emendatae sunt certiores fiant* (If your Fraternity, who is always devoted to sacred readings, should find the aforementioned place in the Gospel to be uncertainly explained or should find the same homilies arranged in a different order to the one I have described before, then you will know that those have not been revised. Please, do not leave them uncorrected by any means but emend them according to those that I have sent to you by the present envoy. The finished homilies are kept in the archive of our holy church so that those who are far from your Fraternity may find them here and gain certainty according to the revised version), Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. by Raymond Étaix, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 141 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 1-2; on the history of the work, see Raymond Étaix, 'Introduction', in Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, pp. V-VII, X-XII, and *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo*, ed. by Lucia Castaldi and Paolo Chiesa, *Millennio Medievale*, 50-: *Strumenti e Studi*, 8- (Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo 2004-): 5 (2013), pp. 69-88. See also Pope Gregory's letter to John, subdeacon in Ravenna, of 602, where faulty copies of the *Moralia in Iob* are compared with the text kept in the *scrinium* (Gregorius Magnus, *Registrum epistularum libri VIII-XIV: Appendix*, ed. by Dag Norberg, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), XII, 6, p. 976, cf. *La trasmissione dei testi latini*, pp. 45-46). On the two letters, in the context of the pope's publishing efforts, see Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Gregorio Magno e la circolazione delle sue opere', in *Gregorio Magno nel XIV centenario della morte: convegno internazionale (Roma, 22-25 ottobre 2003)*, *Atti dei convegni Lincei*, 209 (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2004), pp. 53-65.

<sup>7</sup> *Quos libros licet stilo rusticiore conscripserim, tamen coniuro omnes sacerdotes Domini, qui post me humilem ecclesiam Turonicam sunt recturi [. . .] ut numquam libros hos aboleri faciatis aut rescribi, quasi quaedam eligentes et quaedam praetermittentes, sed ita omnia vobiscum integra inlibataque permaneant, sicut a nobis relicta sunt* (While I have written these books in a plain and simple style, I, nevertheless, conjure all the bishops of the Lord who will have charge of Tours cathedral after my unworthy self [...] that you never permit these books to be destroyed or to be rewritten, choosing some parts and omitting others. Keep them in your possession intact and uncut just as I have left them to you), Gregorius Episcopus Turonensis, *Libri Historiarum X*, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum rerum merovingicarum*, I, 1 (Hanoverae: Hahn, 1951), X, 31, p. 536; for the translation, see John J. Contreni, 'Reading Gregory of Tours in the Middle

quoted as an expression of authorial preoccupation for integrity and perpetuation of a literary legacy.<sup>8</sup> It can also be construed as an act of diachronic publication, entrusted explicitly to the subsequent bishops of Tours and, implicitly, to the *scrinium* of the see.<sup>9</sup> Many later prelates who also were writers must have benefited by the established repositories of their sees or communities. It is a task for future research to discern any statements on the role those repositories were awarded in the transmission of respective works.

A similar privileged relation between two later Iberian lay authors and institutional repositories may be deduced. During the last years of his reign, from about 1270, Jaume I, King of Aragon, dictated a vivid recollection of his deeds, known as *Llibre dels feits del rei En Jaume*. The royal author did not express his intentions as to the destination of the work, but the fact that shortly after his death (1276) it was used by two authors associated with the royal chancery, the anonymous author of the *Llibre dels reis* (1277–80) and the historian Bernat Desclot (1280–88), allowed Stefano Maria Cingolani to conclude that the original had been deposited in the archives with the royal registers.<sup>10</sup> In the fourteenth century, the author's successors acted as keepers and suppliers of the original, whether it needed to be brought out for members of the royal family or for external readers,<sup>11</sup> and published it (*reducere in medium*) for a new audience, through a Latin translation commissioned by King

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Ages', in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood, Cultures, Beliefs and Traditions, 8 (Leiden, Boston and Cologne: Brill, 2002), pp. 419-34 (p. 419).

<sup>8</sup> See for example Lars Boje Mortensen, 'Change of Style and Content as an Aspect of the Copying process: a Recent Rrend in the Study of Medieval Latin Historiography', in *Bilan et perspectives des études médiévales en Europe: actes du 1<sup>er</sup> Congrès européen d'études médiévales (Spoleto, 27-29 mai 1993)*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge, 3 (FIDEM: Louvain-la-Neuve, 1995), pp. 265-76 (pp. 265-66), Contreni, p. 419.

<sup>9</sup> The catalogue was modelled upon the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*, which may have been brought to Tours by Deacon Agiulfus, who stayed in Rome in 589-90 and witnessed the election of Pope Gregory (Michel Sot, 'Local and institutional history (300-1000)', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Deborah M. Deliyannis (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003), pp. 89-114 (pp. 94, 101-02); Andrea Antonio Verardi, *La memoria legittimante: il Liber Pontificalis e la chiesa di Roma del secolo VI*, Nuovi Studi Storici, 99 (Roma: ISIME, 2016), pp. 69-70. The time is, however, too short to imagine the influence of the Pope's strategies upon the Bishop of Tours. Rather, either pontiff independently tried to make the best of the potential of their episcopal sees. On the role of Tours in the early transmission of the work, cf. Pascale Bourgain, 'Gregorius Turonensis ep.', in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo*, 1, pp. 152-68 (pp. 153-55, 160-61).

<sup>10</sup> Stefano M. Cingolani, 'El Llibre dels fets del rei Jaume I i el Llibre del rei en Pere de Bernat Desclot', in *Jaume I: fets, actes i paraules*, ed. by Germà Colón Doménech and Tomàs Martínez Romero, Col·lecció Germà Colón d'estudis filològics, 4 (Castelló and Barcelona: Fundació Germà Colón and Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2008), pp. 287-312 (pp. 288, 290), cfr. Stefano M. Cingolani, 'De historia privada a historia pública y de la afirmación al discurso: Una reflexión en torno a la historiografía medieval catalana (985-1288)', *Talia Dixit*, 3 (2008), pp. 51-76 (p. 61).

<sup>11</sup> Josep M. Pujol, 'The *Llibre del rei En Jaume*: a matter of style', in *Historical Literature in Medieval Iberia*, ed. by Alan Deyermond, Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 2 (London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College, 1996), pp. 35-65 (pp. 35-37); Gimeno Blay, pp. 322, 326, 336.

James II from the Dominican friar Peter (Catalan Pere) Marsili (1313).<sup>12</sup> Somewhat later, Juan Manuel (1282–1348), a member of the ruling family of Castile, appears to have taken much more care of his multifarious output. His paratexts are often quoted for their remarks about the risks immanent in manuscript transmission<sup>13</sup> and for their advice that readers check doubtful readings in their manuscript copies against the authorial exemplar of the collected works, apparently entrusted to the Dominican friary in Peñafiel.<sup>14</sup> This convent was Juan Manuel's own foundation of 1318. This claim that the author had provided a collection of his own works, intended to be a reference exemplar, is given in the General Prologue which opens a copy of such a collection datable to the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; but the prologue is judged to be authentic.<sup>15</sup> The tradition that the copy had been installed at

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<sup>12</sup> In the prologue Marsili refers to the commission in these words: *tamen valde rationi consonum in oculis illustrissimi Domini Iacobi Regis Aragonum [...] apparuit, ut victoriosissimi avi sui gesta pristinis temporibus veraci stilo sed vulgari collecta, ac in archivis domus regie ad perpetuam sue felicitatis memoriam reposita reducerentur in medium, atque latino sermone diserta, et per capitula iuxta conclusionum varietatem distincta, unum ystorialem et cronicum redderent codicem* (It appeared very reasonable in the eyes of the most illustrious Lord James, King of Aragon, that the deeds of his most victorious grandfather, which in former times had been put together accurately but in the vernacular, and had been stored in the archives of the royal palace for the everlasting memory of his happiness, should be published and expressed in Latin, and, divided into chapters according to the variety of its subject-matter, become a discrete book of chronicles and history), *La Cronica latina de Jaime I [...]*, ed. by María de los Desamparados Martínez San Pedro (Almería: s.n., 1984), p. 114. Cingolani ('*El Llibre dels fets*', p. 288, note 5) construes the *archives of the royal house* as the premises within the palace designated for the keeping of royal documentation, since the archives of the realm proper were only established in 1318. On the commissioner's objectives, cfr. Pujol, pp. 38-41.

<sup>13</sup> Gimeno Blay, p. 318.

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Taylor, 'Vernacular Authorship and the Control of Manuscript Production', in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches*, ed. by Michael Johnston and Michael van Dussen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 199-214 (p. 200).

