

Totius mundi philohistor



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Małgorzata Delimata-Proch,
Adam Krawiec, Jakub Kujawiński



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RECENZJA
prof. UW dr hab. Krzysztof SKWIERCZYŃSKI
prof. UAM dr hab. Maria SOLARSKA

REDAKCJA
Roman Bąk

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Wydział Historii UAM
ul. Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego 7
61-614 Poznań
tel. 61 829 14 64
e-mail: history@amu.edu.pl
www.historia.amu.edu.pl

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Between the ancient model and its Humanistic revival: the notion of *bibliotheca publica* in the Middle Ages¹

These pages are essentially a gloss to a *passus* from the late-twelfth-century English author Gervase of Canterbury. Gervase was a Benedictine monk of the cathedral priory of Christ Church, Canterbury, where he apparently spent most of his life from his profession in 1163 until his death in or after 1210². Gervase authored several works, mainly of a historical character. Besides some minor writings, the corpus consists of the *Chronica*, in which the recent history of Christ Church is presented in the context of national and universal affairs (1100/1135-1199); the *Gesta regum*, concerned with the rulers of the country from Albion to John; the *Actus pontificum Cantuariensis ecclesiae*, or the history of the archbishops of Canterbury from St Augustine to Hubert Walter; the *Mappa mundi*, offering a topography of English monasteries; and the *Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Cantuariensis ecclesiae*, in which he described the rebuilding of the cathedral choir, destroyed by fire in 1174. It is the *Chronica* that will be my focus here³.

In his prologue Gervase offers observations about the techniques of historical writing and the reckoning of time, a type of historiographical reflection

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² G.H. Martin, *Canterbury, Gervase of*, [in:] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (henceforth ODNB) (published online 23.09.2014, <<https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/10570>>, last accessed 16.06.2021).

³ On the oeuvre of Gervase and his *Chronica* see: A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, I, New York 1974, p. 253-260; M. Staunton, *The Historians of Angevin England*, Oxford 2017, p. 108-117; P.A. Hayward, *Gervase of Canterbury*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy, C. Bratu (first published online 2016, <http://dx.doi.org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_01108>, last accessed 16.06.2021). The edition: *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, London 1879-1880.

that is not frequently found among medieval historians⁴. In the latter part, he also provides details about his own work saying:

Non tamen omnia memorabilia notare cupio, sed memoranda tantum, ea scilicet quae digna memoriae videntur. Me autem inter cronicae scriptores computandum non esse censeo, quia non bibliothecae publicae sed tibi, mi frater Thoma, et nostrae familiolae pauperculae scribo⁵.

It is not my wish, however, to record everything that is memorable, but only that which deserves to be remembered, that is, those things that seem to me to be worthy of memory. I do not believe that I should be reckoned among the authors of chronicles, however, because I am not writing for a public library, but for you, my brother Thomas, and for our poor little family⁶.

Despite the scholarly interest in Gervase's prologue, this particular passage has only ever received comment for the information it offers on the addressees. It is widely accepted that Thomas was Gervase's biological brother as well as fellow monk⁷; and that "nostra familiola paupercula" was the Benedictine community of Christ Church⁸. The alternative destination, that is to the "bibliotheca publica" rejected by the author, has not received any discussion. Scholars have been satisfied to render the Latin phrase as "any" or "a public library"⁹. Literally correct, that translation is, however, misleading

⁴ *The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. 84-91 (*Ingressus ad Prologum*, p. 84-87). It is the theoretical part (p. 87-89) that has chiefly attracted scholarly attention: see, among others, V.H. Galbraith, *Historical Research in Medieval England*, The Creighton Lecture in History, 1949, London 1951, p. 2; B. Guenée, *Histoire, annales, chronique. Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age*, "Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations" 28 (1973), 4, p. 1003, 1005-1006, 1008; A. Gransden, *Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England*, [in:] eadem, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England*, London 1992, p. 125-151; F. Delle Donne, *Perché tanti anonimi nel Medioevo? Note e provocazioni sul concetto di autore e opera nella storiografia mediolatina*, "Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale" 58 (2016), 1, p. 151-152. The entire proem has been translated into English in *Prologues to Ancient and Medieval History. A Reader*, ed. J. Lake, Toronto 2013, p. 263-269.

⁵ *The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. 89.

⁶ Translation from J. Lake, *Prologues to Ancient and Medieval History*, p. 268.

⁷ W. Stubbs, *Preface*, [in:] *The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. XI; Gransden, *Prologues*, p. 136; J. Greatrex, *Biographical Register of the English Cathedral Priors of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1066 to 1540*, Oxford 1997, p. 168 (s.v. *Gervase*), 303 (s.v. *II Thomas*); Martin, [in:] *ODNB*.

⁸ Stubbs, *Preface*, p. XXVI, has noticed the contrast between that expression and the position and riches of the Priory. However, besides the familiar *topoi* of humility and self-deprecation, Gervase's expression may also refer to current archiepiscopal projects to found a major new collegiate church outside Canterbury, which would have undermined both the status and possessions of Christ Church. See the monks' plea to the king, stressing "paupertas" of the church of Canterbury (*The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. 390, cf. p. 404-406). On the conflict between the cathedral priory and Archbishops Baldwin and Hubert Walter, see C.R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter*, London 1967, p. 135-157. Cf. the closing words of the *Chronicle*, in which Gervase refers to a "consilium fratrum", or his brethren's advice, about the final point of that part of his work (*The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. 594).

⁹ Stubbs, *Preface*, p. XXVI; Galbraith, *Historical Research*, p. 2; *Prologues to Ancient and Medieval History*, p. 268 (followed by Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 114).

insofar as it may denote a public character which current scholarship reserves for a category of widely accessible, endowed libraries that existed in Antiquity and in Latin Europe are only attested from the early fifteenth century onwards¹⁰. More recently, Jaakko Tahkokallio has opted for a periphrastic translation denoting a more abstract meaning. He pointed to Gervase and his declaration as representing monastic historians who wrote for their own communities, without “the intention to contribute to the *biblioteca publica*, that is, to make one’s work generally available in the public sphere”¹¹. The immediate context in which the term is used would seem to support this interpretation. The opposition between “*bibliotheca publica*” on the one hand, and, on the other, the author’s kinsman and their fellow-monks of Christ Church as intended readers of the *Chronicle*, may suggest that Gervase distinguished between two circles of dissemination: a domestic one, being the religious house to which he belonged, and a general readership. That would also resonate with how Gervase presents his two other major works. The *Gesta regum* was undertaken, he says, at the request of “*mei confratres*” and was written in a simple manner for readers like himself¹². His *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* is not explicitly addressed to any particular reader or audience, but the invitation it contains to consult the book holdings at Canterbury suggests that it too was primarily intended for Gervase’s fellow monks¹³. Gervase’s statements are confirmed by the manuscript tradition of his works, which survive in four witnesses, all from Christ Church¹⁴.

