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THE INTELLECTUAL INTERESTS REFLECTED IN LIBRARIES OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

BY PEARL KIBRE

Libraries and bibliophiles belong to no particular time or place. Yet the chronological period covered by what is commonly termed the Renaissance, that is roughly the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and more particularly the fifteenth century, saw a great increase in the number of private or individual collectors of books.¹ Theodor Gottlieb who published a great many of the catalogues of medieval and renaissance libraries lists some two hundred and nineteen for the fifteenth century, and one hundred and fourteen for the fourteenth, as against sixty for the thirteenth, seventy for the twelfth, and forty-three for the eleventh century.² Although these numbers are by no means complete and are particularly inadequate for the Italian libraries of the fifteenth century,³ they do

¹ Cf. D. Giuseppe Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli* (Firenze, 1890), 41; C. Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX* (Firenze, 1933).

² Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890), has of course made greater use of German sources than of any other. From his lists the approximate numbers for each country, according to centuries may be summarized as follows: Germanies: about 64 for the 15th, 34 for the 14th, 22 each for the 11th and 13th centuries; 30 for the 12th, 6 for the 10th, and 18 for the 9th century. For France there are 40 for the 15th, 29 each for the 14th and 12th centuries, 18 for the 13th, 14 for the 11th, 5 for the 10th, and 4 for the 9th century. The case is much the same for Italy although the proportion of 15th century libraries is much greater: 65 for the 15th, 23 for the 14th, 11 for the 13th, 6 for the 12th, 4 for the 11th, 2 for the 10th, and none for the 9th century. For British libraries, there are 27 for the 15th, 23 for the 14th, 6 for the 13th, 5 for the 12th, none for the 11th, 2 for the 10th, and none for the 9th century. Of the other countries, the Netherlands including Belgium and Holland had 14 for the 15th century, with only 4 each for the 12th and 14th centuries, 1 each for the 13th and 10th, 2 for the 11th. Spain and Portugal according to Gottlieb's list had 9 for the 15th century, 3 for the 14th, 2 for the 13th, 4 for the 12th, and one each for the 9th and 10th centuries.

³ Several additional libraries are listed by Gustavus Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, Bonn 1885. R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, (Biblioteca storica del rinascimento, II, [Firenze, 1905], especially chapter XI, and *Nuove Ricerche*, loc. cit. V, [1914], adds a number of Italian libraries that are omitted by both Gottlieb and Becker. See also Carlo Frati, *Dizio-*

serve to indicate the extent of the increase. It is of course difficult to determine how much the interest of the humanists in classical texts caused this growth in numbers or what proportion can be credited to the natural tendency for extant records to be more numerous as we approach our own time. Possibly the practice of making and exchanging inventories of their collections, that Pico della Mirandola and other humanists indulged in, resulted in more of them being preserved.⁴ The contribution of the printing press to the growth of these libraries is also difficult to evaluate since printed books did not at first find a ready acceptance among the wealthy bibliophiles who preferred the more costly and more finely wrought hand copies. Yet the humanists and other scholars whose chief interest was in the content rather than in the externals of the books welcomed the products of the presses.

The size of these libraries varied considerably both as to the number of codices listed and in the contemporary reports of them. The latter are notoriously exaggerated,⁵ and separate items listed give no real index to the actual number of individual treatises, since it was customary to bind several together, even in the case of printed books. A library of about 800 or 900 items might be said to constitute a very fair-sized collection. That of Pico della Mirandola, usually adjudged one of the outstanding private libraries of the fifteenth century numbered some 1190 items.⁶ Numbers and size are, however, of much less importance than the nature of the contents for our purpose, which is that of determining the intellectual interests and resources that these libraries reflect. There seems little need for reiterating the importance in this regard of the extant inventories, for despite the brevity and inadequacy of their descriptions these contemporary catalogues do provide tangible evidence for the presence or absence of particular writings.⁷

nario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX, raccolto e pubblicato da Albano Sorbelli (Firenze, 1933).

I am indebted to Dr. Paul O. Kristeller, who read the final draft of this paper, for suggestions especially in regard to bibliography on Italian and Spanish libraries.

⁴ Cf. P. Kibre, *The library of Pico della Mirandola* (New York, 1936), 15-16.

⁵ A. de Hevesy, *La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin* (Paris, 1923), 25, citing Vespasiano and other contemporary authors. Cf. J. Hilgers, S.J., "Zur Bibliothek Nikolaus V," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIX (1902), 1-2.

⁶ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, introduction.

⁷ Joseph Ghellinek, S.J., "En marge des catalogues des bibliothèques médiévales," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, V (1924), 331-63, has a stimulating discussion on the

And while it may be argued that the mere possession of a work does not mean that its owner has read or assimilated its contents, yet this fact when taken in conjunction with other evidence can do much to throw light on the available resources and mental pabulum of an era. Needless to say a final evaluation of the intellectual interests of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must rest upon a careful consideration not only of the resources available but also of the use to which these were put as determined by an analysis of the literary output of those centuries. This paper attempts no such final summing up, it seeks merely to point out various avenues of intellectual interest suggested by the nature of the books that were held in sufficient esteem to be placed on the shelves of many of the libraries of the time.

Considerable attention has already been directed toward these libraries, chiefly, however, from the viewpoint of their external features, or on the basis of special studies of individual collections. Or more particularly they have been examined from the viewpoint of the humanistic revival and the light that they might shed on the currency of Greek and Latin classics.⁸ But just as the study of the inventories of the earlier medieval period has tended to dissipate the erroneous conception that the classics of antiquity were entirely lost sight of during the centuries before the fourteenth century,⁹ just so must the inventories of these later libraries be studied with regard to their total content, in order to determine not only how many or what Greek and Latin classics they included, but also to determine the relation and proportion of these works to others contained in the collections. Such is the primary purpose of this paper.

subject of medieval inventories of libraries, their importance as well as lacunae. Cf. P. Kibre, *The library of Pico della Mirandola*, 9-10, and the bibliography in note 20.

⁸ See for example R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci ne'secoli XIV e XV* (Firenze, 1905), especially chapter XI; *op. cit.*, *Nuove Ricerche* (1914); Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of libraries* (London, 1859), Vol. I; W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 3rd ed., 1896), 570 ff.; Dorothy M. Robathan, "Libraries of the Italian Renaissance," in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library* (Chicago, 1939), chapter XVII; also P. Kibre, *The library of Pico della Mirandola*.

⁹ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), pp. xxxi ff.; J. S. Beddie, "The ancient classics in the medieval libraries," *Speculum*, V (1930), 3-20; Max Manitius, "Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen, herausgegeben von Karl Manitius," *Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig, 1935), no. 67.

A study of the library catalogues for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reveals first of all that Greek literary texts were slow in making their appearance in these collections before the first half of the fifteenth century. Whatever earlier interest there had been shown in western Europe toward Greek during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had been directed particularly toward theological and scientific writings,¹⁰ and it was toward Greek books of this nature that such fourteenth century bibliophiles as Richard de Bury and Walter Burley¹¹ turned their attention. This was also true for the courts of southern Italy especially in that of Robert of Naples, where Greek works were being translated all during the fourteenth century.¹² Only an occasional Greek literary text appears in the inventories of the fourteenth century. Petrarch who had never succeeded in learning the language did treasure the Greek texts of Plato and of Homer that he had obtained;¹³ and Boccaccio who not only studied Greek but also, probably at the suggestion of Petrarch, sponsored the first complete, though adjudgedly poor, translation of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, appears to have had few Greek texts in his possession.¹⁴ Greek manuscripts were also rare during the first half of the fifteenth century especially in the princely libraries. The famous library of the Visconti in Pavia, one of the richest and most important of the Italian contemporary collections, in 1426 had only four Greek books, despite the fact that Giangaleazzo Visconti had welcomed Manuel Chrysoloras, the leading teacher of Greek, when he came to Pavia in 1400 to help the Byzantine emperor in his appeal for aid against the Turks.¹⁵

¹⁰ Cf. Louise R. Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism* (Lancaster, Penna., 1906), 29 ff.; R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (*Nuove ricerche* [Firenze, 1914]), 1 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 2 ff.; Loomis, *op. cit.*, 45.

¹² *Ibid.*, 3, 29 ff.; Sabbadini, *op. cit.* (1905), 71, 189, n. 28.

¹³ P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (2nd ed., Paris, 1907), II, 129 ff.; G. Fracassetti, *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle cose familiari* (Firenze, 1892), II, 474-75; L. R. Loomis, *op. cit.*, 89 ff., 101.

¹⁴ Fracassetti, *op. cit.*, IV, 96-97; *Lettere senili*, II, 462, lib. xvi, let. 1; I, 173-76, lib. iii, let. 6; I, 267, lib. v, let. 1; I, 321, lib. vi, let. 1; I, 326-27, lib. vi, let. 2; Boccaccio, *De gen. deorum*, xv, cap. 6-7; Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism*, 93 ff.; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Braunschweig, 1902), 5.

¹⁵ [Girolamo d'Adda], *Indagini storiche artistiche e bibliografiche sulla libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia* (Milano, 1875), nos. 8, 120, 122, 547. For the catalogue of 1459 see G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario dei codici della biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca redatto da Ser Facino da Fabriano nel 1459 e 1469," *Giornale*

The Florentine humanist, Nicolò Niccoli (d. 1437), was probably the first important collector of Greek books, although he was preceded and aided in this task by the humanists and Greek scholars, Coluccio Salutati, Chrysoloras, probably also by Ciriaco of Ancona, who returned from the Orient in 1400 with a number of Greek manuscripts, and Giovanni Aurispa. Niccoli left his library at his death to the monastery of S. Maria degli Angeli in Florence for the future use not only of the monks but also for the benefit of all studiously inclined citizens. Yet despite his foresight the books were scattered after his death because of his debts. Only about four hundred of a probable eight hundred volumes in the original collection remained to be rescued by Cosimo de' Medici. Of these, one hundred were in Greek.¹⁶ Guarino of Verona (d. 1460), the celebrated educator and grammarian, also collected Greek books. An index of fifty-four of the manuscripts that he had gathered together and that were still at Ferrara in the seventeenth century, represents only a portion of his Greek collection.¹⁷ Probably the most important Greek library in Italy in the fifteenth century was that of Cardinal Bessarion (d. 1472), who had come to Italy in 1438, and was made Cardinal in 1439, after he had affixed his signature to the act of union between the Greek and Latin churches at the council of Florence. A Greek by birth, Bessarion had brought together some five hundred Greek books before his death, when the library according to his bequest went to San Marco in Venice.¹⁸

storico della lett. ital., I (1883), 40–59; D. M. Bueno Mesquita, *Giangaleazzo Visconti, duke of Milan (1351–1402)* (Cambridge, 1941), 183; Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique*, I (1885), xxii–iv.

¹⁶ On the search for Greek manuscripts, see D. Robathan, "Libraries of the Renaissance," in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, 515 ff.; Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), chap. III et passim; E. Müntz et P. Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle*, (Bibliothèque des écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 48) (1887), p. iii; Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of libraries*, I, 393; D. Giuseppe Zippel, *Nicolò Niccoli, Contributo alla storia dell'umanismo*, 42 ff.; 66 ff.; *Vite de nomini illustri del secolo XV*, scritte da Vespasiano de Bisticci, ed. by L. Frati (Bologna, 1893) (Collezione di opere inedite o rare, vol. 71), III, 91–92.

¹⁷ Vespasiano, *Vite*, II, (Coll. di op. ined. o rare, vol. 69), 228–32; D. Robathan, "Libraries of the Renaissance," in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, 516. The catalogue of Guarino's Greek books was published by H. Omont, "Les manuscrits grecs de Guarino de Vérone et la bibliothèque de Ferrare," *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 78–81.