<sup>15</sup> Et recelando yo, don Iohan, que por razon que non se podra escusar, que los libros que yo he fechos non se ayan de trasladar muchas vezes; et por que yo he visto que en el trasladar acaçe muchas vezes, lo vno por desentendimiento del scriuano, o por que las letras semejan vnas a otras, que en trasladando el libro porna vna razon por otra, en guisa que muda toda la entençion et toda la sentençia et sera traydo el que la fizo non aviendo y culpa; et por guardar esto quanto yo pudiere, fizi fazer este uolumen en que estan scriptos todos los libros que yo fasta aqui he fechos, et son doze [*the list of works follows*] [...]. Et ruego a todos los que leyeren qual quier de los libros que yo fiz que si fallaren alguna razon mal dicha, que non pongan a mi la culpa fasta que bea[n] este uolumen que yo mesmo concerté (And I, Don Juan, am fearful that – while the books that I have made have been copied many times – it cannot be avoided that during copying, as I have seen, it happens many times that, either by a copyist's misunderstanding or because letters resemble each other, a copy replaces one word with another, and, as a consequence, changes the entire sense and the whole meaning. And the one who created the work, though blameless, will be accused in this. In order to avoid this, so far as I can, I have had this volume made, in which all the works that I have produced up until now are written, and these are twelve [*the list of works follows*][...]. And I beseech all those who read any of the books which I have made, that if they find an ill-couched word, they place the blame not on me until they have consulted this volume which I myself have

the Dominican friary, however, has a different status. It stems from the so-called *anteprólogo*, which in the manuscript tradition precedes one of Juan Manuel's works, *El Conde Lucanor*. That preamble, expressed in the third person, is visibly modelled upon the General Prologue. After a solicitation to refer to the authorially revised text and after the list of Juan Manuel's works, the *anteprólogo* adds that *Et estos libros estan en-el monasterio de-los frayres predicadores que el fizo en Pennafiel* (And these books are in the monastery of friars preachers which he [that is, Juan Manuel] founded at Peñafiel).<sup>16</sup> The prevailing opinion among scholars of Juan Manuel's writings is that the *anteprólogo* was not written by the author himself.<sup>17</sup> Neither can the role of the friary as the recipient of Juan Manuel's works be corroborated other than but circumstantially. One of the latest writings, a short *Tractado de la Asunción de la Virgen María*, was dedicated to Ramón Masquefa, prior of the convent of

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checked), Don Juan Manuel, *Obras completas* [...], ed. by José Manuel Blecua, 3 vols, Biblioteca románica hispánica, IV : Textos, 15, 1-2 (Madrid: Gredos, 1981-83), I (1981), pp. 32-33; on the witness, Madrid, BNE, 6376, see pp. 21-22, cf. Laurence De Looze, *Manuscript Diversity, Meaning, and 'Variance' in Juan Manuel's 'El Conde Lucanor'* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 29-31.

<sup>16</sup> Et por que don Iohan vio et sabe que en los libros contese muchos yerros en los trasladar, por que las letras semejan vnas a otras, cuydando por la vna letra que es otra, en escriuiendolo, mudasse toda la razon et por aventura confondesse, et los que despues fallan aquello escripto, ponen la culpa al que fizo el libro; et por que don Iohan se reçelo desto, ruega a los que leyeren qual quier libro que fuere trasladado del que el conpuso, o de los libros que el fizo, que si fallaren alguna palabra mal puesta, que non pongan la culpa a el, fasta que bean el libro mismo que don Iohan fizo, que es emendado, en muchos logares, de su letra. Et los libros que el fizo son estos, que el a fecho fasta aqui: [*the list of works follows*][...]. Et estos libros estan en el monasterio de los frayres predicadores que el fizo en Pennafiel (And because Don Juan saw and knew that in copying books many errors occur, because letters resemble one another, and it is thought that one letter is another, and in writing the entire meaning is changed and by chance confused; and people who later on find it so written, blame the one who wrote the book; and because Don Juan was fearful of this, he beseeches those who read any book whatever which was copied from what he composed or from the books that he made, that if they find an ill-couched word, they place not the blame on him, until they have consulted the very copy which Don Juan made, which has been corrected in many places in his own hand. And the books which he has written up until now are as follows [*the list of works follows*][...]. And these books are in the monastery of friars preachers which he founded at Peñafiel), Don Juan Manuel, *Obras completas*, t. II, p. 23, edited as *Prólogo primero*, however referred to as *anteprólogo* in the description of manuscripts, pp. 9-11 ; for this translation (with slight modifications), see *The Book of Count Lucanor and Patronio: a Translation of Don Juan Manuel's El Conde Lucanor*, ed. by John E. Keller and L. Clark Keating, *Studies in Romance Languages*, 16 (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1977), p. 39.

<sup>17</sup> Francisco Rico, 'Crítica del texto y modelos de cultura en el Prólogo General de don Juan Manuel', in *Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer*, 4 vols (Barcelona: Edicions dels Quaderns Crema, 1986-91), I (1986) pp. 409-23 (pp. 417-18, note 7; the scholar accepts and develops the position of Alberto Blecua, *La transmisión textual de 'El Conde Lucanor'* (Barcelona: Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 1980); the work was unavailable to me; see also De Looze, pp. 31, 105-06; Olivier Biaggini, 'Stratégies du paratexte dans les œuvres de don Juan Manuel', *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 35 (2012), pp. 195-232 (p. 213).

Peñafiel.<sup>18</sup> The tract was not included in the lists of Juan Manuel's works, either in the General Prologue or the *anteprólogo*, but was copied into the said manuscript of collected works. Albeit the author's depositing of an authorized copy, or copies,<sup>19</sup> at the Dominican friary is not something that can be sustained with certainty, it is still significant that such a notion should have been verbalized by the near-contemporary readers or editors of Juan Manuel.<sup>20</sup>

Instances in which a work was produced by a lower-ranking member or associate of an institution running a repository of written documents and books may be considered a close variant of the situations previously illustrated. In such a case it would have been the decision of the officials responsible for the repository that a copy of the work be accessioned. Again, the Roman papacy established a potentially influential precedent. In 544 Arator, subdeacon of the Roman church, dedicated his versification of the Acts of Apostles to Pope Vigilius. According to a short report (*Relatio*), which in the manuscript tradition is usually transmitted as a postscript, and less often as a preface, the work was presented to the Pope at Saint Peter's on the Vatican Hill. At papal request, selected passages were read aloud to an assembly of bishops and clergy. Still by the Pope's order, the copy was handed to the head of chancellery to be deposited in the archives.<sup>21</sup> These actions and the following public recitals of Arator's

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<sup>18</sup> Biaggini, p. 227; on Juan Manuel's connections to the Dominican order, see Francisco García-Serrano, 'Don Juan Manuel and his Connection with the Order of Preachers', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 23 (1993), pp. 151-62. Rico, p. 421 (note 24) does not exclude the possibility that the person responsible for the *anteprólogo* might have been well informed about the author's disposition of his exemplar, on which, however, nothing is said in Juan Manuel's will. Otherwise, the mention of the friary would have been added by way of supposition: just as exemplars of university texts were kept with stationers, so the author's exemplar had to be deposited somewhere. The editor of the *anteprólogo* would have recognized the same cultural model of the circulation of university textbooks which, according to Rico, pp. 412-14, had first inspired Juan Manuel in providing for an authoritative copy, perhaps unbound, of all his works. Equally, Gregorian precedent, discussed above, would have been available as a model. De Looze, pp. 33 and 106, doubts the practicality of the strategy displayed in the *anteprólogo*, which – if the piece is taken literally – was indeed rather optimistic. However, the reference to works available at Peñafiel, whether by the author's bequest or not, was valuable information for anyone with an interest.

<sup>19</sup> According to Alberto Blecuá the revised volume of collected works cannot be identified with *los libros* that the *anteprólogo* collocates at Peñafiel (Rico, p. 419, note 12, and p. 421, note 24).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. De Looze, pp. 16-17.

<sup>21</sup> In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti, beato domno Petro adiuuante, oblatum est huiusmodi codex ab Aratore <uiro> illustri, ex comite domesticorum, ex comite priuatorum, uiro religioso, subdiacono sanctae Romanae sedis Apostolicae Ecclesiae, sancto atque apostolico uiro papae Vigilio et susceptus ab eo die viii id. aprilis in presbiterio ante confessionem beati domni Petri, cum ibidem plures episcopi, presbyteri, diacones et clerus pars maxima pariter interesset. Quem cum ibidem legi mox pro aliqua parte fecisset, Surgentio uiro uenerabili primicerio scholae notariorum in scrinio dedit Ecclesiae collocandum (In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. With the assistance of the blessed lord Peter, a book like this was offered by Arator, illustrious man, formerly holder of the offices of *comes domesticorum* and *comes priuatorum*, subdeacon of the holy Apostolic Church of Rome, to that holy and apostolic man, Pope Vigilius, and was

work have recently been explored as publishing events by Samu Niskanen.<sup>22</sup> What matters to our argument is that the work was reportedly placed immediately in the institutional repository of the church of Rome, and that that fact was worth mentioning in the *Relatio*, a sort of blurb that became part of the published work. If not authorial, it was certainly written and inserted in a manuscript copied in proximity to the author and with his knowledge. Arator himself alluded to that fact when later dedicating a copy of his work to Parthenius (d. 548), an aristocrat from Frankish Gaul.<sup>23</sup> In 1152, in another social setting, Caffaro, a citizen and former holder of various public offices in the city of Genoa, presented his *Annales* of the recent history of Genoa to the leaders of the city. The *consules* ordered a public scribe to make a copy to be kept in the municipal archives so that future generations would know the city's victories.<sup>24</sup> The surviving official copy, as extended by Caffaro himself to 1163, was

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received by him on 6 April in the presbytery in front of the confession of the blessed lord Peter, with many bishops, priests, deacons, and most of the clergy likewise involved. After immediately having ordered some of it to be read there and then, he gave it to that venerable man Surgentius, the superintendent of the school of notaries, to be placed in the archives of the Church), Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, ed. by Bruno Bureau and Paul-Augustin Deproost, Collection des universités de France: Série latine, Collection Budé, 417 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017), pp. 185-86; for this translation (with slight modifications), see Arator, *Historia Apostolica*, tr. [...] by Richard Hillier, Translated Texts for Historians, 73 (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2020), pp. 233-34. Among twenty-seven witnesses of date earlier than the eleventh century that are reported in two recent editions, seventeen transmit the *Relatio*: fourteen as a postscript and three (Vatican City, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1716, Paris, BNF, Lat. 2773, and Lat. 8095) as a preface (Aratoris Subdiaconi *Historia Apostolica*, ed. by Árpád P. Orbán, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, 130, I (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 24-94; Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, pp. CXIII-CXXIII, CXLI-CLXV; the figures do not account for imperfect copies, for which the original presence of the *Relatio* cannot be ascertained).