¹⁰ For a general panorama, see O. Merisalo, *Book production and collection*, [in:] *Handbook of Stemmatology. History, Methodology, Digital Approaches*, ed. Ph. Roelli, Berlin–Boston 2020, p. 24–30; on the ancient Roman Empire, see M. Nicholls, *Roman libraries as public buildings in the cities of the Empire*, [in:] *Ancient Libraries*, ed. J. König, K. Oikonomopoulou, G. Woolf, Cambridge 2013, p. 261–276; on late medieval England, see J. Willoughby, *Common Libraries in Fifteenth-Century England: An Episcopal Benefaction*, [in:] *After Arundel. Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. V.A. Gillespie, K. Ghosh, Turnhout 2011, p. 209–222.

¹¹ J. Tahkokallio, *Anglo-Norman Historical Canon. Publishing and Manuscript Culture*, Cambridge 2019, p. 71.

¹² See the prologue: “*confratrum meorum precibus tandem inclinatus*”; Gervase twice addresses a general “lector”, but he also specifies that he is writing for his peers: “*Ego autem mei similibus simpliciter scribo*” (*The Historical Works of Gervase*, II, p. 3–4).

¹³ “*Sed si praedictorum patrum vitas vel passiones, miraculave scire desiderat, illa magna quaerat volumina quibus sancta Cantuariensis abundat ecclesia, quae de ipsis sunt scripta, sicque suo satisfaciet desiderio*” (the invitation is addressed to a “lector”; *The Historical Works of Gervase*, II, p. 325).

¹⁴ Stubbs, *Preface*, [in:] *The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. L–LVI; *ibidem*, II, p. VII–VIII, cf. Staunton, *Historians*, p. 115. The deep anchorage of Gervase’s works in the traditions of the community of Christ Church and its current issues has been explored by C. Davidson Cragoe (*Reading and Rereading Gervase of Canterbury*, “*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*” 154 (2001), p. 40–53), who, however, has argued that *De combustione* would have been intended for external readers, viz. papal visitors; and by M.-P. Gelin (*Gervase of Canterbury, Christ Church and the Archbishops*, “*Journal of English History*” 60 (2009), 3, p. 449–463, and *Corrigendum*, *ibidem*, No. 4, p. 870). Cf. Hayward, *Gervase of Canterbury*, who deduces from the rhetorical content of the *Chronica* that it was meant “to persuade some sort of wider audience”.

The evidence that the *Chronica* itself provides about its destination being to the brethren of Christ Church only indirectly sheds light on the meaning of “*bibliotheca publica*”. Since the phrase had significance and certain currency at earlier time, we should ask from where Gervase might have derived his usage. As far as the searchable textual corpora of Latin texts allow us to go¹⁵, Gervase of Canterbury is the only medieval author to have used the term “*bibliotheca publica*” when referring to their own work. However, several Latin authors prior to Gervase referred to the “*bibliotheca publica*” as a repository of other writers’ compositions. Of this group of earlier witnesses to the term, I shall restrict myself to those who might have been known to Gervase and can therefore have shaped his understanding of the phrase.

Among the materials that the early-fifth-century medical author, Marcellus of Bordeaux, borrowed from his first-century predecessor, Scribonius, we find reference to a booklet of recipes, which after its author’s death was handed to Emperor Tiberius and deposited in “*bibliothecis publicis*”¹⁶. While there is no evidence that the *Compositiones* of Scribonius were known in England¹⁷, several analogues between Marcellus’s *De medicamentis liber* and Anglo-Saxon collections of recipes, written in both the vernacular and Latin, suggest that Marcellus may have had some circulation in early medieval England¹⁸.

Emperor Tiberius is the protagonist of another relevant episode, this one narrated in the early second century by Suetonius, in the *Lives of the Caesars*. The emperor is said to have placed the works of his favourite Greek poets,

¹⁵ *Brepolis* (Cross Database Searchtool) and *Patrologia Latina Database*, both accessed via E-Resources of the University of Helsinki. Cf. *Corpus corporum* (<<http://www.mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/>>) and *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* II, col. 1957 (<<https://publikationen.badw.de/en/thesaurus/lemmata#19108>>, last accessed 16.06.2021).

¹⁶ “Est enim compositio mirifica, multis omnino necessaria infra scriptis causis, non ignorata quidem antiquioribus medicis propter effectuum probatam, sed praecipue a Paccio Antiocho auditore Philonidis Catiniensis usu inlustrata; fecit enim magnos quaestus ex ea propter crebros successus in uitiiis difficillimis, sed ne hic quidem umquam ulli uiuus uiuus compositionem istam ostendit. Post eius mortem Tiberio Caesari per libellum scriptum data est et per eum in bibliothecis publicis posita uenit in manus nostras, quam ante nullo modo extrahere potuimus, quamuis omnia fecerimus, ut sciremus, quae esset” (Marcelli *De medicamentis liber*, ed. M. Niedermann, *Corpus Medicorum Latinorum*, V, Lipsiae–Berolini 1916, c. 20.1, p. 146, cf. Scribonii Largi *Compositiones*, ed. S. Sconocchia, Leipzig 1983, c. 97, p. 51).

¹⁷ M.L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, Cambridge 1993, p. 43. On the *Compositiones* and its textual tradition see S. Sconocchia, *Praefatio*, [in:] Scribonii Largi *Compositiones*, p. V-XIX; M.D. Reeve, *Scribonius Largus*, [in:] *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, Oxford 1983, p. 352-353; S. Sconocchia, *Nuovi testimoni scriboniani tra tardo antico e medioevo*, “*Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica*” 123 (1995), p. 278-319; K.-D. Fischer, S. Sconocchia, *Nuovi excerpta scriboniani tra tardo antico e medioevo*, ibidem 136 (2008), 3, p. 267-311.