¹⁸ Vespasiano, *Vite*, I, (Coll. di op. ined. o rare, vol. 68), 136 ff.; H. Omont, "Inventaire des manuscrits grecs et latins donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le

The rapid increase in the numbers of Greek books in Italian libraries after the first quarter of the fifteenth century is best illustrated by the growth of the collections in the Vatican. Müntz and Fabre report that in 1443 under Eugenius IV out of 340 books only two were in Greek; whereas in 1455, at the death of Nicholas V, there were between 1160 and 1209 volumes of which 353 or 414 were in Greek;¹⁹ and in 1484 at the death of Sixtus IV, there were about 3650 volumes with perhaps 1000 in Greek.²⁰ This growing interest in Greek is also shown by the collections of the de'Medici family. In 1456 there were no indications of a Greek collection, but in 1495, three years after the death of Lorenzo, the inventory published by Piccolomini lists some three hundred and nineteen volumes in Greek. Several of the books had been added under Pietro, Lorenzo's son, with the continued services of the de'Medici agent for the purchase of such works, Janos Lascaris.²¹ The fate of the de'Medici library is illustrative of that of many of these humanist collections which did not long survive their owners. After the expulsion of Pietro de'Medici from Florence, his palace was plundered by the enraged populace and the French troops. The books had, however, been carried to the cloister of San Marco in Florence for safekeeping during the disturbance. Later they were returned to the palace only to be removed shortly afterward to San Marco again. In 1498 as a result of the upheaval over Savonarola the books were brought to the palace of the Signoria, but were returned to San Marco in 1500. In the eventual dispersion of the collection, a part of the books went to Salviati, and the remainder was taken to Rome by Cardinal Giovanni de'Medici, who ascended the papal throne as Leo X. After his death, the remaining books were returned to Florence in 1527.²²

Cardinal Bessarion, (1468)," *Revue des bibliothèques*, IV (1894), 129-30; Müntz et Fabre, *loc. cit.*, p. iv.

¹⁹ R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), 56-58; J. Hilgers, S.J., "Zur Bibliothek Nikolaus V," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIX (1902), 1-11, where the numbers are given as 795 Latin and 414 Greek MSS.

²⁰ Müntz et Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XVe siècle*, (Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 48) (1887), pp. iii-iv.

²¹ Müntz et Fabre, *loc. cit.*, pp. iii-iv; K. K. Müller, "Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Laskaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, I (1884), 349; E. Piccolomini, "Delle condizioni e delle vicende della libreria medicea privata dal 1494 al 1508," *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. 3, XIX (1874), 115-16; "Inventario della libreria Medicea privata compilato nel 1495," *loc. cit.*, XX (1874), 51-94.

²² Müller, *loc. cit.*, I, 349.

Among other conspicuous Greek collections, attention has already been called²³ to Pico della Mirandola's collection of one hundred and fifty-seven Greek books, also to that of George Valla, consisting of some two hundred and twenty Greek books of which seventy were printed. However, the inventory of the library of George Valla, noted encyclopedist and translator, dates from the sixteenth century and may therefore include a number of books added after his death.²⁴ Attention has been called, too, to the Greek collection of Federigo, duke of Urbino, with ninety-three such manuscripts to its credit.²⁵

Only a scattering of Greek books on the other hand is revealed in the inventories of several other humanist collectors. There was only one Greek text in 1467 in the library of the physician and epigrapher, Giovanni Marcanova.²⁶ Pietro da Montagnana in 1478 had fourteen,²⁷ and a few are noticeable among the books belonging to Demetrio Guazzelli of Lucca, the first custodian of the Vatican library (1481-1511), and in the collection of Palla Strozzi who left his books at his death to the library of S. Giustina of Padua, where he had gone after his expulsion from Florence.²⁸ In still other libraries of Italy, Greek authors and writings continued in the fifteenth century to be found only in translations, many of them by contemporary humanists. There was also a host of vernacular translations of Greek works little known in the preceding centuries, which is indicative of the importance of the Greek tradition even to those for whom the barrier of either the Greek or Latin might otherwise have been insurmountable. Such translations were especially conspicuous in the library of the dukes of Este at Ferrara, where the writings of such Greek historians and other authors as Herodotus, Dion Cassius, Diodorus Siculus, Xenophon, Isocrates, Lucian, Procopius, Appian and Strabo are listed among the ver-

²³ P. Kibre, *The library of Pico della Mirandola*, 23-24.

²⁴ J. L. Heiberg, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas und seiner Bibliothek," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft XVI (1896), 1-3.

²⁵ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 24, and the references noted there.

²⁶ Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico*, 331; Sabbadini, *Scoperte dei codici* (1905), 187, note 19.

²⁷ Sabbadini, *op. cit.* (1905), 187, note 20.

²⁸ Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli*, 41; Pietro Guidi, "Pietro Demetrio Guazzelli da Lucca il primo custode della biblioteca Vaticana (1481-1511) e l'inventario dei suoi libri," *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, V (1924), 192-218; Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), 55; Vespasiano, *Vite*, III (Coll. di op. ined. o rare, vol. 71), 9 ff.

nacular translations.²⁹ These were made for the most part by the poets and prose writers to whom the house of Este extended hospitality and patronage, among them Battista di S. Paolo better known as Battista Panetti of Ferrara, theologian, orator, and poet; also Matteo Maria Boiardo, the talented author of the chivalrous poem *Orlando Innamorato*. The study and translation of Greek works was at its height in Ferrara during and after the first half of the fifteenth century with the meeting there of the council of Ferrara, and the confluence of a number of humanist scholars of Greek, namely Guarino of Verona, Giovanni Aurispa, Giorgio Valla, Battista Guarini, Pier Candido Decembrio, Niccolò Leonicensi, Theodore Gaza, and George of Trebizond.³⁰

The private collection made by pope Julius II before his elevation to the apostolic throne also had Greek works only in translation. These included Herodotus, Thucydides, and Homer, in the renditions into Latin by Lorenzo Valla; Strabo, probably in the version by Guarino of Verona and Gregorio da Città di Castello; Polybius in the translation of Niccolò Perotti; Maximus of Tyre in the recent rendition of Cosimo de'Pazzi, bishop of Arezzo and archbishop of Florence (1508–1513); Appian's history, translated by Pier Candido Decembrio; and Diogenes Laertius, translated probably by Ambrogio Traversari. There were also Aristotle's *Politics*, in the translation by Leonardo Bruni; and the *Ethics*, in the rendition by Johannes Argyropoulos.³¹ Julius II, whose library was noteworthy for its classical works, was a good example of the typical ecclesiastic of the so-called Renaissance, in his professed interest alike in profane as well as sacred literature.³²

Outside of Italy, Greek codices were rarely found in any great numbers even in the second half of the fifteenth century, despite the sporadic efforts that had been made during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries by princes, popes, the council of Vienne, and the earnest and eloquent pleas of Raymond Lull and Pierre du

²⁹ G. Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense e la cultura Ferrarese* (Torino, 1903), 128 ff.; Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, no. 547, p. 189; and the inventory published by A. Cappelli, "La biblioteca estense nella prima metà del secolo xv," *Giornale storico della lett. ital*, XIV (1889), 12–30.

³⁰ G. Bertoni, *op. cit.*, 113 ff., 128 ff.

³¹ Léon Dorez, "La bibliothèque privée du pape Jules II," *Revue des bibliothèques*, VI (1896), 99–100. Dorez published the two inventories drawn up after the pope's death.

³² Dorez, *loc. cit.*, 98–99.

Bois, to encourage the study, for religious or political reasons, of Greek, Arabic, and other eastern tongues. However, Müntz and Fabre indicate that a fair beginning was made at the pontifical library in Avignon, which under Urban V (1369) boasted six volumes in Greek together with a collection on the lives of the Saints, partly in Greek and partly in Latin.³³ There was only an occasional Greek book in the inventories of such ecclesiastical establishments in France as St. Victor, St. Hilary de Poitiers, and St. Denis. Greek texts, especially of the literary works, did not become current until after the sojourn of Georges Hermonymos of Sparta at Paris in 1476.³⁴ Likewise in Spain, there was no Greek collection of any size until a considerably later period, although here and there individual Greek texts do appear in the catalogues. The first Spanish scholar of Greek who is credited with an interest in Greek texts is don Fernan Nuñez de Guzman of Valladolid, surnamed by his contemporaries, the Greek commander (el Comendador Griego el Pinciano, 1478?-1553). He edited and translated several Greek classics.³⁵

Much the same might be said for England, since the English advocates of the "new learning," Thomas Linacre, about 1485-1486, and William Grocyn between 1488 and 1491 were only just being initiated into the study of Greek in Italy.³⁶ Any Greek work that appeared in an inventory prior to the second half of the fifteenth century, was usually from the field of sacred literature. However, M. R. James noted a twelfth century "Greek Donatus," at Christ Church in Canterbury, as well as a thirteenth century text of the Bible from Genesis to the book of Ruth; also at St. Augustine's in Canterbury a Psalter in Greek and Latin, and a part

³³ L. R. Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism*, 22 ff.; Müntz et Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, v-vi; M. Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon, sa formation, sa composition, ses catalogues (1316-1420)* (Paris, 1886), I, 81, 191 (no. 1176, not 1179, as indicated by Faucon, p. 81), 217, 253.

³⁴ Müntz et Fabre, *op. cit.*, pp. v-vi; H. Omont, "Georges Hermonyme de Sparte maître de Grec à Paris et copiste de manuscrits (1476)," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris*, XII (1885), 65-98.

³⁵ Müntz et Fabre, *op. cit.*, p. vi; E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiée en grec par des grecs au xv^e et xvi^e siècles* (Paris, I, 1885), 68, n. 1; C. Graux, *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'escorial* (Paris, 1880) (Bibl. de l'école des hautes études, sciences philol. et hist., 46), 9 ff., 23 ff.; M. Schiff, *La bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane* (Paris, 1905), (*loc. cit.*, 153), 449 ff.

³⁶ P. S. Allen, *The Age of Erasmus*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 125-27.

of Roger Bacon's Greek grammar.³⁷ These were not, however, products of the humanistic resuscitation of Greek in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but in the words of James, "are a monument of that earlier revival of Greek learning in England which Grosseteste initiated and Bacon fostered, but which never attained maturity."³⁸ Similarly in German libraries, Greek texts were few and far between in the fifteenth century. The large collection of books made at Erfurt by Amplonius Ratinek in the early part of the fifteenth century, although reflecting considerable interest in Latin classical texts, contained not a single volume in Greek. On the other hand Nicholas of Cusa (d. 1464), the learned Cardinal, mathematician, and philosopher, whose interest in humanistic studies and Italian scholars was the result very probably of his long sojourn in Italy, had five Greek books,³⁹ while the Dominican library at Vienna in the latter part of the century boasted eight, of which three were texts of Homer, one a grammar, and another a hymnal.⁴⁰ The university of Erfurt at the same time had only two.⁴¹ In the early sixteenth century, the leading Greek collection was that of the German humanist, John Reuchlin (1455-1522), who in his library had fifty-five Greek works comprising both literary and sacred works.⁴²

Of the other learned languages, besides Latin, Hebrew was next to Greek, the most frequently encountered, largely because of its relation to the Bible. In Italy in addition to the collection of Pico della Mirandola which numbered more than a hundred,⁴³ the library

³⁷ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. lxxxv-lxxxvii. For the "Greek Donatus," which would appear to correspond with that brought home to England by John of Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, and other works of this period, see L. R. Loomis, *Medieval Hellenism*, 13 ff.; 40-45.

³⁸ M. R. James, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi.

³⁹ Fr. X. Kraus, "Die Handschriften-Sammlung des Cardinals Nicolaus V. Cusa," *Serapeum* (Leipzig), XXV (1864), 369-83; XXVI (1865), 24-31; 33-42; 49-59; 65-76; 81-89; 97-104; 353-65. Greek texts are listed XXV, 358; XXVI, 98-99.

⁴⁰ *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheks-Kataloge Österreichs*, hrsg. von der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, I. Band Nieder-Österreich, b. von Theodor Gottlieb (Vienna, 1915), I, 307-8. Although the catalogue was written in 1513, it represents the library at the end of the fifteenth century.

⁴¹ H. O. Lange, "Ueber einen Katalog der Erfurter Universitätsbibliothek aus dem 15 Jahrhundert," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1885), 279 ff.

⁴² K. Christ, "Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft LII (1924), 51-81.

⁴³ P. Kibre, *The library of Pico della Mirandola*, 38-39.

of the duke of Urbino had ninety-three Hebrew items,⁴⁴ or as many in Hebrew as it had in Greek. Pietro da Montagnana at Padua had ten;⁴⁵ and George Valla had some thirty volumes which included Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic and Syriac texts.⁴⁶ Beyond the Alps, the most significant collection was that of the one hundred and twenty Hebrew manuscripts that were preserved at Avignon by Urban V (1369).⁴⁷ But elsewhere the situation was much the same as for Greek. In England, Hebrew texts of the Scriptures were to be found scattered here and there in the libraries of various religious houses. M. R. James has pointed out that Psalters in Hebrew and Latin were far from rare and that Hebrew books in general were more commonly available than Greek books.⁴⁸ But no collection of any size among Christian scholars is recorded before the close of the fifteenth century. In German lands such collections were also rare. Both Nicholas of Cusa, who had five Hebrew manuscripts,⁴⁹ and John Reuchlin, who produced the first Hebrew grammar for Latin scholars, and was interested in the study of the Hebrew texts of the Bible, had had to resort to Italy for the necessary books in that language. Although Reuchlin's library which belongs to the end of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth century is said to have been celebrated for its oriental treasures, only thirty-six such works appear in the inventory published by Karl Christ.⁵⁰ Outside of the few texts in Arabic, and Aramaic, listed in the library of Pico della Mirandola, and in that of George Valla,⁵¹ these rarely appear in the inventories.