<sup>22</sup> Samu Niskanen, *Publication and the Papacy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Elements in Publishing and Book Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009109864>, 13 December 2022, Chapter 3.

<sup>23</sup> Quae prius egregio patuerunt tradita papae, / scriniaque Ecclesiae condita rite gerunt (Which [i.e. the poems] first appeared openly when were offered to the excellent Pope and which the archives of the Church properly store), Arator, *Histoire apostolique*, p. 154; Orbán in Aratoris Subdiaconi *Historia Apostolica*, p. 406, prefers the reading *Patri* instead of *prius*. When dedicating a copy to another associate of his, Abbot Florianus, Arator depicts the addressee as a reader having many books at hand. Niskanen, p. 37, comments on that passage: *The implication is that Florianus presided over a community with an impressive library, and Arator sought to have his work installed there* (on the role of the two non-Roman dedicatees, see pp. 36-40).

<sup>24</sup> [...] consulibus qui tunc temporis, Tanclerio et Rubaldo Besaza et Ansaldo Spinola, in consilio pleno scriptum istud ostendit. consules uero, audito consilio consiliatorum, palam coram consiliatoribus, W[illielmo] de Columba publico scribano preceperunt, ut librum a Cafaro compositum et notatum scriberet et in comuni cartulario poneret, ut deinceps cuncto tempore futuris hominibus Ianuensis [ciuitatis] uictorie cognoscantur. quando iuerunt . M<sup>o</sup>. C<sup>o</sup>. quando redierunt . millesimo . C<sup>o</sup>. I. ([...] [Caffaro] presented this work at the plenary session of the council to the then consuls, Tanclerius, Rubaldus Besaza, and Ansaldo Spinola. The consuls, after hearing the opinion of the councillors, publicly in the presence of the councillors, they ordered William de Columba, public scribe, to make a copy of the book composed and written by Caffaro and to place it in the communal archives so that from now



apparently established shortly after Caffaro's death in 1166; it was continued by agents of the commune until the late thirteenth century.<sup>25</sup>

Arator and Caffaro apparently took up their pens (or rather raised their voices) on their own initiative, though the authorities who were eventually offered the fruit of their work may have been involved in the undertaking in some way.<sup>26</sup> In certain other instances the works deposited in institutional repositories were directly commissioned by the officials or authorities running or supervising those repositories. This seems to have been a constant practice with regard to historical writings in the Crown of Aragon. The earliest case known to me concerns the Catalan version of the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium*, made towards the end of the reign of James I (d. 1276) and probably by the King's own initiative. Copies were deposited in chanceries, royal and civic.<sup>27</sup> The anonymous chronicle of the Kingdom of Aragon, the so-called *Crònica de Sant Joan de la Penya*, was compiled under the supervision of King Peter IV (III) *el Ceremoniós* (1336–87). In 1368 the King reimbursed Ferrer de Magarola, *conservador* of royal documents in the archive of the royal palace in Barcelona, for the costs of making a copy, which was to be kept in the same archive. Around the same time, individual copies of its various versions, Latin and vernacular, were made for the abbeys of

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on the victories of city of Genoa – when they went [to Palestine] in 1100 and after they returned in 1101 – would always be known to future generations), *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori* [...], ed. by Luigi T. Belgrano, 5 vols, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, 11-14bis, (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1890-1929), 1 (1890), pp. 3-4.

<sup>25</sup> Paris, BNF, Lat. 10136. The most recent analysis of this manuscripts is found in Henrike Haug, *Annales Ianuenses: Orte und Medien des historischen Gedächtnisses im mittelalterlichen Genua*, *Orbis mediaevalis*, 15 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2016), see esp. pp. 35-38, 45-57, where also previous scholarship is discussed. In dating Caffaro's section of the Paris manuscript I follow the conclusions of Antonio Placanica, 'L'opera storiografica di Caffaro', *Studi Medievali*, Serie terza, 36 (1995), pp. 1-62 (pp. 26-28) and Marino Zabbia, 'Notai italiani e la memoria della città (secc. XII-XIV)', in *La mémoire de la cité, modèles antiques et réalisations renaissantes : actes du colloque de Tours (28-30 septembre 1995)*, ed. by Attilio Bartoli Langeli and Gérald Chaix, *Publicazioni*, 6 (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1997), pp. 35-47 (pp. 44-45). Depositing the original *Annals* at a municipal archive and continuing them under the aegis of the municipal authorities did not guarantee that the chronicle would be widely disseminated. Two other medieval copies survive, of the late thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the latter being apograph of the Paris manuscript. The *Annals* were consulted by later Genoese authors, such as Jacopo da Varazze (end of the thirteenth century) and Giorgio Stella (end of the fourteenth century), but hardly circulated outside Genoa. On Caffaro's project and its fortune, see also Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Cronache con documenti, cronache autentiche e pubblica storiografia', in Girolamo Arnaldi, *Cronache e cronisti dell'Italia comunale*, ed. by Lidia Capo, *Collectanea*, 33 (Spoleto: CISAM, 2016), pp. 33-59 (pp. 44-50); Dino Puncuh, 'Caffaro e le cronache cittadine: per una rilettura degli Annali', *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, 22 (1982), pp. 63-73; and Marino Zabbia, 'Notariato e memoria storica: le scritture storiografiche notarili nelle città dell'Italia settentrionale (secc. XII-XIV)', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 97 (1991), pp. 75-122 (pp. 82-83, 104-10, with remarks on the chanceries and archives of Italian city-states as custodians of historical writings).

<sup>26</sup> This is particularly probable for Arator's work, see Niskanen, pp. 31-33, but cannot be excluded in the case for Caffaro, either (Arnaldi, 'Cronache con documenti', p. 48).

<sup>27</sup> Cingolani, 'El *Llibre dels fets*', pp. 289-90.

Poblet (in 1359), Ripoll (in 1366), and for the cathedral of Valencia (1372).<sup>28</sup> Later, in 1438, Pau Rossell, a notary from Valencia, received a payment from King Alphonso for his historical work, the *Descendencia dominorum regum Sicilie*, which was intended to support the King's claim to the Kingdom of Naples. From the same warrant we learn that two copies were produced: one was sent to Alphonso and would soon find its place in the library of the Aragonese kings of Naples (today Valencia, UVBH, 394); another was deposited in the archive of the bailiff of Valencia (not known to survive).<sup>29</sup>

Among the authors and writings discussed so far, Gregory the Great's letter to Secundinus accompanying the *Homiliae in Evangelia*, and the *Relatio* appended to Arator's *Historia apostolica* alone were early enough and had sufficient renown<sup>30</sup> to have been able to shape the publishing strategies of medieval authors.<sup>31</sup> Certain antique bibliographical and literary traditions, transmitted into Latin Christendom, could have also worked to that effect. Jerome, through his *De viris illustribus* (393), fixed and made widely known the tradition that the works presented to the emperors Vespasian and Titus by Flavius Josephus were placed in a public library.<sup>32</sup> Recension B of the very popular Latin adaptation (of the fifth century?) of the lost Greek story of Apollonius of Tyre concludes (chapter 51) by mentioning two copies, which are said to be *displayed* by the main protagonist, supposedly the author: one in the

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<sup>28</sup> Pietro Colletta, 'Introduzione', in Pau Rossell, *Descendencia dominorum regum Sicilie*, ed. by Pietro Colletta, Supplementi al Bollettino: serie mediolatina e umanistica, 8 (Palermo: Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani, 2020), pp. 9-11; on the chronicle, see David Alegria, 'Crónica de San Juan de la Peña', in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. by Graeme Dunphy, [http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139\\_emc\\_SIM\\_00810\\_7/9/2022](http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_00810_7/9/2022)).

<sup>29</sup> Colletta, pp. 5-9.

<sup>30</sup> The renown of both works is proved, among other measures, by the high numbers of extant manuscripts: 427 for Gregory's *Homiliae*, without accounting for fragments and homilies included in later homiliaries (*La trasmissione dei testi latini*, 5, pp. 72, cf. pp. 70, 85-86), and well over one hundred for the *Historia Apostolica*, see Arthur P. McKinlay, *Arator: the Codices*, The Medieval Academy of America Publication, 43 (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1942), pp. 3-65. It would be essential to know how often the discussed paratexts were transmitted with the main work.