¹⁸ Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, p. 36-38, 57, 75-76, 86-88, 127, 136, 150. Cf. J.T. McIlwain, *Brain and Mind in Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, “*Viator*” 37 (2006), p. 103-112: 107. The work survives in two ninth-century copies from Fulda and Laon (see Reeve, *Scribonius Largus*, p. 353).

Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, in “publicis bibliothecis”¹⁹. In the *Lives*, there are several other mentions of “bibliotheca/ae” in the sense of book collections, which were often subject to imperial commissions or interventions²⁰. None of those, however, defines “library” as “public”²¹. Gervase had a good chance of knowing Suetonius. The inventory of the library of Christ Church drawn up during the priorate of Henry of Eastry (d. 1331) reports two copies, both transmitted as the primary item in miscellanies of similar content²². Based on these contents, an extant twelfth-century English copy has been recognized as a relative²³.

The next instance also comes from a collection of biographies. In 393 Jerome composed a catalogue of illustrious ecclesiastical authors. He included Flavius Josephus, who, despite not being a Christian, enjoyed a position of prestige second only to the Fathers. Jerome says that Josephus offered his account of the Jewish War to emperors, that is Vespasian and Titus, and that the work was sent to a “bibliotheca publica”²⁴. The reach of Jerome’s work among

¹⁹ “Fecit et Graeca poemata imitatus Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus potest admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imagines publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit” (C. Suetoni Tranquilli *De vita Caesarum*, ed. R.A. Kaster, Oxonii 2016, Tib. 70.2, p. 194-195).

²⁰ For instance, Augustus is said to have established a library, Latin and Greek, in the porticus next to the Temple of Apollo in the Palatine Hill (Aug. 29.3), while Domitian had the merit of reconstructing libraries destroyed in fire (Dom. 20).

²¹ Except for the unaccomplished project of Caesar, of which a public character is expressed by means of a verb: “bibliothecas Graecas Latinasque quam maximas posset publicare, data Marco Varroni cura comparandarum ac digerendarum” (Suetoni *De vita Caesarum*, Iul. 44.2, p. 35). For a comprehensive discussion of Roman public libraries, see T.K. Dix, G.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 (2006), 2, p. 671-717; on Suetonius’s post in charge of libraries, see E. Bowie, *Libraries for Caesars*, [in:] *Ancient Libraries*, p. 251-252.

²² M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge 1903, p. 44 (nos. 241, 242). As James Willoughby has kindly pointed out to me, the two items occur in a section of the catalogue that represents the oldest part of the collection, gathered and arranged in classified order before the late twelfth century, when the collection began to grow and be arranged by accession; this change is represented in the catalogue, beginning at entry 503 (ibidem, p. 61, cf. p. XXXVIII-XXXIX). Cf. N. Ramsay, *The Cathedral Archives and Library*, [in:] *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsay, M. Sparks, Oxford 1995, p. 355-361.

²³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. class. d. 39 (olim London, Sion College, Arc. L. 40.2/L.21), see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, I, Oxford 1969, p. 278-279. On the manuscript tradition of the *Lives* see R.A. Kaster, *Preface*, [in:] Suetoni *De vita Caesarum*, p. V-XLVIII (a number of English and Norman copies, datable between the late eleventh and thirteenth centuries, in the β family, is worthy of note, see p. XXII-XXXVI). Suetonius did influence some English authors contemporary with Gervase (see Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 154-160).

²⁴ “Iosephus Matthiae filius, ex Hierosolymis sacerdos a Vespasiano captus, cum Tito filio eius relictus est. Hic Romam veniens, septem *Libros Iudaicae captiuitatis* imperatoribus patri filioque obtulit qui et bibliothecae publicae traditi sunt et ob ingenii gloriam statuam quoque Romae meruit” (Gerolamo, *Gli uomini illustri. De viris illustribus*, ed. A. Ceresa-Gastaldo, Firenze 1988, chapter XIII, p. 100). Cf. the near-contemporary translation of Eusebius’s chapter on Josephus

medieval authors enormously surpassed that of the three aforementioned authors. In terms of direct manuscript tradition, more than seventy copies are known to survive from times before Gervase²⁵. Although none of the extant manuscripts has a Christ Church provenance, a copy of *De viris* is attested for the priory in the early fourteenth century²⁶.

The success of Jerome's work does not necessarily mean that every one of its constituent parts attracted equal attention from readers. The Josephus entry, however, certainly did capture the interest of medieval audiences. In the ninth century it was quoted by Frechulf of Lisieux in the *Historiae*²⁷. Frechulf's universal chronicle was already circulating in England in the pre-Conquest period. Many of the extant copies do not include Part II, which transmits the quotation from Josephus²⁸. That characteristic casts doubt upon the comprehensiveness of the "Fretulphus" reported among the books kept in the cloister of Christ Church²⁹. Jerome's entry on Josephus was also cited by two authors contemporary with Gervase and associated, respectively, with London and Canterbury: Ralph de Diceto (d. 1199 or 1200) and Peter of Blois (d. 1212). The former included the Josephus chapter among the extracts following the prologue to his *Abbreviationes chronicorum*³⁰. The work, written about the same time as Gervase's, was circulating early beyond London, where Ralph was dean of St Paul's cathedral. Apparently, it also reached Canterbury, although it is not certain whether it did so early enough for Gervase to have consulted

by Rufinus of Aquileia: "constat (...) apud Romanos habitum esse nobilissimum, ita ut litterarum merito in urbe Roma etiam statua donaretur et libri eius bibliothecae traderentur" (*Historia ecclesiastica* III, 9. 2, quoted from: *Eusebius Werke, 2, Die Kirchengeschichte*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Die Lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus*, ed. Th. Mommsen, 1, *Die Bücher I bis V*, Leipzig 1903, p. 223). On the original context of the publication of Josephus's work, see S. Mason, *Josephus as a Roman Historian*, [in:] *A Companion to Josephus*, ed. H.H. Chapman, Z. Rodgers, Chicester 2016, p. 89-107, esp. 90-97 (even though the scholar prefers not to use the term "publishing", p. 91).

²⁵ The complementary information on the manuscript tradition is provided by A. Feder, *Studien zum Schriftstellerkatalog des Heiligen Hieronymus*, Freiburg i.B. 1927, p. 2-68; B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta* (henceforth BHM) II, Steenbrugis 1969, no. 260, p. 429-457; and Mirabile <<http://www.mirabileweb.it/libproxy.helsinki.fi/title/de-viris-inlustribus-hieronymus-stridonius-title/16615>> (last accessed 16.6.2021).