Much more generally widespread than either Greek or Hebrew books except in the libraries of Italian humanists were the vernaculars.⁵² Volumes in French, Provençal, Spanish, Tuscan and other

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 39, note 11; Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (Coll. di op. ined. o rare, vol. 68, 1892), 301. According to Vespasiano, the Hebrew books included texts of the Bible, and its commentaries; books in medicine, philosophy, and every other possible subject.

⁴⁵ R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci ne' secoli XIV e XV* (1905), 187.

⁴⁶ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 39, note 12.

⁴⁷ Müntz et Fabre, *La bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, p. v; M. Faucon, *La librairie des papes d'Avignon* (Paris, 1886), I, 81, 176 (no. 1177; not 1180 as indicated by Faucon), 191; 217.

⁴⁸ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxxv.

⁴⁹ Kraus in *Serapeum*, XXVI (1865), 99-100.

⁵⁰ "Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LII (1924), 36-51. Christ suggests that the inventory is incomplete.

⁵¹ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 39.

⁵² The paucity of such works in Pico's library has already been noted in my

Italian dialects, accounted for a large number of the books especially in the princely or ducal collections. There were usually more in French than in the Italian dialects, an indication of the prominence of the French language⁵³ and literature. The library of the dukes of Este at Ferrara, was, however, extremely well provided with books in the Italian dialects. Among the writings in this medium, in addition to the translations from Greek works noted earlier, and translations of Latin authors such as Tacitus, Sallust, Apuleius, Cornelius Nepos, Statius, Valerius Maximus and others, were compositions by Dante, Cecco d'Ascoli, Fazio degli Uberti, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Poggio Bracciolini, Leon Battista Alberti, Antonio (de Becchariis) of Ferrara and Pietro Bembo. There were books by the poet Matteo Maria Boiardo, to whom the dukes of Este had intrusted several missions of diplomatic trust and honor as well as the government of Reggio and Modena; also the works of the poet Lodovico Ariosto, who wherever possible, interwove with his verse panegyrics of the House of Este.⁵⁴ Interest in Provençal and other French dialects was manifest in several examples of poetry, romances, and historical chronicles.⁵⁵ The interest of the dukes of Este in French writings goes back to an earlier century. Thus the marquis d'Este in the thirteenth century had favored the chivalric literature of Provence and in the first decade of that century, the court of Azzo VI was visited by troubadours, among them Aimeric de Peguilhan, who celebrated in song Azzo's daughter, Beatrice.⁵⁶ The library also included several works in Catalan and the other Spanish dialects, a reflection of that close communion between Spain and Italy from early medieval times that Benedetto Croce has discussed.⁵⁷ Some such books were intro-

study of the latter's library. They were also practically non-existent in Bessarion's collection.

⁵³ Cf. D. Robathan in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, 533, 534; Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense*, 70 ff.

⁵⁴ Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense*, 120 ff.; 70 ff.; 91 ff.; 125 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 70 ff. Included were tales of King Arthur and his court; also the *favole di Francia*. The dukes of Este showed a particular predilection for French history in the chansons de geste, chivalrous tales and the chronicle of St. Denis: Pio Rajna, "Ricordi di codici Francesi posseduti dagli Estensi nel secolo XV," *Romania*, II (1873), 49-58; P. Breillat, "La Quête du Saint-Graal en Italie," *Mélanges d'archéol. et d'hist., École française de Rome*, LIV (1937), 262-300; 270.

⁵⁶ Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense e la coltura ferrarese*, 4 ff.; 70 ff.

⁵⁷ B. Croce, *La lingua spagnuola in Italia* (Rome, 1895), 6 ff.; and B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la rinascenza* (Bari, 1917), 7 ff.; 22 ff.

duced probably by Eleanor of Aragon, wife of Ercole I, and Lucrezia Borgia. Among these was a copy of the *Siete Partidas*.⁵⁸

About one-third of the contents, or two hundred and ninety-two volumes, in the library of Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua in 1407 was in the vernacular, thirty-three in Italian (*lingua vulgari*), and seventy-seven in French (*lingua francigena*).⁵⁹ The library of the Visconti, dukes of Milan, in 1426 had some ninety-five of its nine hundred and eighty-eight books in French, some seventeen in Italian, and seven in other vernaculars.⁶⁰ For the most part these French vernacular works included the Romances of the Arthurian cycle, of which the quest for the Holy Grail was the most popular, historical chronicles, chansons de geste, or feudal epics, and satirical fabliaux.⁶¹

In France, as Sabbadini points out, the interest in classical works of antiquity is reflected in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the translation of Latin texts into the vernacular. This is revealed in the reign of John I, and of Charles V, and his brother, John, duke of Berry. At the invitation of John I, the Benedictine Petrus Berchorius translated in 1352 all the books of Livy that were then known. A number of works of Aristotle were translated by Nicholas of Oresme, and several historical tracts were translated by Simon de Hesdin for John, duke of Berry.⁶² Charles V, who was celebrated as an ardent book lover by his court historian, the noted feminist and author, Christine de Pisan,⁶³ had a large number of

⁵⁸ Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense*, 91-93. Bertoni indicates that the spread of the Spanish tongue was rapid as a result of the accession to the papacy of the two Borgias, Calixtus III (1455-1458), and Alexander VI (1492-1503).

⁵⁹ Pia Girolla, "La biblioteca di Francesco Gonzaga, secondo l'inventario del 1407," *Accad. Virgiliana, Atti e memorie*, XIV-XVI (1921-23), 33. Cf. Luzio-Renier, "Il Filefo e l'umanismo alla corte dei Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, XVI (1890), 121, note 3; W. Braghirolli, "Inventaire des manuscrits en langue française possédés par Francesco Gonzaga I, capitaine de Mantoue, mort en 1407," *Romania*, IX (1880), 497-514; Novati, "I codici Francesi de'Gonzaga secondo nuovi documenti," *Romania*, XIX (1890), 151-200.

⁶⁰ Dukas, "La bibliothèque des ducs de Milan," *Bulletin du bibliophile* (Paris, 1876), 379 ff.; [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia* (Milan, 1875), nos. 192, 196-98, 202, 227, 229-30, 232-45, 280, 298-317, 320, 401, 404-407, 411, 413, 460, 774-77, 808, 812-16, 829, 841, 848, 851-52, 854, 856, 858, etc.

⁶¹ P. Breillat, *loc. cit.*, 262-300.

⁶² Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1914), 34.

⁶³ L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 18 ff.; 38; On Christine de Pisan, see

translations into French made for his collection, which was regarded as an extremely important one in the fourteenth century. Included were not only such Latin works of antiquity as those by Ovid, Vegetius, Valerius Maximus, and Livy, but also Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, the Bible and glosses on it, St. Augustine's *Soliloquies* and the *City of God*, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*, Petrarch's *Dialogues*, and a host of other works in astrology, chiromancy, and medicine.⁶⁴ In the library of John, duke of Berry, who deeded his library to Louis XI, there were not only original compositions in French, but translations as well of such standard Latin classical and medieval favorites as those noted above. The translations of the former were, however, in the ascendency.⁶⁵ The library of Charles of Orléans (1391-1465), whose chateau at Blois was the meeting place for the poets Villon, Chastelain, and others, comprised a collection of books almost entirely in French, many of them medieval favorites which had been translated especially for Charles. These included among others, French translations of the Bible, of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, James of Voragine's *Legends of the Saints*, and Bartholomew of England's treatise on the properties of things, together with the ever present *Consolation of philosophy* of Boethius, the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*, Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and a number of Latin classics of antiquity in French translation. There were books by Christine de Pisan, one of them dedicated to Valentine Visconti,⁶⁶ and several volumes which comprised French romances, fabliaux, chronicles, and a work on chess. The inventory of Charles' books, some of which had belonged to his father, Louis d'Orléans, and others to his mother, Valentine Visconti, was made while Charles was a prisoner in England.⁶⁷ He had been captured at the battle of Agincourt (1415), and was kept in England until he was ransomed in 1440. Fear that the English would capture

Marie-Joseph Pinet, *Christine de Pisan, 1364-1430, Étude biographique et littéraire* (Paris, 1927).

⁶⁴ Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 38, 41; Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 388.

⁶⁵ Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 56 ff.

⁶⁶ P. Champion, *La librairie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1910); Le Roux de Lincy, "La bibliothèque de Charles d'Orléans, à son chateau de Blois en 1427," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, V (1843-44), 59-82; 71-72, nos. 23, 28; cf. D'Adda, *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia* (Milan, 1875), pp. xxxix-xl.

⁶⁷ Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 98 ff.; 105; 114-19.

the city of Blois where the books were housed had led to his request that his secretary, Seigneur de Mortemart, draw up an inventory of the books in 1417, and transport the library and other possessions from Blois to Saumur in Anjou. Ten years later Jean de Rochechomart was authorized to attempt a sale of the books to raise money for the ransom. This was the occasion for drawing up the inventory of 1427 which has been published by Le Roux de Lincy.⁶⁸ Another magnificent library chiefly of French books was that of Jacques d'Armagnac, duke de Nemours and Comte de la Marche, one of the members of the nobility in France most interested in arts and letters. He was, however, arrested on charges of conspiracy by Louis XI and his goods were confiscated. A large number of the duke's books were translations from the Latin of works of classical antiquity as well as romances and religious tracts. Included too was a copy of the chronicles of England by Jean de Waurin.⁶⁹

A goodly number of works similar to those found in the collections of Charles of Orléans, John of Berry, and of Charles V, was also included in the inventory of the library belonging to Charlotte of Savoy, the second wife of Louis XI of France in 1451. The catalogue of her books drawn up in 1484 after her death lists as in French, several copies of the Bible, books of sermons, and other religious and devotional manuals, as well as French and Spanish translations of the well known medieval Latin works named above. Among the original works in French were the popular lays of Merlin, Troy, and Alexander, together with "certains laiz et coutumes pour passer temps"; and a book on chess playing.⁷⁰ There was a copy of the "Livre des troys vertuz a l'enseignement des dames, bien historie," also "Le debat des quatre dames, petit livre de dames et d'amours," and a copy of *La cité des dames* by Christine de Pisan.⁷¹ This queenly interest in books on her own sex is further revealed in the collection of books made by Anne of Brittany, wife first of Charles VIII and after his death of Louis XII in 1499. Her library, especially celebrated for the famous manuscript of the Book of Hours, illustrated with numerous minia-

⁶⁸ *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, V (1843-44), 60 ff.; Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 108.

⁶⁹ Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 86-90. For Jean de Waurin's work see C. Gross, *The Sources and literature of English history* (New York, 1915), no. 1863.

⁷⁰ Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 91-94; M. Tuetey, "Inventaire des biens de Charlotte de Savoie," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XXVI (1864-65), 338-366; 423-442.

⁷¹ Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 93; M. Tuetey, *loc. cit.*, 358; and see above note 63.

tures, was made up chiefly of books collected for the most part from Milan and Naples. It contained the "Histoire des femmes célèbres," composed at her request in French by her chaplain, Antoine Dufour.⁷² Louis XII acquired the French collection comprising part of the library of Louis of Bruges, powerful lord of Flanders, and an ardent patron of letters who died in 1492.⁷³

French books also found a place in the Spanish libraries of Martin of Aragon at Barcelona in 1410, and of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, according to the inventory made between the years 1412 and 1424. Among the latter's books in addition to original works in French, were translations into French of the Bible, of Boethius', *Consolation of Philosophy*, and of other Latin favorites.⁷⁴ Another Spanish library of this century, noteworthy for its French books was that of Don Carlos, prince of Viana (d. 1462), son of John II of Aragon and Blanche of Navarre. Don Carlos, author of a history of the kings of Navarre, was celebrated among the Catalonians particularly for the elegance of his manners, his vast learning, and enthusiasm for letters. His death, which was believed to have been caused by poison administered by his own father, was the occasion for five years of civil war during which time the people of Catalonia sought to avenge Don Carlos' death.⁷⁵ In his library, Don Carlos had twenty-four works in French out of a total of one hundred and three volumes. The library of Don

⁷² For a description of the work of Antoine du Four, O.P., the fuller title of which is "l'histoire des femmes célèbres depuis la création jusqu'à l'époque de la Pucelle d'Orléans," see *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1846), 577-80. Le Roux de Lincy, "Détails sur la vie privée d'Anne de Bretagne, femme de Charles VIII et Louis XII," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XI (1849-50), 157; [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia* (Milan, 1875), xlii ff.; Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 124. On the influence of French literature outside France see Léon Gautier, "L'entrée en Espagne, chanson de geste inédite," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, XIX (1857-58), 216 ff.