<sup>31</sup> In 849, Frankish monk and *chorepiscopus* at Sens, Audradus Modicus, followed in the footsteps of Arator in presenting Pope Leo IV with a book of his collected works (poems of mainly theological and hagiographical character). According to the preface, the Pope, together with other bishops and clergy, examined, approved, and recommended the work for reading, and, not least, ordered that the book be kept in the archives of the Roman church: *et ad honorem suae sedis in scrinio sanctae matris ecclesiae Romanae servare decrevit* (and decreed that, to the honor of his see, it should be kept in the archives of the Holy Mother, the Church of Rome), see *Audradi carminum supplementum*, ed. by Ludwig Traube, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, III (Berolini: Weidmann, 1896), p. 740. If the account is not Audradus's creation, the successful dedication to the pope did not secure the integrity of the work, which only survives in part, see Francesco Stella, 'Audradus Modicus Senonensis chorep.', in *La trasmissione dei testi latini*, 2, pp. 124-28; cf. Thomas Haye, *Verlorenes Mittelalter: Ursachen und Muster der Nichtüberlieferung mittellateinischer Literatur*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, 49 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 151-52.

<sup>32</sup> Kujawiński, pp. 419-22.

temple of Diana at Ephesus, the other in his library.<sup>33</sup> That statement was given further oxygen after the adaptation of Apollonius' story in the very successful fourteenth-century collection of exempla known as *Gesta Romanorum*.<sup>34</sup> By the way of contrast, there was little to no chance that authors of the early Roman Empire, who witness to such strategies, except for Suetonius,<sup>35</sup> could have influenced their medieval colleagues. At the turn of the first and second centuries, Tacitus, in his *Dialogue about orators* (21, 6), spoke of the poems of Caesar and Brutus being brought into libraries.<sup>36</sup> However, this work was transmitted into the Middle Ages apparently by a single manuscript, kept at Hersfeld and only retrieved by Enoch of Ascoli in 1455.<sup>37</sup> At the turn of the second century, Galen wrote that his works were deposited in public libraries in his homeland in the Roman province of Asia and elsewhere. This unique

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<sup>33</sup> Casus suos suorumque ipse descripsit et duo volumina fecit: unum Dianae in templo Ephesiorum, aliud in bibliotheca sua exposuit (He himself wrote down his adventures and those of his relatives and made two books. He displayed one in the temple of Diana of the Ephesians, the other in his own library), George A. A. Kortekaas, *The Story of Apollonius, King of Tyre: A Study of Its Greek Origin and an Edition of the Two Oldest Latin Recensions*, Mnemosyne : supplementum, 253 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), p. 249; for the comparison with the ending of recension A, see pp. 80-81; for a thorough discussion of B's ending, which the scholar argues is authentic, see George A. A. Kortekaas, *Commentary on the 'Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri'*, Mnemosyne: supplementum, 284 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), pp. 904-07. A helpful and critical discussion of the textual tradition is offered by Giovanni Garbugino, 'Historia Apolloni regis Tyri', in *La trasmissione dei testi latini*, 3, pp. 262-74 (p. 271).

<sup>34</sup> Casus suos descripsit ipse, duo volumina perfecit, unum in templo Ephesorum, alterum in sua bibliotheca collocavit (He himself wrote down his adventures, made two books: he placed one in the temple of the Ephesians, the other in his own library), *Gesta Romanorum*, ed. by Hermann Oesterley (Berolini: Weidmann, 1872), Chapter 153, p. 532. Cfr. George A. A. Kortekaas, 'The Latin adaptations of the *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri* in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance', *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, 3 (1990), pp. 103-22 (pp. 116-18).

<sup>35</sup> Kujawiński, pp. 418-19.

<sup>36</sup> *Fecerunt enim et carmina et in bibliothecas rettulerunt, non melius quam Cicero, sed felicius, quia illos fecisse pauciores sciunt* (they [i.e. Caesar and Brutus] also wrote poems and gave them to libraries; they wrote them in a style not better than that of Cicero, but with a more felicitous outcome, since fewer know that they wrote them), Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, ed. by Roland Mayer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 69. In his commentary (p. 158), Mayer observes that the libraries referred to would have been private libraries, since the activity of the two authors predated the foundation of the first public library in the *Atrium Libertatis*, between 39 and 28 BCE. The project, however, would have been Caesar's, and by the time of Tacitus several public libraries existed in Rome (see T. Keith Dix and George W. Houston, 'Public Libraries in the City of Rome: From the Augustan Age to the Time of Diocletian', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Antiquité*, 118, 2 (2006), pp. 671-717). According to Jon W. Iddeng, 'Publica aut peri! The Releasing and Distribution of Roman Books', *Symbolae Osloenses: Norwegian Journal of Greek and Latin Studies*, 81, 1 (2006), pp. 58-84 (p. 68), the passage in Tacitus *may imply that literary works were sent by the author to the public libraries*.

<sup>37</sup> Roland Mayer, 'Introduction', in Tacitus, *Dialogus*, pp. 47-50.

insight, however, is given in *Avoiding Distress*, a treatise that was considered lost until the discovery of a complete Greek manuscript in 2005.<sup>38</sup>

Either inspired by ancient or patristic models or by virtue of their own understanding of the potential value of established book repositories, several medieval authors expressed the wish that their works find their way into a library. Those instances, which are of special interest for our argument, have usually to be sought in dedications – in particular, dedications to patrons of the highest social status, secular or ecclesiastical. To begin with works intended for lay rulers, in the late eighth century Paul the Deacon opened his elegant address to Charlemagne with a statement of intent: he had epitomized Festus’s vocabulary moved by desire to enrich the royal collection of books.<sup>39</sup> At the end of the twelfth century, in France, Rigord, monk at Saint-Denis, pointed to *monimenta publica*, or the royal archives, as the desired home for his chronicle of the reign of King Philip Augustus.<sup>40</sup> The final example concerns a non-royal lay lord. In 1396 Onorato I Caetani, Count of Fondi in the Kingdom of Naples and rector of the southern territories of the papal state, was presented with a sequel to Boccaccio’s *De casibus*

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<sup>38</sup> Peter S. Singer, ‘New Light and Old Texts: Galen on His Own Books’, in *Galen’s Treatise Περὶ Ἀλμπίας (De indolentia) in Context: A Tale of Resilience*, ed. by Caroline Petit, *Studies in Ancient Medicine*, 52 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 91-131 (pp. 113-14). On the newly found manuscript, see in the same volume Peter S. Singer, ‘Note on MS Vlatadon 14: a Summary of the Main Findings and Problems’, pp. 10-37. I thank Stefania Fortuna for bringing Galen’s case to my attention.

<sup>39</sup> *Cupiens aliquid vestris bibliothecis addere, quia ex proprio perparum valeo, necessario ex alieno mutuavi* (While I was longing to add something to your libraries and since I can offer very little from my own, necessarily I borrowed from what belonged to others), Sextus Pompeius Festus, *De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome*, ed. by Wallace M. Lindsay (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1913), p. 1. On Charlemagne’s library, see Donald A. Bullough, ‘Charlemagne’s court library revisited’, *Early Medieval Europe*, 12 (2003), pp. 339-63.

<sup>40</sup> *Hoc opus in lucem protuli et christianissimo regi humiliter optuli, ut sic demum per manum ipsius regis in publica veniret monimenta* (I gave birth to this work and humbly offered it to the most Christian King so that by the King’s hand it is included among public documents), Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, ed. by Élisabeth Carpentier, Georges Pon and Yves Chauvin, *Sources d’histoire médiévale*, 33 (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2006), p. 118 (I have replaced the editor’s emendation *mon[u]menta* with the reading *monimenta*, transmitted by the two witnesses on which the edition is based). The role attributed to the royal dedicatee suggests that it was the King’s repository to which Rigord was referring. In certain earlier French sources, the qualifier *publicum* was sometimes also used to denote ecclesiastical archives, as shown by Laurent Morelle, ‘Suger et les archives: en relisant deux passages du *De administratione*’, in *Suger en question: regards croisés sur Saint-Denis*, ed. by Rolf Große, *Pariser historische Studien*, 68 (München: Oldenbourg, 2004), pp. 117-39 (pp. 130-39). Morelle’s discussion of the manifold meaning of the phrase *archivum publicum* in patristic and early medieval texts, which was unknown to me in 2021, adds a helpful complication to my discussion of the notion of *bibliotheca publica* (on Rigord and his model, see Kujawiński, pp. 424-26). If Rigord’s *monimenta publica* may be construed as the King’s archive, this was still a mobile collection of public documents rather than a place or institution; on the gradual establishment of the French royal archives, see Yann Potin, *Trésor, écrits, pouvoirs: archives et bibliothèques d’État en France à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: CNRS, 2020), Chapter VIII, pp. 151-78 (pp. 155-69).