²⁶ The Eastry catalogue (James, *The Ancient Libraries*, p. 19, no. 42) and *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.H. Rouse, M.A. Rouse, London 1991, p. 94 (R6. 102).

²⁷ *Historiae* II, 2, 5 (Freculfi Lexoviensis episcopi *Opera omnia*, ed. M.I. Allen, CCCM 169A, Turnhout 2002, p. 506).

²⁸ As is the case with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 267 (s. XI/XII), which belonged to St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury. On that copy and the entire English group, see Allen, *Introduction*, [in:] *Freculfi Opera omnia*, CCCM 169, p. 108*-123*.

²⁹ The Eastry catalogue, no. 346 (James, *The Ancient Libraries*, p. 52). Another copy (no. 533), acquired from the monk Richard de Sancta Mildreda who was alive in the late thirteenth century, contained seven books, that is Part I alone (ibidem, p. 63).

³⁰ *The Historical Works of Master Ralph de Diceto*, ed. W. Stubbs, I, London 1876, p. 25.

it³¹. Peter of Blois quoted Jerome in his *Contra perfidiam Judaeorum*³². As a legal representative of Archbishop Baldwin, however, Peter was on the prelate's side in his dispute with the monks of Christ Church³³. This would explain the paucity of copies of his works in the later inventory of the priory³⁴, and therefore undermines Peter's capacity to have influenced Gervase.

One other route of transmission for the Josephus chapter is of the utmost interest. In a number of manuscripts of the Latin Josephus, Jerome's entry was copied as a preface³⁵. This happens to be the case with eleven extant English copies, of which at least five are datable before the end of the twelfth century³⁶. Regrettably, the early-twelfth-century two-volume set of Josephus's *Antiquitates* and *De bello Judaico* that comes from Christ Church does not

³¹ On the manuscripts of the *Abbreviationes* see Staunton, *The Historians*, p. 70. In the Eastry catalogue two entries refer to Ralph: "Radulfus de Diceto" (no. 303) and "Cronica decani London." (no. 1086), the latter among the books of Nigel Witeker, a monk contemporary with Gervase (Greatrex, *Biographical Register*, p. 320-321, s.v., and Ramsay, *The Cathedral Archives*, p. 360), see James, *The Ancient Libraries*, p. 51, 101. Another work by Ralph, the annals of the archbishops of Canterbury, extracted from the *Abbreviationes* and dedicated to Archbishop Hubert Walter, survives in a contemporary Christ Church copy: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 76 (for description and reproduction see: <<https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/hz335hj3991>>, last accessed 16.06.2021), identified with item 1438 in the Eastry catalogue.

³² PL 207, Parisiis 1904, col. 851C-D (cap. 24).

³³ R.W. Southern, *Blois, Peter of*, [in:] ODNB (published online 23.09.2004, <<https://doi-org.libproxy.helsinki.fi/10.1093/ref:odnb/22012>>, last accessed 16.06.2021). Peter's role is highlighted by Gervase in his *Chronicle*, see for instance *The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. 354, 356, 368-369.

³⁴ Two of his works (but not *Contra perfidiam*) are present among the books of the monk William of Ely in the Eastry catalogue (nos. 1227 and 1230; James, *The Ancient Libraries*, p. 107-108). The *Registrum Anglie* (R46, p. 194-195) reported no copy of a work of his at Christ Church.

³⁵ On the practice of prefacing works of an author with a biography taken from *De viris*, see R.H. Rouse, M.A. Rouse, *Bibliography before Print: The Medieval De Viris Illustribus*, [in:] *idem, Authentic Witnesses. Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, Notre Dame 1991, p. 478-479. On the same phenomenon in the tradition of Josephus, see K.M. Kletter, *The Christian Reception of Josephus in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, [in:] *A Companion to Josephus*, p. 372.

³⁶ The list is based on F. Blatt, *The Latin Josephus, I, Introduction and Text. The Antiquities: Books I-V*, København 1958, p. 87-94; and K.M. Kletter, *The Uses of Josephus: Jewish History in Medieval Christian Tradition*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 2005, chapter III, *The English Manuscripts of the Latin Josephus*, p. 125-136 (I thank Karen M. Kletter for having generously shared with me that chapter): Cambridge, Trinity Hall, MS 4 (c. 1140, Monkland priory; <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-TRINITYHALL-00004/13>>, last accessed 16.06.2021); Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1.28 (s. XII/XIII); Durham, Durham Cathedral, MS B.II.1 (s. XII^m, Durham, <<https://iif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t2mjh343s28w&canvas=t2tfx719m77q>>, last accessed 16.06.2021); Glasgow, Hunterian Museum Library, MS 4 (S.I.4) (s. XII, Hertford OSB); London, British Library, MSS Harley 5116 (s. XIII, Coventry OFM), Royal 13 D. VI-VII (s. XII, St Albans), and Royal 13 E. VIII (s. XIII/XIV); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. E. inf. 3 (s. XIII); Valencia, Biblioteca de la Catedral, MS 29 (s. XII); Winchester, Winchester College MS 6 (s. XII/XIII, Merevale OCist); Worcester, Worcester Cathedral, MS F.9 (s. XIII/XIV). They all belong to Blatt's "Anglo-Norman family" (i.e., on some problems posed by Blatt's classification see Kletter, *The Uses of Josephus*, p. 122-125, 158-160).

show Jerome's prefatory chapter, but the first volume wants four leaves at the beginning and starts abruptly in *Antiquitates* I 68, so its original status cannot be known³⁷. As is demonstrated by other English copies that include both the *Antiquitates* and *De bello Judaico*, the beginning of the *Antiquitates* is the place where one would expect to find Jerome's *accessus*.