⁷³ L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 140 ff.; M. Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruuthuyse* (Paris, 1831).

⁷⁴ J. Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí D'Arago," *Revue hispanique*, XII (1905), 413-590; Ramon D'Alós, "Documenti per la storia della biblioteca d'Alfonso il Magnanimo," *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome), V (1924), 390-422. A similar inventory had been published earlier by E. Gonzalez Hurtebise, "Inventario de los bienes muebles de Alfonso V de Aragon como Infante y como Rey (1412-1424)," *Anuari de l'institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Barcelona, 1907), 148-88. The books are listed on pages 182-85.

⁷⁵ Paul Raymond, "La bibliothèque de Don Carlos, Prince de Viane," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* (Paris), XIX (1857-58), 483-87.

Inigo Lopez de Mendoza, first marquis of Santillane at Guadalajara in 1458, also contained a number of works in French, as well as tracts in Castilian and Italian dialects, among them translations of classical authors of Greek and Latin antiquity and of contemporary Italian humanists.⁷⁶ English libraries too included works in the romance languages, especially in French, as one might expect. Thus in the libraries of Christ church and of St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury as well as in that of the Prior of St. Martin of Dover, translations into French of the Bible and of Latin theological tracts, in addition to French romances, chronicles, and the like were conspicuous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷⁷ In general, however, works in the romance tongues were not common in the libraries of German lands. Nicholas of Cusa had one copy each of Italian, French, and Castilian texts.

The vernaculars other than French and Italian were for the most part localized in the collections of their respective countries. Thus although M. R. James, reported several Anglo-Saxon and English books in the fifteenth century catalogues of the libraries of Canterbury and other English centers,⁷⁸ they were almost never found outside the British Isles. Likewise German texts were rarely encountered in collections other than in German lands, although they were present in practically every German library.⁷⁹ These included both original works in German and translations of Latin texts. However, Charles of Orléans had two German books in his collection which had probably come to him from the collection owned by his mother, Valentine Visconti.⁸⁰ Nicholas of Cusa had six German books as against one each of the Italian, French, and Castilian dialects.⁸¹ A particularly large collection of German

⁷⁶ M. Schiff, *La bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane* (Paris, 1905) (Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études, 153).

⁷⁷ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxxiv-v; see for example, p. 81, no. 768; p. 103, no. 1137; p. 122, no. 1435; p. 128, no. 1522; p. 129, no. 1552; 1560; p. 140, no. 1753; p. 139, no. 1755; 1724, etc. In St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury, p. 198, p. 210, 39; p. 224, 20; p. 218, 313-13, pp. 274, 368, 371-74, p. 428, no. 324, 353, pp. 430, 431, 432, no. 390, p. 445, no. 92; p. 455, no. 139; p. 459, no. 160, p. 460, 164, p. 470-71, no. 170; p. 463, no. 195; pp. 482, 484, nos. 364-67, 390; p. 485, 372-73; p. 487, 390; p. 490, 413-14.

⁷⁸ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxxiv; 374.

⁷⁹ W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 598-99.

⁸⁰ *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, V (1843-44), 76, no. 39; Champion, *op. cit.*, 52, 95.

⁸¹ Dr. Fr. X. Kraus, "Die Handschriften-Sammlung des Cardinals Nicolaus von Cusa," in *Serapeum*, XXV (1864), 356; XXVI (1865), 28, 34-35; 68-69, 73.

works in the fifteenth century was that of Elizabeth von Volkenstorf, who had in her possession fifty of them.⁸² Yet for all these Greek, Hebrew and vernacular books, the great bulk of the contents of the libraries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries remained true to the Latin tradition. Works composed originally in Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, continued to circulate chiefly in Latin translations as they had during the earlier middle ages, with additions, to be sure, of a considerable number of new humanistic Latin translations from the Greek of literary, philosophical and scientific works.

In addition to their overwhelming Latinity, many of these fourteenth and fifteenth century collections both cisalpine and transalpine show a remarkable uniformity in subject matter and in arrangement.⁸³ Although some Italian collections were classified according to languages, as in the case of the Este library, where before the death of Niccolò III in 1436, the Latin books were listed first, then those in Italian, and thirdly those in French,⁸⁴ others of the ducal or princely collectors in Italy, followed the canon or rules for a library prepared by Thomas Parentucelli of Sarzana, who later ascended the papal throne as Nicholas V (1447-1455).⁸⁵ His canon or list of minimum essentials for a library followed the general outlines of medieval ecclesiastical collections. It was drawn up at the request of Cosimo de' Medici primarily for the library of San Marco in Florence, but was also used for the formation of La Badia at Fiesole, as well as for the libraries of Alessandro Sforza at Pesaro, and of the dukes of Urbino.⁸⁶ According to this plan the

⁸² Theodor Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 28. But cf. Wattenbach, *op. cit.*, 598, where the number is given as 45.

⁸³ Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), 204; A. de Hevesy, *La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin* (Paris, 1923), 21.

⁸⁴ D. Robathan in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, 528 ff.

⁸⁵ Vespasiano, *Vite di uomini illustri*, I (Coll. di opere inedite o rare, vol. 68), 35; G. Sforza, *La patria, la famiglia e la giovinezza di papa Niccolò V*, ricerche storiche, *Atti della reale accademia Lucchese di scienze, lettere ed arti*, XXIII (1884), 151-52; App. A, 360-81; K. Löffler, "Papst Nikolaus V als Bücherfreund," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, n.F., I (1909-1910), 175; E. Piccolomini, "Ricerche intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata dal 1494 al 1506," *Append., Archivio storico italiano*, ser. 3, XXI (1875), 102-106; XIX (1874), 114.

⁸⁶ Piccolomini, *loc. cit.*, XXI (1875), 102; G. Sforza, *loc. cit.*, XXIII (1884), 151; Vespasiano, *Vite*, I, 35. For the library at Fiesole, see Vespasiano, III, 50-52; and see below for the Urbino library.

greater portion of the collection was to be devoted to sacred literature, Bibles, missals, psalters, the church fathers, and compositions in theology and philosophy (chiefly Aristotle and his commentators). Next would come treatises in mathematics, especially the arithmetic and tract on music of Boethius, Euclid's *Geometry*, the *Perspective* of Vitello, Ptolemy's *Almagest* and *Cosmography*; and finally humane literature (de studiis humanitatis), namely grammar, rhetoric, history ("whatever pertains to history, I think should be added"), poetry, and moral philosophy.⁸⁷ The set of rules is particularly interesting, as Sabbadini has already pointed out, because it made no provision for works in Greek, a fact that is especially surprising since Nicholas V as pope collected between three or four hundred Greek volumes. It is remarkable too, as Sabbadini has further indicated, that even in the midst of the leading enthusiasts for the humanistic revival, the rule only included five names of classical Latin poets, namely Vergil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, and Statius, with two works only of Ovid, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*.⁸⁸

In accordance with this plan, books on the Bible, the works of the church fathers, and other theological writings occupied the position of prominence in the inventory of the private library of Cosimo de' Medici drawn up in 1456. Next came the works of the grammarians, poets, and historians; the books on the art of oratory (Cicero), philosophy (Aristotle), agriculture, architecture, cosmography, military and natural history; and finally books in the vernacular and in fragments or unbound (fragmentati).⁸⁹ A similar arrangement was to be found in the library of the dukes of Urbino before 1482 where the books were arranged under the headings: Scriptures, Church Fathers, Medicine, Law, Cosmography, History, Poets, Grammarians, Orators, and the rest. The completeness of this library is extolled by Vespasiano who says that he compared it with inventories of all the libraries of Italy: that of the Pope, of San Marco in Florence, of Pavia; and even with the

⁸⁷ G. Sforza, *loc. cit.*, XXIII (1884), Append. A, 360-81.

⁸⁸ *Idem*; Piccolomini, *loc. cit.*, ser. 3, XXI (1875), 106; Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), 200; J. Hilgers, "Zur Bibliothek Nikolaus V.," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XIX (1902), 1-2.

⁸⁹ T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittel. Bibliotheken*, 193; Vespasiano, *Vite*, III (Coll. di opere inedite o rare, no. 71), 46 ff., 50-53. The inventory is printed by Piccolomini, *loc. cit.*, ser. 3, XXI (1875), 106-112; and in *Bibliotheca Leopoldina Laurentiana*, ed. A. M. Bandini (Florence, 1793), III, 519-24.

catalogue of the university of Oxford which he had sent for, and though these collections frequently contained several copies of the same work they did not have the complete works of an author to the extent that was true for the duke of Urbino's library.⁹⁰

This primacy of the Bible and books in theology, that one might rightfully expect in monastic and other ecclesiastical houses, was likewise a characteristic feature of several other collections of the fifteenth century, among them that of master Ernoldi de Halle in 1427,⁹¹ in the Netherlands, and of the medical doctor Paulico in Dresden in 1459.⁹² In the inventory of the library of Francesco Gonzaga in 1407, eighty-six of the two hundred and ninety-two volumes were on sacred literature.⁹³ The remaining books were classified as works on canon and civil law (30), history (36), chronicles (21), poetry and poetics (24), moral (36) and natural (15) philosophy, medicine (17), grammar and so on; books on astrology (28), geomancy, and *experimentalium*. Then followed books in *lingua vulgari* and in *lingua francigena*.⁹⁴ Similarly in the collection of John, duke of Berry (1402-1416), one hundred and thirteen of his two hundred and ninety-seven books were on theology.⁹⁵ The same feature is further illustrated in the library of Charlotte of Savoy;⁹⁶ in that of Alfonso of Aragon, king of Naples, whose love of letters and delight in the Holy Scriptures is recorded

⁹⁰ Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (*loc. cit.*, no. 68), 296-302; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, 248. The inventory compiled by Federigo Veterano, the fifteenth-century librarian of the duke of Urbino, is printed by C. Guasti, "Inventario della Libreria Urbinate compilato nel secolo xv da Federigo Veterano bibliotecario di Federigo I da Montefeltro duca di Urbino," *Giornale storico degli archivi Toscani* (Florence), VI (1862), 133-47; VII (1863), 46-55, 130-54.

⁹¹ Gottlieb, *Ueber mittel. Bibliotheken*, 257.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 61; *Neuer Anzeiger für Bibliographie und Bibliothekswissenschaft*, (1842), 64-67.

⁹³ Girolla, "La biblioteca di Francesco Gonzaga," *Atti e memorie, R. Accad. Virgiliana di Mantova*, n.s., XIV-XVI (1921-1923), 33, 40-49.

⁹⁴ Girolla, *loc. cit.*, 49 ff.; Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, 208-209. The list of French books is given by W. Braghirolli, "Inventaire des manuscrits en langue française possédés par Francesco Gonzaga I, capitaine de Mantoue, mort en 1407," *Romania*, IX (1880), 497-514; the list is on 505-14.

⁹⁵ Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, 109. The inventory was published for the first time by M. Hiver de Beauvoir (Paris, 1860). See also L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, III, 171-94, no. xxxiii.

⁹⁶ Gottlieb, *op. cit.*, 99; M. Tuetey, "Inventaire des biens de Charlotte de Savoie," *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, XXVI (1865), 338-66, 423-42; and for a summary of the inventory, Delisle, *op. cit.*, I, 91.

by Vespasiano, the fifteenth century bookseller;⁹⁷ as well as in the books owned by Martin of Aragon,⁹⁸ and in the well-stocked collection of the Visconti-Sforza at Pavia,⁹⁹ and in many others, where the Bible, Books of Hours, and other devotional and theological tracts formed the nucleus and frequently the most substantial part of the library. Especially worthy of note too in these libraries are the vernacular translations of the Bible.¹⁰⁰

This numerical prominence of the Bible and of theological writings in the fifteenth century, which has already been demonstrated in my account of the library of Pico della Mirandola, is further emphasized by the fact that about half of the total output of the incunabula presses was in this field.¹⁰¹ It is also reflected, as one might perhaps expect, in the collection of Nicholas of Cusa, half of whose books were on religious subjects; and in that of Cardinal Bessarion. Of the latter's five hundred Greek codices, thirty-six contained texts of the Bible and its commentaries and some one hundred and sixty-five pertained to the works of the church fathers, theologians, church councils, and canon law. Similarly in the Latin section, there were twenty-four texts and commentaries of the Bible, one hundred and eight books pertaining to the church fathers, theologians, church councils, and canon law.¹⁰² The re-

⁹⁷ Ramon D'Alós, "Documenti per la storia delle biblioteche d'Alfonso il Magnanimo," *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, V (1924), 392 ff.; Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (Coll. di opere inedite o rare, no. 68), 65. Vespasiano lists works that Alfonso had had translated from Greek, *loc. cit.*, 97-98. See also E. Gonzalez Hurtebise, "Inventario de los bienes muebles de Alfonso V de Aragón, como infante y como rey (1412-1424)," *Anuari, Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (Barcelona, 1907), 182 ff. Alfonso was ruler of seven kingdoms, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, the Balearic Isles, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, and Naples.