*virorum illustrium* by his protégé Giovanni Segarelli. The work, commissioned by Onorato and dedicated to him, closes with three versified chapters. In the longest (XXXII), the work itself addresses the dedicatee, praising his library and humbly applying to be part of it.<sup>41</sup>

Since late Antiquity, and particularly after the imposition of papal jurisdiction over Latin Christendom from the middle of the eleventh century, bishops of Rome were seen by many authors as the preferred recipients of their works. Only a systematic survey of dedications to popes would allow us to say what role the *scrinium* of the Roman Church or late medieval popes' libraries played in the image of Roman pontiff as a literary patron.<sup>42</sup> At the turn of the thirteenth century the papal library became an explicit target for John of Capua. In the preface to his translation of Maimonides' *On the Regimen of Health*, the renowned physician addressed Pope Boniface VIII (r. 1294-1303), asking him to accept the work and to place it in the papal *archivum* among other medical writings.<sup>43</sup> Agostino Paravicini Bagliani stressed the

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<sup>41</sup> The *Additiones ad librum Io. Boccacci de casibus virorum illustrium* are transmitted by the unique witness, Madrid, BNE, 17652, fols 113<sup>r</sup>-138<sup>v</sup> (available in digital reproduction at *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*, <http://catalogo.bne.es/uhtbin/cgisirsi/0/x/0/05?searchdata1=a4773040>, 13 December 2022), and remain unedited. The text of Chapter XXXII, however, is offered by Alessandro Lagioia, 'Un carne inedito di Giovanni Segarelli: il *libellus loquens* e la memoria dei classici', *Invigilata Lucernis*, 41 (2019), pp. 125-42 (pp. 138-42; I owe knowledge of this study to Gabriella Macchiarelli). I only quote two short passages from it: Ego quacum fronte libellus | luridus et lacero cultu, ruralis arator | limina pulsabo? Nedum ferar intus et o, si | quis meus agnoscat memequae coartet in agmen! [...] Ergo potentis | presidis atque pii spes me trahit. O Comes alte, | tu trahis et venio rubeoque venire | ad te qualis eo: pauperculus accola, solus | hospes in orbe tuo (With what cover shall I, a ghastly booklet of poor refinement, rustic ploughman, knock at the door? Not to mention being brought inside and, oh, if anybody like me should recognize me and drag me into the group! So the hope for a powerful and pious regent draws me. O, high Count, you draw me and I come, yet embarrassed to come to you as I am: a poor neighbour, only a guest in your world), fol. 135<sup>r-v</sup>, and p. 139, ll. 48-51, 58-62. On the author and his work, see also Emanuele Romanini, 'Giovanni Segarelli letterato del tardo Trecento', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 53 (2012), pp. 117-80 (pp. 126-33, 155-8). I am not aware of any other evidence of Caetani's library.

<sup>42</sup> For the period to the end of the eleventh century, see Niskanen; a comparable study for the later period awaits, but see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'Le dediche alla corte dei papi nel Duecento e l'autocoscienza intellettuale', *Filologia Mediolatina*, 17 (2010), pp. 69-84; Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, 'Les dédicaces scientifiques à la cour pontificale: premières recherches (XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in *Le Moyen Âge et les sciences*, ed. by Danielle Jacquart and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Micrologus Library*, 100 (Firenze: SISMEL Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2021), pp. 159-200. Cf. above, note 31.

<sup>43</sup> Sanctissime igitur pater et domine, hoc opusculum de manu novelle Christi plantule denominate, licet indigne, recipere dignemini, et illud mandetis in papali archivo cum numero aliorum librorum medicinalium congregari (Most holy Father and Lord, deign to accept from the hand of the aforementioned recent seedling of Christ, though unworthy, this small work and order that it be assembled with a number of other works on medicine in the papal archives), Maimonides *On the Regimen of Health: a New Parallel Arabic-English Translation*, ed. by Gerrit Bos and others, *The Medical Works of Moses Maimonides*, 12 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), p. 255. John's translation has not been identified among books of medicine in the first post-Bonifacian inventory of papal library of 1311 (Agostino

uniqueness of that request as the only hint at the prestige that the papal library enjoyed in the field of medicine.<sup>44</sup> At the current state of knowledge, John's dedication seems also rather exceptional in so far as it presents the papal library as the expected venue for his work. We need to wait until 1451 to read, in the preface to Theodore Gaza's translation of Theophrastus's *De causis plantarum*, that translations of Greek works commissioned by Nicholas V will fill the Pope's *bibliothecae*.<sup>45</sup>

In John of Capua's times, however, a similar attitude may be deduced from the utterances of a theologizing physician, Arnau de Vilanova (d. 1311).<sup>46</sup> In 1305, the Catalan scholar, introducing his response to the criticism received from the Dominican friar Martin of Atheca, claimed that the objections had already been annulled in his previous works, which were kept in the treasury (*thesaurus*) of the Apostolic See.<sup>47</sup> A set of Arnau's eschatological writings

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Paravicini Bagliani, 'La biblioteca papale nel Duecento e nel Trecento', in *Storia della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, ed. by Antonio Manfredi *et al.* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010-), I (2010), pp. 73-108 (p. 90). Michael R. McVaugh ('Introduction to the Latin Translations of Maimonides' *On the Regimen of Health*', in Maimonides, *On the Regimen of Health*, p. 241, suggested that Arnold of Bamberg, quoting John's translation in his own *Regimen*, completed near Avignon in 1317, used the copy that John had sent to the papal library. However, the papal books left in Italy were only gradually transported to Avignon from 1322 onwards (Paravicini Bagliani, 'La biblioteca papale', pp. 85, 91, 94; Donatella Nebbiai, 'I libri del papa e la biblioteca pontificia', in *Giovanni XXII, cultura e politica di un papa avignonese: Atti del LVI Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 13-15 ottobre 2019*, Atti dei convegni del Centro italiano di studi sul basso Medioevo – Accademia Tudertina : n.s. , 33 (Spoleto: CISAM, 2020), pp. 127-49 (pp. 143-47).

<sup>44</sup> Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, *Medicina e scienze della natura alla corte dei papi nel Duecento*, Biblioteca di medioevo latino, 4 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1991), pp. 258-59, cfr. Paravicini Bagliani, 'Le dediche', p. 77; and 'Les dédicaces scientifiques', pp. 170, 195. The translation was suggested to John by papal physician, Guglielmo Corvi.

<sup>45</sup> See Annet den Haan's article in this present volume.

<sup>46</sup> The expression of *theologizing physician* is borrowed from Joseph Ziegler, 'Arnau de Vilanova: a Case-study of a Theologizing Physician', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 14 (1995), pp. 249-303. On the dynamics of the controversies over Arnau's eschatological writings which form the background for the discussion here, see: Josep Perarnau i Espelt, 'Noves dades sobre manuscrits 'espirituals' d'Arnau de Vilanova', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 27 (2008), pp. 351-424 (pp. 372-83); and Josep Perarnau i Espelt, 'De cronologia arnaldiana, 1297-1305', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 30 (2011-2013), pp. 335-61.

<sup>47</sup> Ego etiam cum perlegissem animadverti quod omnia quecumque dictus frater obiciendo proponit ibidem evacuantur plenissime in tractatibus per me scriptis et qui nunc divina provisione signati sunt cum publica sollempnitate [*sic*] in thesauro apostolice sedis. Et ideo si quis voluerit plene cognoscere defectus scripture iam dicte levissime cognoscet si perlegerit illos. Et specialiter ista lux traditur in *Apologia* et in *Denunciatione facta contra fratrem Bernardum de Podio Cercoso* et in *Gladio contra thomatistas* et in *Carpinatione contra fratrem Iohannem Vigorosi*. In quibus tractatibus tanta luce discutiuntur emulorum tenebre quod non solum in curia romana sed etiam ubique sequitur eos ridiculum et contemptus cum eorum insipientia fiat omnibus manifesta (When I myself read it [i.e. Martin's writing], I realized that whatever the said friar states there by way of criticism is entirely refuted in my treatises, which now, by God's provision, are solemnly and publicly deposited in the treasury of the Apostolic See. Therefore, if anyone should want to learn in full about the defects of the



was, indeed, deposited in the apostolic treasury (*camera*) in 1304, following the author's bold appeal (2 June 1304) to Pope Benedict XI that he read all those works and put them in practice,<sup>48</sup> which also resulted in a brief period of imprisonment for Arnau.<sup>49</sup> While depositing Arnau's spiritual writings in the papal treasury was part of a hostile response taken by the then Pope, it apparently resonated with the author's own intentions.<sup>50</sup> When responding

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said work, he will easily be able to do so by consulting those treatises. In particular the following writings convey this delucidation: the *Apologia*, the *Denunciatio facta contra fratrem Bernardum de Podio Cercoso*, the *Gladius contra thomatistas*, and the *Carpinatio contra fratrem Iohannem Vigorosi*. In these treatises the darkness of enemies is shattered with such a strong light that not only in the Roman curia but everywhere else they are followed by ridicule and contempt since their stupidity becomes evident to everyone, *Antidotum contra venenum effusum per fratrem Martinum de Athea*, BAV, Vat. Lat. 3824, fols 237<sup>vb</sup>-238<sup>ra</sup>, [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Vat.lat.3824](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.3824), 13 December 2022. The four works are listed among others in the *Protestatio facta Perusii* quoted below, note 49.