In terms of its availability to Gervase, the tradition of Jerome's life of Josephus had a much better chance of transmitting the notion of "bibliotheca publica" than did Scribonius-Marcellus and Suetonius. As to the meaning of the episodes described by Scribonius, Suetonius, and Jerome, and perpetuated in later quotations, in all cases the Roman emperor(s) played a key role in securing given works for public libraries. "Biblioteca publica" may therefore have appeared to medieval readers to signify a book repository under imperial patronage. The association with public authority is also clear in another pre-Gervasian instance of the use of "bibliotheca publica", which, however, does not refer to a literary work. A renowned Carolingian author, Paschasius Radbertus (d. after 851), commenting on Matthew chapter 4, explored a military allegory of Christian life. For the sake of drawing a comparison he recalled the ancient practice of military census, saying that after training and taking of the oath, the newly enrolled soldiers had their names entered "in bibliothecis publicis"³⁸. Paschasius's editor, Beda Paulus, has suggested Isidore's *Etymologies* (IX, 3. 40) as a potential source. Discussing different categories of Roman soldiers, Isidore glosses the term of "milites conscripti" with the fact these men's names were listed – in other words "written" – "in tabulis" kept by their chief commander³⁹. If Paschasius had indeed been influenced by Isidore, his "bibliothecae publicae" would mean state

³⁷ The set is now separated between Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.1.4, and Cambridge, St John's College, MS 8, see Kletter, *The Uses of Josephus*, p. 125-127, and Blatt, *The Latin Josephus*, p. 89 (this set belonging to his "Anglo-Norman family").

³⁸ "Ductus est inquit Iesus ab Spiritu in desertum ut temptaretur a diabolo. Nihil igitur aliud quippiam Dei Sapientia faciendi primum post baptisma providentius poterat eligere quam illud ex quo instrueret uniuersos regni sui milites quid et ipsis agendum esset contra demonas mox ut renati essent per fontem. Mos itaque antiquissimus non dico Romanorum uerum etiam ceterarum gentium fuit ut si quis ad militiam post longa tirocinii sui exercitia idoneus iam transiret, nomen suum ad transscribendum in bibliothecis publicis proprio ex uoto donaret. Ac deinceps in exercitu regis proprio recitatus ex nomine connumerabatur. Quod singuli Christianorum faciunt antequam fontem baptismi ingrediantur et interrogati per singula hosti cum suis omnibus renuntiant armis et induunt se Christi armatura fortes fide qualiter possint *aduersus insidias diaboli stare* et contra legiones daemonum cottidie dimicare. Quorum itaque nomina non cartis sed caelo tenentur adscripta ut si quippiam in proelio digne gesserint coronentur sin autem subcubuerint mortis signo notati tamquam qui caelo digni non fuerint de libro uitae penitus delebuntur" (Pascasii Radberti *Expositio in Mattheo libri XII (I-IV)*, ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 56, Turnhout 1984, Liber III (4. 1), p. 235).

³⁹ "Conscripti milites dicuntur quia in tabulis conferuntur ab eo qui eos ducturus est" (Isidore de Séville, *Étymologies, Livre IX, Texte établi, traduit et commenté par M. Reydellet*, Paris 1984, p. 143).

registers, or, metonymically, a repository of such registers, namely state records⁴⁰. Paschasius's commentary survives in seven manuscripts, of which only three contain Book 3, where the passage occurs: two, a model and its copy, date from the ninth century and come from Corbie, another, a twelfth-century manuscript, belonged to the abbey of Anchin, in Flanders, just across the English Channel⁴¹. It was used by some later continental commentators and, through the mediation of an early twelfth-century abbreviation, was incorporated in the Ordinary Gloss on Matthew; but to my knowledge our passage has not been quoted anywhere⁴².

Paschasius is the most recent of the authors who were potentially known to Gervase to independently use the term "bibliotheca publica"⁴³. His testimony allows us to expand the semantic field of the term to also embrace public documents or repositories of administrative records. The associations of "bibliotheca publica" with the state (imperial) authority, on the one hand, and with archive-keeping on the other, are also confirmed by instances in which the noun and adjective are used separately in other phrasal configurations. I shall mention only two examples that were in a position to shape Gervase's concepts. The first is the Biblical account of the reconstruction of the Temple in the First Book of Esdras. The envoys sent by King Darius to investigate the works in Jerusalem wrote back to the king and invited him to search for the order of King Cyrus, by virtue of which the Hebrew leaders were justifying their enterprise. The order was to be looked for in "bibliotheca regis" and was found in a historical record ("commentarius"), transmitted in a scroll ("volu-

⁴⁰ This interpretation is also supported by "cartae" being a counterpart of "bibliothecae publicae" in the latter part of the same section of Paschasius's commentary (see above, note 38).

⁴¹ B. Paulus, *Einleitung*, [in:] Pascasii Radberti *Expositio*, p. IX-XII. Cf. *Registrum Anglie*, which under *Opera Paschasii* (R22, p. 149-150) does not include the commentary on Matthew.

⁴² On the abbreviation (with the incipit "Nomen libri evangelium grece"), and its relation to both Paschasius and the *Glosa*, see B. Smalley, *Some Gospel Commentaries of Early Twelfth Century*, [in:] eadem, *The Gospels in the Schools, c. 1100–c. 1280*, London–Roncheverte 1985, p. 11-15, 23. Paschasius was also the main source for the eleventh-century verse commentary on Matthew 1.1-17 (*The Ancestry of Jesus. Excerpts from Liber Generationis Iesu Christi Filii David Filii Abraham (Matthew 1:1-17)*). Edited from Heidelberg, *Universitätsbibliothek, MS. Salem IX 15* by G. Dinkova-Bruun, Toronto 2005, p. 3-4).

⁴³ A few decades before Gervase wrote his chronicle, the *Mirabilia urbis Romae* (composed about 1140-1143, in the milieu of the papal Curia) referred to the *Cartularium* as a former "bibliotheca publica": "Iuxta arcum Septem Lucernarum templum Aescolapii, ideo dicitur Cartularium, quia fuit ibi bibliotheca publica; de quibus XXVIII fuere in urbe" (*I Mirabilia urbis Romae*, ed. M. Accame, E. Dell'Oro, Roma 2004, chapter 24, p. 164). Ultimately very successful, the text is unlikely to have reached Canterbury before the end of the century. On the origin and the earliest circulation, see D. Internullo, *Decus Urbis. Un'altra prospettiva sui Mirabilia di Roma e le origini del decoro urbano (secoli XII-XV)*, "Quaderni storici" 55 (2020), 1, p. 159-183; on the later circulation and reception, see N.R. Miedema, *Die 'Mirabilia Romae'. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Überlieferung mit Edition der deutschen und niederländischen Texte*, Tübingen 1996 (checklist of Latin manuscripts, p. 22-95).

men”), kept “in bibliotheca librorum”⁴⁴. Among various nouns, of which the adjective “public*” was used as a qualifier, we also find “monumentum” or “monimentum”. The noun itself denoted, among other things, a document, a charter, or a historical record⁴⁵; in the plural, a collection of such instruments, for instance a collection of state papers: “monimenta publica”. In a letter that circulated under Jerome’s name addressed to Chromatius and Heliodorus, a visit of Emperor Constantine to Caesarea is recalled. On that occasion Bishop Eusebius reportedly asked the emperor to order a general survey of public records (“monimenta publica”) across the empire in search of any information about the trials of Christian martyrs⁴⁶. The letter enjoyed a wide circulation, individually and as a second preface to *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*⁴⁷. With the latter it also reached the British Isles⁴⁸.