⁹⁸ J. Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Marti d'Aragó," *Revue hispanique*, XII (1905), 414, 416, 417, etc.

⁹⁹ G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario della biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca," *Giornale storico della lett. ital.* (Torino), I (1883), 43 ff.; [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Delisle, *Cabinet*, III, 170-94; Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), 200; A. de Hevesy, *La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin*, 87, "Bible hongroise." Cf. S. Berger, "Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles Provençales et Catalanes," *Romania*, XIX (1890), 505-561; also his "Les Bibles Provençales et Vaudoises," *loc. cit.*, XVIII, 353.

¹⁰¹ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, chap. VI; Robert Steele, "What fifteenth-century books are about," *Trans. of the Bibliographical Society, The Library*, 2nd series, no. 16, vol. IV (1903), 337-38.

¹⁰² H. Omont, in *Revue des bibliothèques*, IV (1894), 182.

maining Greek books in the collection related to philosophy (87), Aristotelian and Platonic; poetry (27), of which eleven pertained to Homer and his commentators, and fourteen were on grammar and lexicons; medicine (18); civil and canon law (12); mathematics, astronomy, and music (43); rhetoric including the art of oratory and literary works (42); and history (54). The Latin works in addition to theology covered the subjects of mathematics, astronomy, music (10), philosophy (57); poetry and history (18), oratory, chiefly Cicero (12), and miscellaneous works (25).

The earlier fifteenth century collection of Amplonius Ratinek or Rateringer of Rheinberg, doctor of medicine and master of arts, whose books now form the basis of the Stadtbücherei at Erfurt, also illustrates this predominance of theological writings. According to the inventory of 1412,¹⁰³ drawn up by Amplonius himself, the books were classed under grammar (36); *poetria* or poetics (37); logic, chiefly Aristotelian (27); rhetoric, "the third subject of the trivium," (12); *mathematica* (73), here including arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, astrology, geomancy, magic arts, and nigromancy, in addition to perspective; also natural philosophy (60), under which are included four tracts in alchemy; metaphysics, "that is that science which is divine or which transcends nature," (15); moral philosophy (35); medicine (101); jurisprudence (23), of which seven were on civil and sixteen on canon law; and finally the largest group of all, theology, which numbered two hundred and thirteen works. These comprised Biblical texts, commentaries, and glosses (51), as well as the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and his commentators.

In the private collections of popes Gregory XII (1406-1415), Calixtus III (1455-1458), and Julius II (1503-1513), consisting chiefly of books acquired before mounting the papal throne, the large number of legal texts, chiefly canon law, testified to the particular emphasis laid upon juristic studies by papal candidates.¹⁰⁴ Treatises in law, especially canon law, were, however, also promi-

¹⁰³ Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), 785-867.

¹⁰⁴ Angelo Mercati, "La biblioteca privata e gli arredi di cappella di Gregorio XII," *Miscellanea Fr. Ehrle*, V (1924), 128-65; Francesco Martorell, "Un inventario della biblioteca di Calisto III," *loc. cit.*, 166-91; and Léon Dorez, "La bibliothèque privée du pape Jules II," *Revue des bibliothèques*, VI (1886), 97-124. Julius II at the age of 24 when he was at Perugia for study in 1468, bought a copy of the *Institutes* for the price of five gold ducats (Dorez, *loc. cit.*, 98, note 3).

nent in several other fifteenth century collections. Nicholas of Cusa owned fifty-eight in canon and fourteen in civil law, while the Gonzaga library at Mantua contained thirty-two legal texts, divided between eighteen in canon law and fourteen in civil law. Chiefly noteworthy for its books in canon law was the collection of Professor John Polzmacher, dean of the faculty of law and rector of the university of Vienna in 1438. His entire library which he donated to the Monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin (alias Scotorum), at Vienna in 1453, comprised in addition to the legal tracts, other works by Latin authors both ancient and medieval, such as Valerius Maximus, Lucan, Sallust, Ovid, Plautus, Vergil, Cicero, Sedulius, Claudianus, Boethius, Isidore of Seville, Gaufridus (de Vino Salvo), Egidius Romanus, John Beleth, John of Salisbury, Peter Lombard, and Petrarch.¹⁰⁵ Polzmacher's will provided that these books were to be loaned by the monastery to the doctors and students at the University of Vienna in return for an adequate fee according to the length of time and character (?) of the borrower (qualitatem personis). The loan was to be made free, but with adequate safeguards, to those too poor to pay the fee.

The persistent regard for many of the favorite writings of the earlier medieval period is reflected in the inclusion in many of the libraries of the works of the church fathers, with a particular leaning toward St. Augustine, bishop of Hippo. The latter's *City of God* is found not only in its original Latin in most of the libraries but also in the vernacular translations in several of the French ducal collections. Even Petrarch, so-called father of the humanists, reported that with his first money after leaving the parental roof, he purchased St. Augustine's *City of God*; and he effusively thanked Boccaccio for giving him an enormous volume containing St. Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms*.¹⁰⁶ In most libraries there were copies of the *Dialogues* and *Homelies* of Gregory the Great,¹⁰⁷ and of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*. Vernacular

¹⁰⁵ *Mittelalterliche Bibl. Kat.*, I (1915), 438-42; Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, 390; Putnam, *Books and their makers*, I (1898), 157.

¹⁰⁶ D. Robathan, in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, 525; B. L. Ulman, "Petrarch's favorite books," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LIV (1923), 31; L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 138-39. For the works of the church fathers in Petrarch's library and his interest in them, see especially, Pierre de Nolhac, "De patrum et medii aevi scriptorum codicibus in bibliotheca Petrarcae olim collectis," *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 241-79.

¹⁰⁷ Cosimo de'Medici is said to have spent six months reading the *Moralia* of St. Gregory, Vespasiano, *Vite*, III (Coll. di op. ined. o rare, no. 71), 58.

translations of the latter were included in the library of the Visconti Sforza; in that of the duke of Berry and in that of Charles of Orléans, as well as in other French libraries. Accompanying these works were usually such popular medieval treatises as the *Legends of the Saints* by James of Voragine, the *Rationale of the Divine Office* by William Durandi and, especially in the German libraries, the work on the same subject by the twelfth century author, John Beleh.

Compositions of the leading ecclesiastics and schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries appear frequently in the inventories, among them works of St. Anselm, St. Bernard of Clairvaux, Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Lombard, and from the thirteenth century William of Auvergne, Bonaventura, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas. More recent writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on scholastic themes were also not neglected. The works of John Duns Scotus, John of Turrecremata, Jean Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, and many others, found their way into these libraries and testify to the continued interest in the subjects and themes of scholasticism even in the midst of the humanistic revival.

Fifteenth century libraries also reflected the continuity as well as the blending of medieval interests with those of the humanists in other fields. The first two subjects of the trivium, that is grammar and rhetoric, which had formed the basic pillars of the medieval interest in the liberal arts, now provided the focal points for humanistic interests and achievements. Under these classifications the older grammatical favorites, Donatus, and Priscian, along with the twelfth century *Doctrinale* of Alexander of Villadei and the *Graecismus* of Eberhard of Bethune held their place beside the more recent humanist grammars by Guarino of Verona, Giovanni Tortelli of Arezzo, Lorenzo Valla, and Niccolò Perotti. The fact that Cicero's rhetorical works and the *Declamations* ascribed to Quintilian were especially conspicuous provides a further link with the interests of the immediate past since these had been the standard guides throughout the entire medieval period. But when we turn to the humanistic literature which had formerly been placed under *poetria* as a subdivision of grammar, there is a sharp contrast between the fifteenth century libraries and those of the preceding centuries. For while writings of the classical Greek and Latin poets had never been entirely absent from representative medieval libraries, they were never found in such profusion as was

true especially of the Italian libraries of this era. Greek literary classics, seldom found in the original before the fifteenth century, were represented both in the Greek and in translation by the works of Homer, Aristophanes, Xenophon, Aristides, Sophocles, Plutarch, Lucian of Samosata, Oppian, Hesiod, Apollonius and others. There were also Greek texts as well as translations of the historians Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Flavius Josephus, and Eusebius. The library of Cardinal Bessarion was particularly favorable to historical works in Greek and had copies of all the above authors. Scientific and philosophical writings were also introduced into the libraries in their original form or in new translations. Some of these works had been known in Latin translations of the fifth and sixth centuries directly from the Greek or in twelfth and thirteenth century translations by way of the Arabic as well as directly from the Greek. This was especially true of the medical works of Galen and Hippocrates,¹⁰⁸ also of Euclid, Ptolemy, Aristotle and so on. To the Roman classical authors, known in whole or in part in the medieval period,¹⁰⁹ were now added especially Propertius, Ausonius, Plautus; and additional works of Cicero, and Quintilian. The Roman historians who had never completely disappeared from their place in medieval libraries, were now found in these fifteenth century libraries along with the ancient writers on military arts, similarly known to the bibliophiles of preceding centuries, and Vitruvius Pollio whose work on architecture was to exercise an influence far beyond the library walls.¹¹⁰

The works of contemporary humanists were generally also

¹⁰⁸ For the currency of medieval Latin translations of Hippocrates see my article, "Hippocratic Writings in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, XVIII (1945), 371-412.

¹⁰⁹ A fairly complete list of the classical authors found in libraries before 1500 is indicated by Max Manitius, "Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen," herausgegeben von Karl Manitius, *Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (Leipzig, 1935), LXVII; a list of the classical works in the libraries of the Renaissance is given in R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (*Nuove ricerche*, 1914), 198 ff. See also M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; xlii; and cf. L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 139, for such works in Petrarch's possession; as well as other references noted above, notes 8-9.

¹¹⁰ Eva M. Sanford, "The Study of Ancient History in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V (Jan. 1944), 21-43; G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense*, 106 ff.; Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (Coll. di opere inedite o rare, no. 68), 292-302, for such works in the Urbino library.

found in these libraries, together with the compositions in the vernacular by poets and authors of the time. The library of the House of Este at Ferrara, and that of the dukes of Urbino were especially favored in this regard. In the Este collection there were the compositions of the leading humanists, among them works of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Leonardo Bruni, Panormita, Marsilio Ficino, Filelfo, Poggio, Poliziano, Flavio Biondo, Guarino of Verona, Candido and Angelo Decembrio, and Paolo Cortesi.¹¹¹ Federico, duke of Urbino, is reported by Vespasiano to have given generously of his wealth to men of letters, and his library was well provisioned with ("all," according to Vespasiano) the works of modern writers. In addition to the humanists listed above the library contained original compositions and translations by Coluccio Salutati, Traversari, Gianozzo Manetti, Niccolò Perotti, Campano, Maffeo Vegio, Pope Pius II, Nicolò Secundino who acted as interpreter for both Greeks and Latins at the Council of the Greeks in Florence, Pontano, Bartolomeo Fazio, Gasparino Barzizza, Lorenzo Valla, Pietro Paolo Vergerio, John Argyropoulos, Giovanni Tortelli and a number of others.¹¹²

Side by side, however, with these literary and humanistic writings the libraries generally had a large number of works representing the third subject of the trivium, namely dialectics or logic. The continued regard for works in logic demonstrates that the overwhelming victory which that branch of learning had achieved in the battle of the seven arts that had raged at Paris and Orléans in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was still of importance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In this field Aristotle reigned supreme as he had in the thirteenth century. Indeed the fifteenth century libraries testify to the fact that Aristotle was still "the philosopher," *par excellence*, and that, however much his critics might berate him in the quarrel over the relative merits of Plato and Aristotle, it was the former, who even in the midst of the humanistic revival required the most defense. Cardinal Bessarion, who wrote in defense of Plato against the attack made by George of Trebizond, was one of the few bibliophiles of the fifteenth century to have in his library the large number of thirty-two

¹¹¹ G. Bertoni, *op. cit.*, 95 ff.; 108 ff., et passim. For humanists at the court of the Gonzaga at Mantua see A. Luzio and R. Renier, "I Filelfo e l'umanismo alla corte dei Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, VIII (1890), 119-217.