<sup>48</sup> *Facias etiam tibi legi omnia que scripsi postquam discessi a curia* (Order that all that I wrote after leaving the curia be read to you), *Protestatio, praesentatio ac supplicatio Benedicto XI postridie kl. iunii A. D. M CCC IV data*, ed. by Josep Perarnau i Espelt in Josep Perarnau i Espelt, 'L'Ars catholicae philosophiae (primera redacció de la *Philosophia catholica et divina*) d'Arnau de Vilanova', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 10 (1991), pp. 7-223 (pp. 201-14, the passage quoted on p. 212).

<sup>49</sup> In the *Protestatio facta Perusii coram domino Camerario Summi Pontificis*, made on 18 July 1304 (*sede vacante*) by means of notarial instrument, Arnau provided for recognition of those works, listing them in chronological order by title and incipit, and stating that *Que omnia memoratus pater, scilicet dominus Benedictus, ad manum suam accepit in die, qua fecit me detineri et custodiri per vos, dominum camerarium supradictum* (The said father, that is Lord Benedict, that same day on which he had me arrested and imprisoned, received all these works into his hands from you, the above-mentioned Lord Chamberlain), Perarnau i Espelt, 'L'Ars catholicae philosophiae', pp. 215-18 (p. 217).

<sup>50</sup> This is how Arnau recalled the episode in the *Praesentatio facta Burdigaliae coram domino summo pontifice Clemente V* (24 August 1305): *Quorum opusculorum pars maior fuit per dominum Benedictum olim papam et immediatum antecessorem vestrum in camera sedis apostolice collocata, licet per modum prede silenter occupasset omnes scripturas, quas ego spontaneus ad presentandum eidem portaveram* (Most of these small works were placed in the treasury of the Apostolic See by Lord Benedict, the late Pope and your immediate predecessor, although he secretly looted all my writings, which I had brought on my own initiative to present to him), Heinrich Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII.: Funde und Forschungen*, *Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen*, 2 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1902), p. CCIII. The passage is also quoted by Franz Ehrle, *Historia Bibliothecae Romanorum Pontificum tum Bonifatianae tum Avenionensis [...]*, 1, *Biblioteca dell'Accademia Storico-Giuridica*, 7 (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1890), p. 10, who also proposes (note 24) that Arnau's writings were among *plures quaterni sive cartapelle* (many quires or leaves) itemized in the inventory of the papal library, then kept in Perugia (1311), see Ehrle, p. 33, no. 68 (the set included Athea's polemic, which is the only text identified by the inventory). Without rejecting this suggestion, it should be observed that a not better specified text of Arnau appears among the books and objects of the papal treasury transported from Lucca to Avignon in 1322: *epistole Cirilli ad abbatem Joachim et quedam epistola magistri Arnaldi* (Emil Göller, 'Zur Geschichte des päpstlichen Schatzes im 14. Jahrhundert', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 16 (1902), pp. 417-21 (p. 419), cfr. Nebbiai, 'I libri del papa', p. 144). The

to Martin of Atheca, Arnau presented it as an asset, assuming that the works under criticism were available for readership and therefore the unsoundness of the attack on his position would be easy to acknowledge.<sup>51</sup> In fact, since the condemnation of his *De tempore adventus Antichristi* by Parisian theologians in 1300, Arnau had eagerly looked for papal support. Besides the suspect treatise, Arnau presented Pope Boniface VIII with a new version of the same, *De mysterio cymbalis*, written in the summer of 1301, when already serving as physician to the Pope. Significantly, when sending a copy to the Dominicans in Paris, he stated that the work had emerged from the treasury of the Pontiff.<sup>52</sup> He dedicated to Pope Boniface his next spiritual work (*Philosophia catholica*).<sup>53</sup> In 1304–05 Arnau looked to have the entire body of his doctrinal writings assessed by the Pope, receiving in August 1305 a favourable promise from Clement V, to whom he presented the updated set of his works.<sup>54</sup>

The last class of authorial strategy consists in choosing an institutional library, usually one belonging to a religious community, as the custodian and often also the broker of a work, outside the context of patronage or dedication. Even though the role of the library is not always made explicit, it may be understood that the possession of such a repository by an undying institution would be an important asset in the eyes of any author. I shall begin with the well documented case offered by Jean Gerson (1363–1429), theologian, Chancellor of the university of Paris, and a very prolific author. My discussion is profoundly indebted to Daniel

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item resembles Vatican City, BAV, Borgh. 205, in which the exchange between Pseudo-Cyril and Joachim de Fiore is followed by a collection of Arnau's writings. The manuscript was reported in the final catalogue of the Avignon library, of 1594, no. 128, see Daniel Williman and Karen Corsano, *Early Provenances of Latin Manuscripts in the Vatican Library: Vaticani latini and Borghesiani*, Studi e testi, 405 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2002), p. 123; for a detailed description, see Perarnau i Espelt, 'Noves dades', pp. 365-72; cf. Barbara Scavizzi, 'Il *Tractatus epistolarum christini* di Arnaldo di Villanova: tradizione manoscritta, destinatari e temi-chiave', *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 29 (2010), pp. 883-932 (pp. 895-97).

<sup>51</sup> See the passage from *Antidotum* quoted above, note 47.

<sup>52</sup> *Dignum duxi vobis [...] notificare presenti scripto, quod de thesauro summi pontificis noviter emanavit opusculum* (I considered it worthy to inform you by this letter that a small work had recently emerged from the treasury of the Supreme Pontiff), in Joaquín Carreras Artau, 'Del epistolario espiritual de Arnaldo de Vilanova', *Estudios franciscanos*, 49 (1948), pp. 79-94, pp. 391-406 (p. 393).

<sup>53</sup> Dedicatory letter edited in Perarnau i Espelt, 'L'*Ars catholicae philosophiae*', pp. 197-98.

<sup>54</sup> *Quem tractatum [i.e. Antidotum J.K.] cum ceteris supradictis vobis et per vos in perpetuum apostolice sedi presento sub forma, que continetur in protestatione facta per me coram domino Jo. de Penestra sedis apostolice camerario. Quam protestationem ad pleniorum fidem vestre sanctitati offero de presenti et lego ad evidentiam clariorem. Cum predictis etiam scripturis et sub eadem protestatione similiter offero et presento tres alias scripturas* (I present this treatise together with others, mentioned before, to you and by you to the Apostolic See for ever, as they appear in the protestation that I made before Lord John of Palestrina, chamberlain of the Apostolic See. For a more complete testimony and evidence I give and entrust this protestation to Your Holiness. In a similar way, within the same protestation, I also offer and present three other writings together with those mentioned before), Finke, p. CCV, the Pope's reaction is referred to at pp. CCX-CCXI. It is worth noticing that Arnau in bringing his writings to the attention of the new pope, who also was his friend, goes beyond the personal relation to offer his writings to the Apostolic See.



Hobbins's analysis of Gerson's publication strategies. Hobbins acknowledged the role that the orders of Celestines and Carthusians played in the distribution of Gerson's works without, however, arriving at any conclusions about the place that institutional libraries might have occupied in the area of medieval publishing.<sup>55</sup> I shall briefly revisit Gerson's case, focusing on manifold interactions between the author and individual houses of either order. After attending the Council of Constance, Gerson could not return to Paris, which had been seized by the Burgundians. He ultimately settled down in Lyon (1419) and remained there until his death in 1429. During that period, he systematically sent his works (already existent and newly written), often in answer to direct request, to the Grande Chartreuse and to the Celestine house in Lyon, whose prior from 1421 was his brother Jean. Another of Gerson's brothers, Nicolas, was also a Celestine monk. These two houses became privileged repositories of his works. Another Celestine house, in Avignon, was granted the private library he established throughout that period. However, Gerson considered both orders and their individual houses and libraries to be something more than custodians of his works. In 1424, in a letter to Oswald, monk of the Grande Chartreuse, he suggested that his works, which he had sent to the monastery, be reproduced in further copies.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, Gerson kept track of how his writings were circulating in Celestine libraries: he was able to advise his correspondents about which Celestine houses might possess a copy of such and such a work.<sup>57</sup> The dispositions that Gerson made some months before his death confirm that religious houses were given the role of conveyers of his works. In November 1428, upon expressing his wish to bequeath his library to the Celestines of Avignon, he says that that

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<sup>55</sup> Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), in particular Chapters 1, 3, and 7. On the relationship and mutual influence of Gerson and the Celestines, cfr. Robert L. J. Shaw, *The Celestine Monks of France, c. 1350-1450: Observant Reform in an Age of Schism, Council and War* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018), pp. 137-38, 252-60.

<sup>56</sup> Porro, super communicatione quorundam opusculorum meorum postulata, suggeruntur multa mihi dicenda in utramque partem. Quae coarctans, in primis gratias ago et habeo benevolentiae vestrae, confidens ab ea sine fictione diligi. Deinde propono diligens esse copias ministrare; vestrum fuerit cum reverendis patribus et dominis fratribusque meis in Christo carissimis, ad formam completam mensuramque redigere cum multiplicatione, prout ipsorum sollicitudini visum fuerit opportunum. Denique doctrinam theologiam proprie dicendam eximii et seraphici doctoris domini Bonaventurae cardinalis, offero me laboraturum quod habeatur ad transcribendum si ita cum effectu postulaverit sacer ordo vester, cujus orationibus me commendo (Besides, I would have much to say in favour of and against the requested circulation of certain of my small works. To make things short, first, I thank you and rely on your good will, and I trust in being sincerely loved by you. Secondly, I suggest diligence in distributing copies. It would be on you, together with the reverend fathers and lords, my dearest brothers in Christ, to give them final shape, chose sizes, and multiply, according to what would seem convenient. Finally, I offer to elaborate myself on the proper theological teaching of the excellent and Seraphic Doctor, the Lord Cardinal Bonaventure, which would be available for copying if it were eagerly demanded by your holy order, unto the prayers of which I commend myself), Jean Gerson, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Palémon Glorieux, 10 vols (Paris: Desclée & Cie, 1960-1973), II (1961), no. 53, p. 251.