From the time of Ovid, “publica monimenta / monimenta” could also be conceived as the destination for literary works. In the opening verses of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid addresses Brutus asking him to give safe harbour to his “libelli”, which, written from exile, do not dare enter into the “publica monimenta”. The common understanding in modern scholarship is that Ovid was referring to the public libraries of Rome⁴⁹. The expression

⁴⁴ “Nunc ergo si videtur regi bonum recenseat in bibliotheca regis, que est in Babylone, utrum nam a Cyro rege iussum sit ut edificaretur domus Dei in Hierusalem, et voluntatem regis super hac re mittat ad nos (...) Tunc Darius rex precepit et recenserunt in bibliotheca librorum qui erant repositi in Babylone. Et inventum est in Egbathanis quod est castrum in Medena provincia volumen unum, talisque scriptum in eo erat commentarius” (1 Esr 5.17 and 6.1-2, *Glossae Scripturae Sacrae electronicae*, ed. M. Morard, IRHT-CNRS, 2016-2018, <<https://gloss-e.irht.cnrs.fr/php/livres-liste.php>>, last accessed 16.06.2021). The same is narrated in the Third Book of Esdras (6.21-23), with the change of number of “bibliotheca” into the plural.

⁴⁵ To remain with Insular sources, see the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, s.v. “monumentum” (consulted via *Brepolis. Database of Latin Dictionaries*).

⁴⁶ “Nam Constantinus Augustus cum Caesaream fuisset ingressus et diceret memorato antistiti, ut peteret aliqua beneficia Caesariensi ecclesiae profutura, legitur respondisse Eusebium opibus suis ditatam ecclesiam nulla petendi beneficia necessitate compelli, sibi tamen desiderium immobile exitisse ut quicquid ubique in republica romana gestum sit erga sanctos Dei, iudices iudicibus succedentes in universo orbe romano sollicita perscrutatione monimenta publica discutiendo perquirerent, et quis martyrum, a quo iudice, in qua provincia vel civitate, quo die quave passione, perseverantiae suae obtinuerit palmam, de ipsis arcivis sublata notitia, ipsi Eusebio regio iussu dirigerent” (ed. H. Quentin, H. Delehaye, *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov. II, 2, Bruxellis 1931, p. 1).

⁴⁷ *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, IIA, ed. I. Machielsen, Turnhout 1994, no. 520 (p. 151); BHM, IIIB (1970), nos. 640 and 641 (p. 521-530).

⁴⁸ For instance, it is present in one of the oldest copies produced in England (s. VIII^m, soon to be taken to Echternach): Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 10837, fol. 2r-v, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6001113z>> (last accessed 16.06.2021).

⁴⁹ “Naso Tomitanae iam non novus incola terrae/ hoc tibi de Getico litore mittit opus./ si vacat, hospitio peregrinos, Brute, libellos/ excipe, dumque aliquo, quolibet abde loco./ publica non audent intra monimenta venire,/ ne suos hoc illis clauserit auctor iter” (Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Book I, ed. with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary by J.F. Gaertner, Oxford 2005, I, 1, v. 1-6, p. 48). For the commentary see *ibidem*, p. 96-99; and Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Book I, ed. G. Tissol, Cambridge 2014, p. 55-56. The opposition between the “official reading forums sanc-

reappears in the late-twelfth-century best-seller, the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon. Addressing his own work in the prologue, Walter claims to have long had the intention of keeping it secret, but in the end he decided to publish it (“in lucem esse proferendam”) so that it might dare to enter “in publica monimenta”⁵⁰. The epic was written shortly after 1176, for William of the White Hands (d. 1202) is asked to receive the work and is addressed as archbishop of Reims, and he assumed the archbishopric only in that year⁵¹. However, he is not given any explicit role in the process of publication: the work will find its way into the “publica monimenta” by the very decision of the author to make it public. The common place of authorial hesitation as to whether to publish or not, suggests that by reverting to the Ovidian expression Walter may have simply intended the expected wide and long-lasting fortune of the published work⁵². Indeed, its success was immediate and the work was known in England as early as 1189⁵³.

While Walter’s use of “publica monimenta” is open to various interpretations, about a decade later the same term appeared in the context of a royal dedication. In the prologue to his *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, which manifestly borrows from Walter’s proem⁵⁴, Rigord, monk of Saint-Denis, claimed to have offered his work to the king so that, by his hands, it would enter “in publica monimenta”⁵⁵. He is probably referring to the presentation of the first

tioned by the Roman state” and private readership by the addressees of individual letters is rendered more complex by the explicit intention that the collection should reach the household of Augustus, see F.K.A. Martelli, *Ovid’s Revisions. The Editor as Author*, Cambridge 2013, p. 194-197. Several copies of various works by Ovid, including “Epistolae”, appear in the late-twelfth-century booklist from Christ Church (James, *Ancient Libraries*, p. 11, no. 166; on that list, see Ramsay, *The Cathedral Archives*, p. 350-351).

⁵⁰ “Hoc ego reueritus/ diu te, o mea Alexandreis, in mente habui semper/ suppressere et opus quinquennio laboratum aut/ penitus delere aut certe quoad uiuerem in occulto/ sepelire. Tandem apud me deliberatum est/ te in lucem esse proferendam ut demum auderes/ in publica uenire monimenta” (Galteri di Castellione *Alexandreis*, ed. M.L. Colker, Padova 1978, p. 3-4, Prologus, vv. 13-19).

⁵¹ *Alexandreis* X, vv. 461-469, p. 274, and I, vv. 12-26, p. 7-8. His name is embedded in an acrostic.