¹¹² Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (*loc. cit.*, no. 68), 292-302.

volumes containing works of Plato and of several neo-platonists. He also had, however, some fifty-one Aristotelian texts in Greek and about the same number in Latin.¹¹³ Nicholas of Cusa had several works of Plato and of the neo-platonist, Proclus, but here too, as in the case of Bessarion, the works of Aristotle were present in far greater abundance.¹¹⁴ In general by the late fifteenth century Plato's *Republic* and other *Dialogues* might be found in Italy in the libraries of Cardinal Bessarion, of the dukes of Urbino, of Pico della Mirandola, of George Valla and of the dukes of Este, as well as in other humanist collections. But they were still far less commonly available than the works of Aristotle despite the efforts of the Platonic academy and the sympathetic interest in neo-platonism. Outside of Italy, Plato's works, other than the *Timaeus*, in the fifth century Latin version of Chalcidius, were comparatively rare even in the late fifteenth century.

This preeminence of Aristotle over Plato was especially marked in the collection of books made by Amplonius Ratinek at Erfurt, where Aristotelian texts and commentaries filled half as many volumes as did those in theology; also in the library of St. Augustine at Canterbury, since a third of its contents were on Aristotle. It was further demonstrated in the library of the Visconti-Sforza at Pavia, a collection rich especially in humanistic compositions, but with some sixty-seven volumes relating to Aristotle and his commentators, a number equal to more than one-third of the classics of antiquity and the writings of the later humanists combined. There were seventeen volumes on Plato and the neo-platonists. This Visconti library goes back historically to Giovanni, uncle of Azzo and bishop of Novara from 1329 to 1349, and lord of Milan from 1349 to 1354. From 1426 to 1499 the books were preserved in the castle of Pavia. But in 1499 the greater part was transported

¹¹³ H. Omont, in *Revue des bibliothèques*, IV (1894), 182, nos. 359-409, Aristotle and his commentators; nos. 410-441, contain Plato's works and commentaries on them. E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique* (Paris, 1885), I, xxxvi; (1903), III, 1 ff.; Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (Coll. di op. ined. o rare, no. 68), 137.

¹¹⁴ Fr. X. Kraus, "Die Handschriften-Sammlung des Cardinals Nicolaus von Cusa, *Serapeum*, XXV (1864), 353; XXVI (1865), 69-74; under K. Philosophia, two codices contained the *Dialogues* of Plato, namely the *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*, and *Crito*, in translations by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo, also the *Apologia Socratis*, and *Meno*; the *Politiae*, in translation by Candido Decembrio; and the works of the neo-platonist Proclus. There were, however, 10 codices containing works of Aristotle in both new and old translations.

to France and placed at Blois by Louis XII. The books were later transferred by order of Francis I to Fontainebleau and eventually became part of the national library in Paris.¹¹⁵ The library of the university of Erfurt, a fifteenth century creation, also accorded Aristotle a considerable prominence,¹¹⁶ and his treatises and their commentaries formed a large part of the collections of both George Valla and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola.¹¹⁷

Not only in the extent to which the Scriptures, theology, and Aristotle, were represented did the libraries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries show a close relationship with those of the thirteenth and earlier ages, but also in the continued treasuring of other works popular with the schoolmen of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The presence in the catalogues of Latin translations of such authors as Algazel, Averroes, and Avicenna, reflected the continued interest in Arabic philosophy. The medieval regard for Pliny's *Natural History* still persisted and was sufficiently strong at the end of the fifteenth century to evoke the famous Pliny controversy between the two humanists, Pandolfo Collenuccio and Niccolò Leonicensi.¹¹⁸ The *De mirabilibus mundi* of Solinus also enjoyed the esteem of fifteenth century collectors, since they chose to place the work on their shelves along with the *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville. It was the latter, among medieval encyclopedists, however, who was the most favored among humanists. Petrarch relates that a copy of Isidore's work was given him by his father and he treasured it all his life.¹¹⁹ Of the several encyclopedic works composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, only Bartholomaeus Anglicus, in the *De proprietatibus rerum*, appears to have triumphed on the continent in the struggle with oblivion over Alexander Neckham, Thomas of Cantimpré, and others. Bartholomaeus' work was found in practically every European collection in the fifteenth century. It was current in Italian,

¹¹⁵ L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 125 ff.

¹¹⁶ H. O. Lange, "Ueber einen Katalog der Erfurter Universitätsbibliothek aus dem 15. Jahrhundert," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1885), 279 ff.

¹¹⁷ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 28 ff.

¹¹⁸ See L. Thorndike, *History of magic and experimental science* (New York, 1934), IV, chap. LXVI; R. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* (1914), 241.

¹¹⁹ D. Robathan, "Libraries of the Italian Renaissance," in J. W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, 525; Pierre de Nolhac, "De patrum et medii aevi scriptorum codicibus in bibliotheca Petrarcae olim collectis," *Revue des bibliothèques*, II (1892), 261; L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 139. For the distribution of the work of Isidore of Seville in these libraries, see R. Sabbadini, *op. cit.* (1914), 230.

French and Spanish, as well as in English and Dutch translations from the original Latin. Charles of Orléans had it translated into French at his court, and there appear to have been twenty-four printed editions between 1470 and 1500.¹²⁰ In English libraries, however, Alexander Neckham's work, *On the nature of things*, continued to be found in most libraries of any size in the late fifteenth century.¹²¹ The three *Specula*, or mirrors of nature, doctrine, and history by Vincent of Beauvais, also found a place, despite their mammoth proportions, in several of the French, English and Italian libraries. Pico della Mirandola, however, appears to have preferred the later *Speculum divinatorum et quorundam naturalium* by Henry Bate of Malines for his library.¹²² More recent encyclopedic works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were also found in these libraries but they appear to have lost the universality of appeal that the earlier compositions had had. Thus the moral compendium or *Sophologium* of the Augustinian, Jacques le Grand of Toulouse, is seldom found outside French libraries,¹²³ and the "Light of the Soul," or *Lumen animae* of Mathias Farinator, the Carmelite of Erfurt and Vienna,¹²⁴ is usually found only in German libraries, of which an example is that of Sigismund Gossembrot, the most active German advocate of humanism in the fifteenth century in Augsburg.¹²⁵

Scientific or pseudo-scientific interests which were represented in the catalogues following the divisions of the trivium, centered about the four basic sciences, astronomy or astrology, arithmetic,

¹²⁰ Robert Steele, "What fifteenth century books are about," *The Library*, IV (1903), 338-40; A. C. Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica* (Bruges, 1938), nos. 149.1-12 (Latin); 150.1-8 (French), 151.1 (Netherl.); 152.1 (Spanish); 153.1 (Spanish); 154.1 (English). For the translation of Bartholomaeus' work into Italian by Vivaldo Belcalzer in the late 13th and early 14th century, and its general currency in vernacular translations in the 14th and 15th centuries, see V. Cian, "Vivaldo Belcalzer e l'enciclopedismo Italiano," suppl. V, *Giornale storico della lett. ital.* (Torino, 1902), 35 ff.; and the review of Cian's work by A. Sepulcri, in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, ser. 3, XX (1903), 219-21.

¹²¹ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 289 et passim.

¹²² P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 96.

¹²³ L. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, IV, 278-79. There was a copy, however, in the Dominican House in Vienna in the late fifteenth century, *Mittelalterliche Bibl. Kat.*, I (1915), 346; and in the library of Sigismund Gossembrot, see note 125 below.

¹²⁴ L. Thorndike, *op. cit.*, III, Chap. XXXII.

¹²⁵ Paul Joachimsohn, "Aus der Bibliothek Sigismund Gossembrots," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XI (1894), 264. For a copy of the *Sophologium* see p. 262.

geometry, and music. Practically every library had its share of treatises on astrology, preferably those of the earlier authors from the *Almagest* and *Quadripartitum* of Ptolemy with its commentary by Haly, to the popular Latin works of the later medieval authors, as well as of the Arabic and Hebrew astrologers in Latin translation, namely, Alchabitius, Albumasar, Alkindi, Abraham ibn Ezra, and Thebit ben Corat. Included in many of the collections was the work of the thirteenth century astrologer, Guido Bonatti (d. after 1282), whom Dante had consigned to the fourth division of the eighth circle of inferno, and whose chequered career had included service at the court of the tyrant Ezzelino, a satellite of Frederick II.¹²⁶ Equally popular were the works of Peter of Abano, whose talents extended over the fields of astrology, philosophy, and medicine. Thomas of Sarzana in his canon for libraries asserted that the works of Peter of Abano would be fitting for every library.¹²⁷ Of fourteenth century authors, the astrological writings of Cecco d'Ascoli continued to circulate in the libraries despite their condemnation by the courts of inquisition; and the compositions of the English astrologer, John of Eschenden of Merton College, Oxford, found a place in German and Italian libraries as well as in those of England. Generally accompanying these works were the astronomical tables, both the Tables of Toledo and the Alfonsine Tables prepared under the direction of Alfonso X of Castile, together with various calendars, tables of eclipses of the moon, and one or more works on the astrolabe.

The interest of princes, dukes and other potentates in astrology as revealed by their libraries is amply supported by Vespasiano, who reports that Cosimo de'Medici had a complete knowledge of the subject from having practiced it with Master Paolo and other astrologers; also that Federigo, duke of Urbino, had in his library "all the writers on astrology and their commentators." The princes of Ferrara, Borso and Ercole I, not only treasured the prognostications of astrologers, but also followed their capricious council. Among the astrologers associated with them were Pietro Bono Avogario, Giorgio Valla, Pellegrino Prisciano, Carlo di S. Giorgio, and Giovanni Arquati.¹²⁸ The collection of the Gonzaga

¹²⁶ L. Thorndike, *op. cit.* (1923), II, Chap. LXVII.

¹²⁷ *Atti reale accad. Lucchese*, XXIII (1884), 379; Thorndike, *op. cit.*, II, Chap. LXX. For the following 14th-century authors, see Thorndike, *op. cit.* (1934), III, *passim*.

¹²⁸ Vespasiano, *Vite*, III (*loc. cit.*, no. 71), 57; I (*loc. cit.*, no. 68), 299; Bertoni *La biblioteca Estense*, 192, n.5, -194; Appen. II², 2, 8, 9, 20, 78, 208, 239, 310.

at Mantua with twenty-eight,¹²⁹ and that of the Visconti-Sforza at Pavia, with some twenty-four such tracts are especially outstanding for the number and variety of their books on astrology.¹³⁰ The library of the Spanish potentate, Martin V, shows a conspicuous leaning toward astrological tracts. In his collection there were, out of a total of two hundred and ninety-four volumes, some forty-four on astrology and astronomy. Included were four copies of Ptolemy, two of them in Catalan, and a third, the *Quadripartitum*, in a Latin translation. There were five almanachs, the tables of Toledo, and the Alfonsine tables, the work on judicial astrology by Leopold of Austria, and several anonymous treatises on the same subject.¹³¹ Under the classification, mathesis, and astronomy, the library of Nicholas of Cusa had treatises by Haly, Zehel (Zael), Ptolemy, Alkindi, Messahala, Geber, Albumasar, and John de Lineriis, who wrote about 1322.¹³² The library of Amplonius Ratineck was especially wealthy in this regard since as far as scientific or pseudo-scientific works were concerned those on astrology were surpassed in number only by those on medicine. Also well provided with such writings was the abbey church of St. Augustine at Canterbury, with forty-four relating to astrology. This collection at Canterbury which dates back to the ninth century, according to M. R. James, contained a considerable number of books donated by John of London, whom James would identify with the protégé of Roger Bacon.¹³³

Mathematical arts were the subject of a number of books found in various of the Renaissance libraries, despite the aspersion cast on mathematics for theologians by Pico della Mirandola,¹³⁴ whose view was not especially representative of his contemporaries.

¹²⁹ Pia Girolla, in *Atti e memorie, R. Accad. Virgiliana di Mantova*, N. S., XIV-XVI (1921-23), 67-69.

¹³⁰ [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, nos. 203, 246-53, 287-94, 358, 930-31, 971, 973, 980, 986; G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario dei codici della biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca," *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, I (1883), 42-43.