<sup>57</sup> Gerson, *Œuvres*, II, no. 83, pp. 331-33 (1428, to Jean Bassand, French prior provincial of the Celestines); no. 86, pp. 335-38 (1429; to the preceptor of Dauphin Louis XI); cf. no. 62, pp. 293-97 (to Oswald, monk at the Grande Chartreuse).

treasure is to be kept safe (*custodiendus*) but not hidden (*nec abscondendus*), rather it was to be made available (*immo communicandus*).<sup>58</sup> Gerson's own works were among the texts to be communicated, and the Grande Chartreuse was among the first to benefit from that collection. In April of the following year Gerson solicited and authorized the Celestines of Avignon to allow brethren of the Grande Chartreuse to make copies of his works.<sup>59</sup>

Gerson's recourse to religious communities and their libraries as the destination for his compositions is probably the best documented case but is certainly not the only one. Various

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<sup>58</sup> Sit thesaurus iste peregrinus dum venerit ad manus vestras custodiendus in sacro conventu vestro apud Avenionem, non quidem alienandus sed nec prorsus abscondendus, immo communicandus hinc et inde prout superioris industria judicabit. Ita tamen quod semper tandem recolligantur sub propria clave vel armariolo ad hoc ipsum specialiter instituto. Denique nomina librorum et tractatum, tam ab aliis quam a me compositorum, disposui colligere in speciali schedula, Domino concedente, ad quem effundite preces pro mea salute finali, in gratia et gloria sempiterna (May this foreign treasure, when it comes into your hands, be kept safe in your holy convent at Avignon, certainly not discarded, but not hidden either, rather, made available to everyone according to the diligent judgment of the superior. At last it should be placed under lock and key or in a small case specifically made for it. Finally, with the Lord's favour (to whom may you address prayers for my eventual salvation, in grace and eternal glory), I made a disposition that the titles of books and treatises, composed either by others or by myself, be listed on a dedicated sheet), Gerson, *Œuvres*, II, no. 84, p. 334.

<sup>59</sup> This disposition is referred to in a letter sent by Jacques de Cerizy to the Celestines of Avignon: Denique vult, petit et rogat idem Johannes cancellarius, quod absque difficultate vel scrupulo venerandi patres et fratres charissimi de ordine Celestinorum in Avenione communicate pure, simpliciter et libere omnia et similia opuscula sua que apud eos sunt, honorandis patribus et dominis de domo majore Carthusie aut ad mandatum eorum cum bona fide restituendi tempore et loco, prout communicationis qualitas exegerit citius aut tardius restituendi, prout intendit significare idem dominus cancellarius et jam significavit (Finally, John the Chancellor asks and requests that the reverend fathers and dearest brothers of the order of Celestines at Avignon, without any obstacle or hesitation but unconditionally, easily, and freely make available all his small works in their possession to the honourable fathers and lords of the Major Charterhouse – to be willingly returned at a given time and place according to their request, as the character of the loan requires, or to be returned sooner or later, according to the disposition of the Lord Chancellor), Gerson, *Œuvres*, I, no. 2, p. 28). A similar relation had already existed between the Chartreuse and the Celestine house in Lyon. In 1423, answering to a request for Gerson's works, his brother and prior of the monastery, Jean, provided the Carthusians with a list of the Chancellor's works: Postulasti saepius, amantissime mi frater in Christo, ut ea tibi communicarem opuscula quae a germano meo domino Parisiensi Cancellario compilata cognoscimus, asserens te ferventissimo amoris desiderio illorum studio incumbere [...]. Propterea annui tibi ut haec ipsa quae novissime vel antea composuit idem germanus in tabula quadam annotare curarem per quam possis vel quae jam acceperis vel quae tibi adhuc desunt agnoscere (My very beloved brother in Christ, very often you asked me to send you small works that were compiled by my brother, the Lord Chancellor of the University of Paris, declaring that by the most vivid desire and love you would apply yourself to studying them [...]. Therefore I agreed with you and took care that the works that my brother had composed either recently or previously were gathered into a list, by which you could discover which ones you had already obtained and which you were still missing), Gerson, *Œuvres*, X, no. 85, pp. 554-61).

aspects of Gerson's practice are also attested for a number of late medieval authors, the list of whom could certainly be expanded beyond the handful discussed below. Depositing copies not only with important individuals but also with communities and in institutions was an important publishing device used by Ramon Llull (1233/35–1315). His privileged institutional destinations were the charterhouse of Vauvert outside the walls of Paris, the library of the Sorbonne, and the monastery of Santa Maria de la Real in Majorca.<sup>60</sup> For certain other authors, such a device was used in connection with an individual work. When sending out his newly composed treatise *De mysterio cymbalis* in 1301–2, the previously discussed Arnau de Vilanova chose six religious communities as destinations for individual copies. This campaign is witnessed by twelve letters transmitted in several collections of his works. Alongside monarchs and prelates, the addressees were the Dominican and Franciscan convents of Paris and Montpellier, the regular canons of Saint-Victor in Paris, and the Cistercian abbey at Valmagne, which Arnau himself later referred to as “collegia theologorum”.<sup>61</sup> Besides the eagerness to gain support for his positions, under attack from Parisian masters, Arnau also expected that certain of his recipients would take an active part in the dissemination.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Suffice it here to quote two annotations following the table of contents on the front flyleaf (verso) of the early-fourteenth-century collection of Llull's works (Paris, BNF, Lat. 16111, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100321767>, 13 December 2022): *Multos alios libros fecit Raymundus qui sunt in monasterio cartusiensi Parisius de quibus quilibet poterit habere exemplar, ut puta Ars generalis et cetera* (Raymundus made many other books, which are in the Carthusian monastery in Paris, and everyone can make copies of them, for instance *Ars generalis* and others) and *Libros prenomatos ponit magister Raymundus Lul in custodia domus Sarboni [sic] Parisius cathenatos* (Master Raymundus Lul puts the aforementioned books into the care of the house of Sorbonne in Paris, as chained books). Donation notes to Vauvert in Paris, BNF, Lat. 3348A are quoted and reproduced by Gimeno Blay, p. 314. For descriptions of both manuscripts, see *Base de Dades Ramon Llull (Llull DB)*, <https://www.ub.edu/llulldb/>, 13 December 2022. On Llull's strategies for communication of his works, see Elena Pistolesi, ‘Alla ricerca dell'autore: un percorso fra dediche, filologia e tradizione’, in *Actes del Congrès de Clausura de l'Any Llull. «Ramon Llull, pensador i escriptor»*, Barcelona, 16-18 de novembre de 2016, ed. by Lola Badia, Joan Santanach and Albert Soler, Col·lecció Blaquerna, 13 (Barcelona: Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 2018), pp. 105-41 (esp. 106, 109, 118-22, 129-30).

<sup>61</sup> The letters are edited by Carreras Artau, pp. 392-406; recently discussed by Scavizzi. Only a copy sent to Saint Victor has been identified, it survives as a part of multi-block manuscript, Paris, BNF, Lat. 15033.

<sup>62</sup> Arnau wrote to the Dominicans in Paris: *Unde cum iam anno preterito similes assertiones fuerint casualiter divulgate Parisius, quas theologorum collegium ad impetum secularium doctorum non imprudenter solummodo sed iniuste et inhoneste satagit extinguere, hic vero sollempniter divulgentur et a fidelibus omnis status et amatoribus veritatis cum devotione recipiantur, mitto vobis opusculum, ut ex tenore ipsius vestra prudentia clarius informetur* (While already last year in Paris similar positions were casually disseminated, which the college of theologians, urged by secular doctors, not only unwisely but also unjustly and dishonestly aimed to quench, now – by way of contrast – these should be disseminated solemnly and accepted with devotion by the faithful of all conditions and by lovers of truth. Therefore I send to you a short work so that by its contents Your Prudence might be better informed), Carreras Artau, p. 393. Among individual recipients, the bishop of Valencia was expected to propagate the work among the faithful (*Quod opus cum vestra paternitas attente*

More frequently, it was an individual community that was given the role of custodian and distributor of a work. In January 1319 Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi (c. 1260–1341) sent a copy of his *Opus metricum* from Avignon to the Celestine convent of Santo Spirito in Sulmona. The choice is not a surprise when it is remembered that two out of three parts of Stefaneschi's verses are dedicated to the life and canonization of the order's founder, Pietro da Morrone (Pope Celestine V). Stefaneschi had already announced his achievement to the Chapter General of the order, but at that point the work had not been polished, and the author could only anticipate short liturgical compositions.<sup>63</sup> When publishing his final and revised version, which also included verses on the coronation of Pope Boniface VIII,<sup>64</sup> Stefaneschi addressed not the corporate body of the Celestines but an individual house. In the accompanying letter, the community of Sulmona was given the task of safeguarding the original, but was also authorized to make the work available, by means of a careful copy, to all interested parties, within or without the order.<sup>65</sup> Neither copy has survived but the extant manuscripts confirm the role of Celestine houses in the transmission of the work.<sup>66</sup>

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*perlegerit, scio quod eius caritas ordinata, salutem appetens animarum, communicare studebit cunctis gerentibus Christi characterem in manibus et in fronte* (When Your Fatherhood will have read this work with attention, I know that his ordained charity, which seeks the salvation of souls, will busy himself to make it known to all those who bear Christ's sign on their hands and forehead), p. 403, whereas King James II was asked to deposit a corrected copy with stationers at the university at Lleida: *De quo cum ingrossatum fuerit et correctum ut decet regiam maiestatem, de vestri magnificentia et caritatis intuitu poni facietis exemplar in statione novi ac generalis studii, videlicet Ylerdensis* (When a fair and correct copy of the work has been made, as is proper to the royal majesty, by your generosity and for the sake of charity, you will order the exemplar to be deposited at a bookshop at the new university, that is at Lleida (p. 406).