⁵² Walter’s “in publica venire monimenta” has been cited among expressions denoting publication (Fr. “édition”) by P. Bourgain, *La naissance officielle de l’œuvre: l’expression métaphorique de la mise au jour*, [in:] *Vocabulaire du livre et l’écriture au moyen âge*, ed. O. Weijers, Turnhout 1989, p. 195-205: 202-203. However, Walter may have deliberately distinguished between publishing proper, expressed by “in lucem esse proferendam”, and a further objective of gaining readerships or the status of a “publicum monumentum”.

⁵³ Verses 448-450 of Book X were imitated in the epitaph of King Henry II (Colker, *Introduction*, [in:] *Alexandreis*, p. XIX).

⁵⁴ On Rigord’s dependence on Walter, see M.L. Colker, *Walter of Châtillon, Rigord of Saint Denis, and an alleged quotation from Juvenal*, “Classical Folia” 24 (1970), 1, p. 89-95.

⁵⁵ “(...) opus decennio elaboratum habui in voluntate subprimere aut penitus delere, vel certe quantum viverem, in occulto sepelire. Tandem ad preces venerabilis patris Hugonis beatissimi Dyonisii abbatis cui ista familiariter revelaveram et ad ipsius instanciam, hoc opus in lucem protuli et christianissimo regi humiliter optuli, ut sic demum per manum ipsius regis in publica veniret monimenta” (Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, éd. É. Carpentier, G. Pon,

part of the work to Philip Augustus upon the king's return from the Third Crusade (1191/92). It has been proposed that Rigord "espère du roi une approbation qui assurera la diffusion de son œuvre, ce qui ne fut pas le cas"⁵⁶. It is difficult to say what sort of circulation the chronicler had hoped for. What Rigord, the self-acclaimed "regis Francorum cronographus", seems to have expected from Philip Augustus is that the *Gesta* be recognized as an official document worthy of inclusion in the royal archives.

Rigord, contemporary with and independent from Gervase, becomes an interesting companion to the latter. The immediate context for the term "bibliotheca publica" in the prologue to Gervase's *Chronicle* can suggest a distinction between two tiers of dissemination, domestic and general. However, in the light of a group of witnesses to that phrase that were certainly or potentially available to Gervase, I posit that the chronicler may have rather distinguished between two sorts of destinations for his work: private, in this case an individual religious house, and public. In accordance with the meaning conveyed by the texts discussed above, the "bibliotheca publica" would equate to a repository of documents, historical records, and selected literary works sanctioned by a public (royal) authority⁵⁷. Belonging to such a collection would bestow the authority of the holder upon the work and grant it a different, official status. The Josephus precedent, as presented and made famous by Jerome, was the most easily available source of that understanding of the "bibliotheca publica". Gervase declared that he did not aspire to such a status for his *Chronicle*. Rigord, on the contrary, wished it for his *Gesta*, and in order to express his ambition he reverted to the Ovidian "publica monimenta", known to him through Walter of Châtillon. I propose that Rigord and Gervase, by using the terms "publica monimenta" and "bibliotheca publica" respectively, were referring to the same concept of a public or official status that could be granted to a historical work by a public authority.

Reviewing the whole of Gervase's statement quoted at the outset of this essay, it should be added that the projected recipient of his work as his own community, rather than the "bibliotheca publica", is his explanation for why he does not belong among the chroniclers ("cronicae scriptores"). That state-

Y. Chauvin, Paris 2006, p. 116, 118, followed here except for "monimenta", which is the reading of both witnesses, relegated to the apparatus and emended to "monumenta" in the edited text).

⁵⁶ É. Carpentier, *L'œuvre de Rigord: chroniqueur du roi des Francs*, [in:] Rigord, *Histoire*, p. 60-67 (the quoted opinion at p. 62). The work has been transmitted in two medieval witnesses, both French, datable to the thirteenth century, the complete one coming from St-Denis, see G. Pon (with collaboration of L. Moulinier-Brogi), *Les manuscrits*, [in:] Rigord, *Histoire*, p. 20-32, 41-51.

⁵⁷ Although the phrase mostly occurs in passages borrowed from his sources, Gervase used "publica potestas", when referring to the English king, once in the *Chronica* (*The Historical Works of Gervase*, I, p. 195), and twice in the *Actus* (*ibidem*, II, p. 391, 393).

ment is related – either in opposition or parenthetically (“autem”) – to the previous one about his selection of material. Gervase says that he will not include in his work everything that may be remembered (“memorabilia”), but only what seems worth remembering (“digna memoriae”)⁵⁸. These two positions regarding his own work should certainly be taken into consideration by scholarly reflections on the formal distinctions between “historiae” and “annales” or “cronica”, discussed by Gervase at the beginning of the same prologue. This, however, is beyond the aims of the present contribution.

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It was only with the rise of Humanism, from the late fourteenth century onwards, that the concept of “bibliotheca publica” gained more attention and started to be applied to contemporary libraries, imagined, planned or effectively established⁵⁹. It was also then that the potential meaning of the “public” character of a library was fully explored to include such aspects as the sponsorship of a public authority, the role of a representative repository of corrected, authoritative texts and its accessibility to men of letters. The concept of “bibliotheca publica” was unfolded in this way in learned reflection, including in Coluccio Salutati’s *De fato et fortuna* II, 6 (1396-1397) and Poggio Bracciolini’s commenting on the will of Niccolò Niccoli (d. 1437)⁶⁰. As is well known, the dispositions of Niccoli’s will were enacted, with the essential contribution of Cosimo de’ Medici, by the foundation of an open library at San Marco in Florence. However, if we turn to the current use of the term in both literary and documentary sources, it seems that public access by a learned or civic community took precedence over other criteria that it was judged a “bibliotheca publica” should meet. This semantic focus is already seen in Giannozzo Manetti’s description, around 1440, of Niccoli’s project⁶¹. The same emphasis on access characterises Cardinal Bessarion’s bequest of his

⁵⁸ That resolution is also repeated in relation to Gervase’s narrative of Becket’s martyrdom and miracles (ibidem, I, p. 231).

⁵⁹ For general orientation, see L. Gargan, *Gli umanisti e la biblioteca pubblica*, [in:] *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, ed. G. Cavallo, Bari–Roma 2004, p. 163-186.