¹³¹ J. Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del Rey Martí D'Aragó," *Revue hispanique*, XII (1905), 414 ff. See particularly nos. 93, 29, 83, 86, 127, 156, 157, 30, 45, 139, 148, 149, 160, 161, 238, 251, etc.

¹³² L. Thorndike, *op. cit.* (1934), III, 253 ff.; Kraus in *Serapeum*, XXV (1864), 353; XXVI (1865), 85-89. See also p. 84, no. 25.

¹³³ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, lxxiv-lxxv; 305, 319-332, 375-73.

¹³⁴ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 100.

Federigo, duke of Urbino is described by Vespasiano, his contemporary biographer, as "a skilled geometrician and arithmetician," who had in his household a master Paolo, a German, and a very great philosopher and astrologer.¹³⁵ In geometry Euclid's work was the indispensable tool as it had been in the earlier ages and it appears almost universally in the inventories. The more elementary steps in arithmetic or numeration were on the other hand represented by tracts on the abacus, and on the *Algorismus*, as well as by Boethius' *Arithmetic*. In the list of books left by Johannes Gmunden to the university of Vienna,¹³⁶ he stipulated that a copy of this last named work was to be chained and was not to be loaned out of the library.¹³⁷ The writings of such thirteenth century authors as Jordanus Nemorarius, Giovanni Campani of Novara, and John of Sacrobosco, were usually found on the shelves with the newer mathematical treatises of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by Thomas Bradwardine, Richard Suiseth or Calculator, Regiomontanus, Giovanni Marliani of Milan, whom Pico considered "the greatest mathematician of his time," and others; while geometrical works by Dominicus de Clavasio and Jean de Murs, supplemented but did not replace Euclid.¹³⁸

Music, the fourth subject of the quadrivium was represented by far fewer treatises than were arithmetic and geometry. Here too the older works by St. Augustine, Boethius, and Guido of Arezzo of the eleventh century were more frequently encountered than the more recent fifteenth century compositions of Niccolò Burzio or Marsilio Ficino.¹³⁹ Music was, however, cultivated with enthusiasm and ardor at the court of the Este in Ferrara, also by Federigo, duke of Urbino. Vespasiano relates that the latter greatly delighted in both vocal and instrumental music.¹⁴⁰ Cosimo de' Medici,

¹³⁵ Vespasiano, *Vite*, I (*loc. cit.*, no. 68), 294-95.

¹³⁶ Joseph von Aschbach, *Geschichte der Wiener Universität* (Wien, 1865), I, 460-65; R. Kink, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Universität zu Wien* (Wien, 1854), I, pt. 2, 108-111; and more recently John Mundy, "John of Gmunden," *Isis*, XXXIV (1943), 198.

¹³⁷ Aschbach, *op. cit.*, I, 461; Kink, *op. cit.*, I, 110; John Mundy, *loc. cit.*, 198.

¹³⁸ See "Canone bibliografico di Papa Parentucelli," *Atti Reale Accad. Lucchese*, XXIII (1884), 379; and cf. R. Steele, "What fifteenth century books are about," *The Library*, IV (1903), 341.

¹³⁹ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 59-60; R. Steele, *loc. cit.*, 344.

¹⁴⁰ Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense*, 198-99; 236, no. 24; 247, no. 341; Vespasiano, *Vite*, I, 295.

who had three books on music in his library also accorded musicians his appreciative attention.¹⁴¹

Of the more practical arts or sciences, medical treatises, which Richard of Furnival in the thirteenth century had listed along with works on civil and canon law as belonging to the lucrative sciences,¹⁴² were the most prominent. No library appears to have been complete without a number of books on this subject. Even that of Pico della Mirandola whose writings reflected slight interest in the subject had a large number of medical tracts.¹⁴³ It is difficult to determine to what extent this popularity of the medical writings was due to the general interest that many laymen had in the subject or was the result of more practical needs. There was a leaning toward collections of hygienic rules for maintaining health as well as toward treatises on preventive medicine. Many of these were recent works which had been composed under the stimulus of the devastating ravages of the Black death in the fourteenth century and its recurrences in the fifteenth. But still others were the older works that had provided the medical reading matter during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Particularly prominent in the latter category were the treatises by Hippocrates and Galen in the Latin translations by Constantinus Africanus made by way of the Arabic in the early twelfth century, together with the more recent humanistic renderings directly from the Greek by Theodorus Gaza, Lorenzo Laurenziano, and others. The fifteenth-century libraries also frequently included the medical treatise of the Roman physician, Cornelius Celsus, whose work, although known in the middle ages since the extant manuscripts date from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, is seldom listed in inventories of libraries before the fifteenth century. It was "found" by Poggio during his systematic search of the monastic establishments while he was presumably attending the council of Constance.¹⁴⁴ Most of the works of Arabic physicians in Latin dress that had been current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are included in these fourteenth- and fifteenth-century libraries, among them Albucasis, Averroes,

¹⁴¹ Vespasiano, *Vite*, III, 57; Piccolomini, in *Archivio storico ital.*, ser. 3, XXI (1875), 111, for the inventory of 1456.

¹⁴² "Bibliomanie de Richard de Furnival," printed in Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits*, II, 521: "Sequens areola libros continet de quibusdam scientiis lucrativis. . . ."

¹⁴³ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 101 ff.

¹⁴⁴ P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 52-53; Vespasiano, *Vite*, II, 203.

Avicenna, Rasis, Mesuë, and the like. Of earlier medieval medical writings, the *Viaticus* of Constantinus Africanus, the *Thesaurus pauperum* of Petrus Hispanus, the *Lilium* of Bernard Gordon, together with medical works and translations by Gerard of Cremona, and the *Conciliator* of Peter of Abano, provided the titles most frequently encountered in the catalogues. Treatises on surgery by Bruno of Longoburgo whose works circulated among the libraries of Europe from Italy to the British Isles, by William of Saliceto, and Guy de Chauliac, were also common in the inventories. The work of the last named was, however, more generally found in French libraries than elsewhere. Few contemporary authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had so universal a following as those mentioned. Medical antidotaries, or lists of simples, recipes for drugs, and information on herbs and foods which one might expect to find useful only for apothecaries were also to be found in the collections of humanists and other bibliophiles. Particular favor was shown toward the *Antidotary* of Nicholas of Salerno, emanating probably from the twelfth century.¹⁴⁵

Especially noteworthy for its medical works was the collection of Amplonius Ratinek with one hundred and one tracts including all the aforementioned treatises.¹⁴⁶ Similarly conspicuous for its medical books was the library of the abbey church of St. Augustine at Canterbury. Its more than one hundred volumes on this subject comprised works ranging from compositions of Hippocrates and Galen, to those of contemporary Italian authors. The Arabic physicians, Rasis, Averroes, and so on, as well as the medieval Latin authors and works on medicine named above, indicate the prominence of earlier authorities.¹⁴⁷ There were several tracts on women's diseases and on gynaecology, among them the work circulating under the title or author Trotula, also the work of Muscio, and of Caelius Aurelianus.¹⁴⁸ The library of the Prior of St. Martin at Dover, according to the inventory of 1389 was also well provided with books on medical subjects.¹⁴⁹ The medical portion

¹⁴⁵ G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of Science* (Baltimore, 1931), II, 239-40. Cf. Robert Steele, "What fifteenth century books are about," *The Library*, IV (1903), 345.

¹⁴⁶ Dr. Wilhelm Schum, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Amplonianischen Handschriften-Sammlung zu Erfurt* (Berlin, 1887), 785-867.

¹⁴⁷ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, especially 332-49; also 369 and 385.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 347, no. 1274; 385, no. 1599, etc.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 429, nos. 337-63; 455, no. 136; 480; 490, no. 410.

of the collection at the university of Erfurt which between 1480 and 1485 contained some eight hundred volumes, included among others the several works of Galen, Macer, Avicenna, Mesuë, the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*, also the *Conciliator* of Peter of Abano, and the work of Gerard of Solo. The library also had one volume containing the popular Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, together with Peter Crescentius on agriculture, and a work of Francesco Petrarch.¹⁵⁰ There were twenty books on medical subjects in the library of Nicholas of Cusa, although he appears never to have touched on the subject in his writings.¹⁵¹

In Italian libraries the works of Greek and Arabic physicians in translation were particularly well represented. A considerable number of such tracts was included in the library of George Valla whose interest in translating works of early Greek and Arabic scientific authors, with specific emphasis on medicine, provided a strong incentive toward collecting books of this nature. Valla also utilized his collection for his encyclopedic *De expetendis et fugiendis rebus*, in which were excerpts of many of the volumes in his possession.¹⁵² Greek and Arabic physicians in translation were also particularly well represented in the library of the Visconti-Sforza at Pavia. Valla had been associated with the Sforza family first in his capacity as a teacher of the son of Lodovico Moro, and then through his imprisonment for a time by duke Lodovico Sforza. But the interest of the dukes in Greek and Arabic medicine antedates the appearance of George Valla, at Pavia, since the inven-

¹⁵⁰ H. O. Lange, "Ueber einen Katalog der Erfurter Universitätsbibliothek aus dem 15. Jahrhundert," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, II (1885), 279 ff.

¹⁵¹ Fr. X. Kraus, "Die Handschriften-Sammlung des Cardinals Nicolaus von Cusa," *Serapeum*, XXV (1864), 353, medical works are listed under letter "T"; *loc. cit.*, XXVI (1865), 69-74. Some idea of the varied interests of Nicholas of Cusa may be gathered from the classification of the books in his library under fourteen headings in the inventory reproduced by Kraus. The first four headings, A, B, C, D, comprise 143 volumes related to theology; then follow Nicholas' own compositions (3); books in canon (58), and civil law (14); general historical and geographical works (15); medicine (20); philosophy (26); *mathesis* and *astronomia* (13); grammar (4); Greek (4), and Hebrew (5) codices.

¹⁵² J. L. Heiberg, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Vallas u. seiner Bibliothek," *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, Beiheft*, XVI (1896). A collection of tracts translated by George Valla is at the New York Academy of Medicine (Streeter collection) under the title "Nicephorus logica et al. tractatus, Georgio Valla Placentino interprete" (Venice, Simon Papiensis, 30 Sept. 1498). Klebs, *Incunabula scientific et medica* (Bruges, 1938), 1012.1.

tories come down to a period not later than 1469 when Valla would have attained the age of twenty-two. Of the forty-four medical works in the Visconti-Sforza library about one fourth were by the Arabic authors Albucasis, Rasis, Avicenna, Serapion, and John Mesuë. The Greek tradition was preserved in translations of Galen and Hippocrates both in separate texts and in three copies of the *Articella*, the handy collection of early medical tracts that every physician was presumed to have at his elbow. Marsiglio of Sancta Sofia (d. 1405), one of the leading physicians of his day taught medicine at the university of Pavia and attended duke Giangaleazzo Visconti. In addition to the medieval Latin authors mentioned above, there were added according to the inventory of the library under duke Galeazzo Maria Visconti in 1469, several compositions on the preservation of the health against the pestilence by Antonio Guainerio of Pavia, Petrus Codazzo, and Ugo Benzo; also tracts on guarding against poisons by M. John Martin of Parma, and Peter of Abano, the latter in the vernacular, and a general regime for the conservation of the health by Benedetto da Nursia.¹⁵³ A conspicuous collection of medical books was also contained in the library of the dukes of Este at Ferrara. Their library provides ample evidence of the considerable favor shown to medicine by the House of Este probably for the practical reasons connected with the frightful recurrences of the plague. Borso d'Este in 1461 furnished the cadaver for the anatomical sessions at the university of Ferrara, and as court physician the dukes had the renowned Michael Savonarola whose works were kept in their private library. In addition to most of the usual medical works already mentioned, the library contained by Battista Massa of Argenta, a treatise in the vernacular on poisons, also a tract entitled *De fructibus*, in both Latin and vernacular versions; and in the time of Ercole I, the work of Antonio Benivieni. The Este library also had a copy of Maino de Maineri, "On preservation from the epidemic," dated A.D. 1360.¹⁵⁴

Among the other practical arts, agriculture was represented by

¹⁵³ [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, nos. 185, 425, 427, 429-37, 443, 449-52, 455-59, 481-91, 701, 762-64, 768, 793, 797, 801-802, 826, 830, 975; G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario della biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca," *Giornale stor. della lett. ital.*, I (1883), 40-41, 56-9; Bueno Mesquita, *GianGaleazzo Viscount*, 183.