<sup>63</sup> The undated letter to the chapter is edited by Raffaello Morghen, 'Il cardinale Iacopo Gaetano Stefaneschi e l'edizione del suo *Opus metricum*', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano e Archivio Muratoriano*, 46 (1931), pp. 1-39 (pp. 28-29).

<sup>64</sup> The would-be Part II of the *Opus*, or *De coronatione*, had already been published, between 1299 and 1301, in a *de luxe* copy (Vatican City, BAV, Vat. Lat. 4933, recorded in a papal inventory of 1311), which previous scholarship recognized as the copy presented by the author to Pope Boniface VIII, see Emma Condello, 'I codici Stefaneschi: uno scriptorium cardinalizio del Trecento tra Roma e Avignone?', *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 110 (1987), pp. 21-61 (pp. 37-38, 52-55). On the development and structure of the *Opus*, cf. Fulvio Delle Donne, 'La dedica del cosiddetto *Opus metricum* di Iacopo Stefaneschi', *Filologia mediolatina*, 17 (2010), pp. 85-104.

<sup>65</sup> *Ceterum presentem librum prefatam metri prosequere continentem historiam, quem per religiosum virum amicum nostrum carissimum, fratrem Antonium de Ysernia, monasterii vestri priorem, sancto devotum et Ordini, ipsiusque libri a nobis aliqualem introductionem habentem, duximus destinandum quasi originale penes monasterium vestrum Sancti Spiritus de Murrone prope Sulmonem perpetuo manere decrevimus. cuius interim fratribus et conventibus Ordinis vestri, maxime, ubi studium vigeat, secularibus etiam dari permittimus, proviso quod liber hic quasi originalis de monasterio ipso non transeat, quodque ipsius extracta copia veraciter, punctatim cum interlinearibus sive glossulis ibi positus concedatur* (As for the rest, we decided that this book – which transmits the said history written in prose and metre alike and which we thought to send by a religious man, our dearest friend, brother Antonius of Isernia, prior of your monastery, devoted to the saint [i.e. Pope Celestine] and to

Still other authors only opted for the support of a religious community towards the end of their life, when seeking to secure the future of their literary legacy. Such is the celebrated case of Giovanni Boccaccio, who in 1374 bequeathed *omnes suos libros* (all his books) to the Austin friar Martino da Signa and eventually to the convent of Santo Spirito in Florence, with the permission that new copies could be made from them. In contrast to Gerson's disposition, the Latin text of his will does not distinguish copies of other authors and those conveying Boccaccio's own compositions, but there is enough external evidence that Martino and, indeed, the convent would soon become custodians and brokers of several of Boccaccio's works. The stated recipients were a physical person and the community, but the testator's intended target was the convent's repository. Boccaccio expected that his books would undergo two procedures proper to good library management: that they would be put in an *armarium*, or press, and that an inventory would be made.<sup>67</sup> In the fifteenth century, Thomas Gascoigne (1403/4–57/8), like Gerson a university Chancellor (of Oxford), although younger than Gerson by a generation, relied on the Bridgettine community of Syon near Richmond, to the west of London. In his will of 1457, he bequeathed the autograph of his *Liber de veritatibus* to the brethren with instructions to have it copied in parchment and to keep both manuscripts secure.<sup>68</sup>

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the order, who also carries from us a certain introduction to this book – as the original should for ever remain at your monastery of the Holy Spirit at Morrone, near Sulmona. At the same time we allow that the text be given to the brethren and houses of your order, especially to those where studies flourish, and also to seculars, on the condition that this book, as the original, should not leave that monastery but that a faithful and accurate copy, including the interlinear glosses, is lent out), Morghen, 'Il cardinale', p. 30.

<sup>66</sup> On the manuscript tradition of the final version, see complementary discussions (with partly diverging conclusions) by Morghen, pp. 13-26; Anneliese Maier, 'Handschriftliches zum *Opus metricum* Stefaneschis', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 10 (1967), pp. 111-41 (pp. 117-24, 131-34, arguing that the exemplar sent to Sulmona would have been soon moved to the monastery of Collemaggio, L'Aquila, which from 1327 hosted the body of St. Celestine); Emma Condello, 'Di alcuni codici dell'*Opus metricum* di Iacopo Stefaneschi: contributo ad un'edizione critica', in *Studi sulle società e le culture del Medioevo per Girolamo Arnaldi*, ed. by Ludovico Gatto and Paola Supino Martini, 2 vols (Firenze: All'Insegna del Giglio, 2002), I, pp. 115-34 (pp. 119-22).

<sup>67</sup> See for all this, Valentina Rovere, 'Boccaccio's Testament as an Act of Authorial Publication', in *The Art of Publication from the Ninth to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Samu Niskanen with the assistance of Valentina Rovere, *Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia*, 93 (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming in 2023).

<sup>68</sup> Item do & lego omnes libros meos scriptos in papiro et omnes quaternos meos scriptos in papiro predilectis patribus ac viris religiosis Londoniensis diocesis [*sic*] in monasterio Syon iuxta villam de Braynford, ut sint ibidem imperpetuum in usum eorundem; et volo et opto quod scriptum meum seu opus meum scriptum manu mea propria, qui vocatur Liber seu Scriptum de Veritatibus ex sacra scriptura collectis et ex scriptis sanctorum et doctorum scribatur in vitilinis vel in pergameno expensis eiusdem monasterii et habeat predictum monasterium utrumque opus scilicet opus meum scriptum et opus per eos scribendum (Furthermore I give and bequeath all my books written on paper and all my quires written on paper to the beloved fathers and religious men of Syon monastery, next to the village of Brentford, in the diocese of London, so that they remain there for ever for their use. I also will and desire that my writing or the work written in my own hand, with the title *Book of True*

The catalogue of authors who were eager to have their works installed in a prestigious book repository, or had succeeded in doing so, could certainly be extended. Already the sample discussed here permits the argument that established book repositories were part of medieval authors' intentions and practices when aiming for a home for a newly composed work. The main concern of authors publishing in manuscript may have been for simple preservation of their writings. Institutional repositories must have appeared a safer bet than many private book collections.<sup>69</sup> They were also seen as conveyers of authority and prestige, as suggested by statements made by John of Capua or Arnau de Vilanova.<sup>70</sup> Last, but not least, the words of Gregory the Great, Arnau de Vilanova, Jacopo Stefaneschi, Giovanni Boccaccio, Jean Gerson, or Thomas Gascoigne show that libraries were further assigned the role of distributor, if not publisher. To have an institutional library at hand was considered an asset.

Across this survey, spanning a period from late Antiquity to the dawn of the Renaissance, we have found a good number of works that were deposited with corporate bodies – mainly religious and ecclesiastical, but also university colleges and communes – which were neither the commissioners nor dedicatees of that work. That evidence should stimulate further investigation on the distribution of roles between individual literary patrons as recipients and promoters of the works offered to them and external corporate institutions and their libraries, which were equally expected and able to support medieval authors in their endeavours.

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*Statements Gathered from the Sacred Scripture* and from the writings of saints and doctors, be copied on vellum or parchment at the expense of the monastery and that the said monastery keep both copies, that is the one written by me and the one copied by them), *Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis 1434-1469*, ed. by Herbert E. Salter, 2 vols, Oxford Historical Society, 93-94 (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1932), I, p. 406. On the work and its tradition, see Robert M. Ball, *Thomas Gascoigne, Libraries and Scholarship* (Cambridge: Cambridge Bibliographical Society, 2006), pp. 3-5 and List ii, nos 43-44 (pp. 99-100).

<sup>69</sup> Cfr. Haye, pp. 165-68.

<sup>70</sup> Cfr. Lars Boje Mortensen, 'The Material and the Implied Library: Book Collections, Media History, and Authority in Twelfth Century Papal Europe', in *Reframing Authority: the Role of Media and Materiality*, ed. by Laura Feldt and Christian Høgel (Bristol, CT: Equinox, 2018), pp. 65-84 (p. 66).