⁶⁰ Both quoted and discussed in a broader context by A. Manfredi, *Il Salutati e le biblioteche pubbliche. Per una rilettura di De fato et fortuna II, 6*, [in:] *Le radici umanistiche dell’Europa. Coluccio Salutati cancelliere e politico*, ed. R. Cardini, P. Viti, Firenze 2012, p. 385-401.

⁶¹ “Quamobrem pridie quam moreretur suo testamento instituit ut ex magna librorum suorum congerie (...) publica quedam bibliotheca fieret que cunctis eruditissimis hominibus perpetuo pateret” (Giannozzo Manetti, *De illustribus longaevis*, quoted from Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1603, fol. 198r).

books to San Marco in Venice in 1468⁶²; and, towards the end of the century, the disposition of Pietro Foscari, bishop of Padua, of the books of his predecessor, Iacopo Zeno, in 1482⁶³; and the *Vite* of Vespasiano da Bisticci⁶⁴. The open status of those collections and the benefits of it are often described by a joint use of the qualifiers “public” and “common”. The latter echoes the term “*libraria communis*”, which was frequently used in religious communities (especially canonical and mendicant) and university colleges, typically in the sense of a reference collection⁶⁵. Apparently, the concept of a public library as elaborated by the humanists could not escape associations with

⁶² L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana. Six Early Inventories*, Roma 1979, p. 147-156, see among many significant passages: “(...) parum desyderio meo satisfacisse videbar, nisi pariter providerem ut libri, quos tanto studio et labore coëgeram, me vivo ita collocarentur ut etiam defuncto dissipari alienarique non possent, sed in loco aliquo tuto simul ac commodo ad communem hominum, tam graecorum quam latinorum, utilitatem servarentur” (letter to the doge, p. 148); “cunctis ad ipsam librariam accedere et legere ac studere volentibus, tam graecis quam latinis, liberum aditum publice dare” (*Instrumentum donationis*, p. 155).

⁶³ “ut (...) ipsa Sancta Patavina ecclesia (...) ornatior appareat, ministri vero eius omnes in primis ac ceteri huius regie urbis clerici eo studiosiores promptioresque ad litterarum studia reddantur quo sibi libros cumulatus suppetere viderint (...), cives etiam omnes qui litteris delectantur in illis oblectari valeant, publicam bibliothecam in ipsa ecclesia construi statuimus, in qua omnes ipsi libri et quos in posterum reparari contigerit reponi ac recondi debeant, communibus usibus publiceque utilitati presto futuri” (Gargan, *Gli umanisti*, p. 179).

⁶⁴ See, for example, the life of Niccolò Niccoli, on his arrangement of Boccaccio's bequest at the convent of Santo Spirito in Florence: “Et non bastò a Nicolaio volere che i libri sua fussino comuni, et stessino in luogo pubblico, ché, sendo morto meser Giovanni Bocacci, et avendo lasciati tutti i sua libri a Sancto Spirito, sendo posti in casse et armari, parve a Nicolaio che gli stessino bene in una libreria che fussi publica a ognuno, et per questo delle sua sustantie fece edificare una libreria a fine vi si potessino mettere i detti libri, sì per la loro conservatione, il simile ancora per onore di meser Giovanni, et a fine che fussino comuni a chi n'avessi bisogno; et a sua ispese la murò, et fece fare le panche da tenere i libri, le quali si vegono infino al presente di” (Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. A. Grego, II, Firenze 1976, p. 239, cf. on Niccoli's will, p. 237-238).

⁶⁵ The term “*libraria communis*” (or “*armarium commune*”) was the one most frequently found. See, for example, the legislation of the Dominican order: *Acta capitulorum generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, t. 2, ed. B.M. Reichert, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica IV, Romae 1899, p. 34-35 (Padua 1308), 39 (Saragozza 1309), 83-84 (Bologna 1315); and the complementary studies of K.W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400*, Amsterdam 1964, esp. p. 20 (note 12), 22 (note 27), 32, 56, 73, 80, 86-87; M.B. Parkes, *The provision of books*, [in:] *The History of the University of Oxford*, II, *Late Medieval Oxford*, ed. J.I. Catto, R. Evans, Oxford 1993, p. 407-483 (esp. 455-462, 470-482); D. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, *La bibliothèque commune des institutions religieuses*, “*Scriptorium*” 50 (1996), 2, p. 254-268; G. Fournier, *Une bibliothèque universitaire avant la lettre? La librairie communis du collège de Sorbonne (XIII^e-XVI^e siècle)*, [in:] *Die Bibliothek – The Library – La Bibliothèque*, ed. A. Speer, L. Reuke, Berlin-Boston 2020, p. 206-237, esp. 220, 223-227. The inventory of Sacro Convento at Assisi (1381) witnesses an alternative term: “*libraria publica*”, distinguished from “*secretaria*”, viz. the lending library (see Humphreys, *The Book Provisions*, p. 56, 107-108; and D. Nebbiai, *Le biblioteche degli ordini mendicanti (secc. XIII-XV)*, [in:] *Studio e Studia: Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti tra XIII e XIV secolo. Atti del XXIX convegno della Società internazionale di studi francescani (Assisi, 11-13 ottobre 2001)*, Spoleto 2002, p. 219-270: 255, 260, 263).

the co-existing patterns of book provision in mendicant and university libraries⁶⁶. Gervase, instead, seems rather to have depended on the learned models of Roman antiquity, transmitted through Classical, Patristic, and Carolingian sources.

⁶⁶ On the impact of the mendicants, see Nebbiai, *Le biblioteche*, p. 229-231. To the examples provided by Nebbiai of mendicant libraries in Italy assuming the characteristics of public collections, one could add that of the Dominican convent in Chioggia. In 1408 the city council sponsored the acquisition of the *Catholicon* by John of Genoa not only for the benefit of the friars, but also for the secular students from Chioggia: "Quod ob reverentiam Dei et pro comodo tam presentium quam futurorum aptorum ad studium, subveniatur fratribus S. Dominici de duc. XV in viginti pro emendo unum Catoliconem, qui teneatur in loco dictorum fratrum, tam ad utilitatem dicti conventus quam omnium de ista civitate aptorum ad studium, et nunc et in futurum" (T. Kaeppli, *Antiche biblioteche domenicane in Italia*, "Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum" 26 (1966), p. 11). In fifteenth-century England, the potential of mendicant and collegiate models manifested itself in a group of urban clerical "common libraries", beginning with the Guildhall library in London, established between 1423 and 1425 (see Willoughby, *Common Libraries*).