¹⁵⁴ Bertoni, *La biblioteca Estense*, 184; 187-92, 217, no. 42; 236, 243, 246, 247; Appendix, 343; II², 33, 34, 36.

the classical authors of antiquity, Hesiod, Varro, Cato, and Palladius, along with the late thirteenth century Petrus Crescentius (d. 1310). There were also several anonymous tracts on the veterinary art, especially in the Visconti-Sforza library, and a manual on the feeding and regimen for birds and falcons.¹⁵⁵ In architecture, Vitruvius was the leading manual. The Visconti library had six treatises on the game of chess, all but one described as illustrated, as well as a work on singing and dancing. In addition there were others on history, duels, military arts, and biography.¹⁵⁶ Such books were found also in the Este library at Ferrara.¹⁵⁷

Although interest in geography appears to have been fairly wide-spread, since the fifteenth century, especially in its second half is the age of the great expansion of the geographical horizon, contemporary works on the subject are not generally conspicuous in the libraries of the period. The classical works on geography by Ptolemy and Strabo, in recent fifteenth century translations, and of Pomponius Mela were supplemented by several *mappae mundi*, the *Sfera* of Dati, the work of Toscanelli, and the fifteenth-century versified version of Ptolemy made by the Florentine, Francesco Berlinghieri. Books of travel were, however, included in considerable numbers. These comprised the earlier accounts of travels to the orient by Marco Polo, Friar John of Planocarpini, and other medieval travelers, as well as the contemporary reports by Ciriaco of Ancona, and others who journeyed to the near East in search of classical antiquities. In addition the Este library had two tracts on the newly discovered islands belonging to Spain.¹⁵⁸

Alchemy representative of a more specialized field of endeavor, though numerically in a minority position as compared with mathematics or astrology, appears to have had a fairly wide-spread audi-

¹⁵⁵ [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, no. 442, 456, 893, 433; G. Mazzatinti, in *Giornale stor. ital.*, I (1883), 43, 56-59.

¹⁵⁶ G. Mazzatinti, *loc. cit.*, I (1883), 43, 50 ff.; 56-59.

¹⁵⁷ A. Cappelli, "La biblioteca estense," *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, XIV (1889), 15, 16, 23, etc.; Bertoni, *La bibl. estense*, 108, 198, 199, 110, 221, 224, 245, 249; for Chess, 217, 220, 239, 242, 245; and falconry, 217, 218.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 184-85, 215, 224, 246, 250, 261; and for the tracts on the newly discovered islands, p. 243, nos. 245, 248; G. Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli*, 50; P. Kibre, *op. cit.*, 109-110; F. Flamini, "Leonardo di Piero Dati poeta Latino del secolo XV," *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, XVI (1890), 1 ff., for an account of the Dati family. For 15th-century editions of Ptolemy, *Mappae mundi*, and the *Sfera*, see Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica*, 36.1-17; 663.1-2; 812.1-7.

ence. Tracts on the art of transmuting baser metals into gold and silver both on the theoretical and practical side were found in a large number of the libraries, both ecclesiastical and lay. One of the largest collections of works of this nature was housed among the books at the abbey church of St. Augustine at Canterbury. Included were such alchemical tracts as Hermes, "On the fifteen stars, herbs, etc."; "the book of the thirty words"; "the book of riddles"; also several works ascribed to a certain Nicholas; to Michael Scot; to Richard of Furnival; and to a certain Tankard. It also contained other anonymous tracts on the tincture of alchemy and on the twelve waters.¹⁵⁹ The last named work is often ascribed to Rasis, Albertus Magnus, and other well-known authors. Possibly other alchemical works were present since it is difficult to identify such works by their titles. The library of the Visconti-Sforza at Pavia, had some nine alchemical tracts, among them the famous *Turba philosophorum* which contains the assertions of numerous authorities regarding the art; the work of the pseudo-Geber, and others appearing anonymously.¹⁶⁰ In the inventory of the books left at the death of Sforza secondo Sforza, the natural brother of Lodovico il Moro (d. 1491), which later passed to Pavia, there were several on alchemy including the tract on the fifth essence, a reagent capable of realizing, according to its authorities,¹⁶¹ not only the immediate aims of the alchemist but also of providing a cure-all for bodily ills. This library also had several other works in the field of the occult, namely books on chiromancy, geomancy, necromancy, and astrology, as well as treatises on the practical arts of surgery, veterinary medicine, herbs, and animals.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 316, 343, 348-49, 375-76, 385-86, 388. There were two copies of Rasis, *Lumen luminum*, in the library of the Prior of St. Martin at Dover in 1389: *Ibid.*, p. 488, nos. 402, 403. The library of Christ Church, Canterbury, had a "Liber Arthuri de alkimia": *Ibid.*, p. 73, no. 651; and several other works in alchemy: *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 75, 92-94; 124.

¹⁶⁰ G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario della biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, I (1883), 42. For the most part these works do not appear in the inventory of 1426 published by Girolamo d'Adda. But see no. 929, *de naturis auri argenti, et herbarum historiatus et compilatus per Manfredum de Monte Imperiale*; *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, 85; also no. 144, Hermes on alchemy.

¹⁶¹ The work on the fifth essence is usually attributed to John of Rupescissa, for whom see L. Thorndike, *op. cit.* (1934), III, chapter XXII.

¹⁶² Emilio Motta, "Documenti per la libreria Sforzesca di Pavia, 1456-1494

Alchemical tracts in the collection of Francesco Gonzaga at Mantua in 1407 comprised works of Hermes; the *Lumen luminum* or "Light of lights," variously attributed to Rasis, Geber, and Aristotle; also a collection of experiments or observations in alchemy; some works on the art ascribed to Raynaldus (Arnaldus?) of Villanova, and Albertus Magnus.¹⁶³ George Valla had in his library the work on the fifth essence, also the book of secrets attributed to Raymond Lull, and the *Ars alchimie margarita novella* of master Petrus Bonus of Ferrara.¹⁶⁴ In the library of Nicholas of Cusa, such works attributed to Raymond Lull, Arnald of Villanova, Avicenna, and Geber, as well as chemical recipes in German, and other anonymous works on the subject, were all classified under the headings, medicine and philosophy.¹⁶⁵ At Erfurt, as noted earlier, the Amplonian collection had the four books on alchemy placed after the books on natural philosophy.¹⁶⁶ There were also treatises on alchemy in the Spanish library of Martin V of Aragon.¹⁶⁷

The occult arts of magic and divination, geomancy, nigromancy, chiromancy, and the like, were represented in several treatises in the libraries of the Visconti-Sforza, of Francesco Gonzaga, and other Italian libraries of the fifteenth century, also in French ducal and royal collections and in the Spanish libraries of Martin V and Alfonso X, as well as in English ecclesiastical libraries. The Visconti library had several works on dreams, an anonymous physiognomy, probably the one ascribed to Aristotle, also the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of Secrets*, which was so widely current,¹⁶⁸ and the collection entitled *Picatrix*.¹⁶⁹ Alkindi, *On stellar rays*, and

Aggiunte alle Indagini del Marchese d'Adda," *Il Bibliofilo*, anno VII, no. 9-10 (1886), 129-34. See especially 133.

¹⁶³ Pia Girolla, "La biblioteca di Francesco Gonzaga, secondo l'inventario del 1407," *Accad. Virgiliana, Atti e memorie*, XIV-XVI (1921-23), 64 ff.

¹⁶⁴ J. L. Heiberg, "Beiträge zur Gesch. Georg Vallas u. seiner Bibliothek," *Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XVI (1896), 113, 117. For Petrus Bonus, see Thorndike, *op cit.* (1934), III, chapter IX.

¹⁶⁵ Kraus in *Serapeum*, XXVI (1865), 69-70, 73, 83.

¹⁶⁶ De alchimia que subalternatur philosophie naturali," nos. 61-(64).

¹⁶⁷ J. Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del rey Marti d'Aragó," *Revue hispanique*, XII (1905), 430 ff.; especially nos. 117, 250.

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Steele, "What fifteenth century books are about," *The Library*, IV (1903), 351-52; Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, I, 117. For 15th-cent. editions of the *Secret of secrets*, see Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica*, nos. 96.1-9.

¹⁶⁹ G. Mazzatinti, "Inventario della biblioteca Visconteo-Sforzesca," *Giornale*

several other treatises of similar tenor were in the collection of Martin V, which in addition contained the compendium of superstitious practices and medicine entitled Kiranides.¹⁷⁰ The Augustinian library at Canterbury also included a large number of works in this category.¹⁷¹

For the most part the private collections made during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not long remain intact after the deaths of their owners. In some cases immediate dispersal followed. In others the libraries were either sold to some other collector as in the case of the sale of Pico's books to Cardinal Domenico Grimani; or were bequeathed to religious or monastic establishments.¹⁷² Where the latter was true, provision was made that the books might be loaned out for the use of lay citizens as well as of the members of the religious community. The library of St. Victor in France was especially fortunate in receiving a large number of bequests. This was also true of the Sorbonne and other establishments connected with the universities.¹⁷³ Hence it might be concluded that the fate of many precious early classical manuscripts, rescued from a neglected but probably more permanent haven in monastic establishments, was that of only gracing temporarily the library shelves of a humanist or his patron. Those more fortunate than others often found their way back again by the testaments of their erstwhile guardians to other monastic or ecclesiastical houses; while the less fortunate succumbed to the ravages of fire or war and disappeared among the booty or spoils of conquest.

storico della lett. ital., I (1883), 43. The books on dreams were by Leo Justus, Richard of St. Victor, and Solomon. See also [Girolamo d'Adda], *Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del Castello di Pavia*, no. 978, 967. These works were also in the library of the Gonzaga at Mantua as well as the treatises on necromancy: Girolla, *loc. cit.*, XIV-XVI (1921-23), 67-68; for such works in the Este library see Bertoni, *La biblioteca estense*, 55, 223, no. 120; 219, no. 64; 244, n. 278. On Picatrix, and the other works in the occult sciences, see L. Thorndike, *History of magic and experimental science*, New York, 1923, vols. I-II, *passim*.

¹⁷⁰ J. Massó Torrents, "Inventari dels bens mobles del rey Marti d'Aragó," *Revue hispanique*, XII (1905), 430 ff.; see no. 259, "Quiranides. . ."

¹⁷¹ M. R. James, *The ancient libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 318, 340.

¹⁷² Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici* (1905), 188 ff., provides a good many examples of such bequests.

¹⁷³ L. Delisle, *Cabinet des manuscrits*, II, gives the list of such benefactors to the library of St. Victor, 209 ff.; and to the Sorbonne, 142 ff. For bequests to the university of Vienna, see notes 136, 137 above; also *Mittelalterliche Bibl. Kat.*, I (1915), 281; 415-22; 437 ff.; 447 ff.; 498-501; etc.

In content these libraries of the so-called renaissance of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may thus be seen to reveal no sharp line of cleavage between the interests of these centuries from those immediately preceding. The humanistic works (*litterae humaniores*), products of the enthusiasm for and renewed interest in the classics of Greek and Roman antiquity, supplemented but did not replace the hallowed classics of the more immediate past. The ducal and princely collectors continued to be guided in large part in their choice of books by the traditional tastes of their immediate chronological predecessors. Their libraries adhered to the pattern for earlier ecclesiastical establishments in the formula provided by Thomas of Sarzana. Theology was still the mainstay, and scholastic interests appeared side by side with those of humanism. The Bible and St. Augustine continued to hold first place among the most universally read books; while Aristotle and medieval compendia or encyclopedias retained the venerable regard of the great majority of the reading public. Occult sciences were still as popular as they had been earlier and as they were to continue to be into the succeeding centuries. The bulk of the collections remained Latin in their general makeup although the rehabilitation of Greek studies and the growing interest in textual criticism is reflected in the introduction of Greek, Hebrew, and in rare instances, Arabic and Aramaic codices into a chosen few of the libraries, while the ducal and princely collectors revealed a strong leaning toward the vernaculars of which French and Tuscan were the most favored. In large part the libraries reflect the partiality of their owners for ancient and medieval classics, thus adhering to the dictum of Richard de Bury, that most ardent of fourteenth century bibliophiles, who "loved codices more than florins," that "it is more desirable to investigate the well tested labors of the ancients, than to explore the novelties of the moderns."¹⁷⁴ But most of all these libraries in their commingling of the classics of Greek and Roman antiquity with the revered ecclesiastical treasures of the more immediate past, provide an illuminating example of that "picturesque union of contrasts [the mixture of the two traditions, sacred and profane] that is so characteristic of the art at the close of the fifteenth century."¹⁷⁵

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¹⁷⁴ *Philobiblon*, tr. E. C. Thomas (London, 1925), 56; 65.

¹⁷⁵ Walter Pater, *The Renaissance*, Modern Library, 39.