

XII.—The Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples

CORNELIA C. COULTER

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

The record of expenditures from the treasury of the kings of Naples in the years 1280–1342, when members of the House of Anjou were on the throne, corroborates what we know from other sources about the brilliance of life at the Neapolitan court and the keen intellectual interests of the kings and their associates. A particularly interesting set of entries deals with the copying and purchase of manuscripts: amounts paid for parchment and pigments; payment to scribes, correctors, illuminators, and book-binders; lists of books acquired, by copying or by purchase; and occasional notes about the source of the books or the purpose for which they were intended. About one hundred books are listed in the records of 1280–1342, most of them in the reign of King Robert the Wise (1309–1343). The titles include devotional and liturgical books, Biblical texts and theological treatises, history, works on Canon Law, a number of scientific works, and a few classical texts. The titles are not only interesting in themselves, but significant for the intellectual movements of the time and for the influence of certain distinguished scholars who made their home at Naples in the reign of King Robert.

Naples and its environs have been associated with things of the mind ever since Cicero congratulated his friend Marius on being able to enjoy a view of the bay while he spent his morning hours on bits of readings (*lectiunculis*);¹ and Vergil wrote that “sweet Parthenope” had nurtured him in the pursuits of inglorious ease.² Even after Rome and Roman civilization fell before the hordes from the North, some traces of the ancient tradition still lingered on in the Neapolitan region. At the little town of Avellino, some twenty miles east of Naples, an unknown reader of the sixth century recorded in a manuscript of Livy the fact that he had been through three books of the third decade.³ The African-born Hadrian, who in the year 664 was abbot of the monastery of Niridanum, not far from Naples, was said to be “Graecae pariter et Latinae linguae peritissimus;” and in the next two hundred years facility in both Greek and Latin is ascribed to other prominent clerics of the region and to members of the ruling house.⁴ About the middle of the

¹ *Fam.* 7.1.1.

² *Georg.* 4.563f.

³ L. Traube, “Bamberger Fragmente der vierten Dekade des Livius,” *AB* 24 (1909) 16f.

⁴ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 4.1; *Gesta Episcoporum Neapolitanorum*, ed. G. Waitz (*MGH: Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum Saec. VI–IX* [Hannover, 1878]),

tenth century, Duke John III of Naples instituted a diligent search for books, had copies made of such texts as the Old and the New Testament and the histories of Livy and Josephus, and commissioned the archpresbyter Leo to translate into Latin the Greek account of the deeds of Alexander.⁵ In the year 1224 the Hohenstaufen Frederick II founded in Naples a "studium generale," or university, stating in the charter his desire "that, even as our kingdom of Sicily is rich and fertile in natural products, so also it may be adorned with an abundant crop of wise men, . . . and that those whose natural genius qualifies them for the high service of the state may become learned in the science of letters."⁶

But the crowning development of Neapolitan culture in the Middle Ages came at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century, when three members of the House of Anjou were on the throne: Charles I (1265-1285), Charles II (1285-1309), and Robert, called "the Wise" (1309-1343). Literary sources and architectural remains give evidence of the beauty and brilliance of life at Naples in this period, and this evidence is supplemented by records of the royal treasury which have come down in the archives of the Neapolitan kingdom.⁷ The expenditures include payments for golden plates, basins, porringers, and salt-cellar; and inventories of the king's treasures mention silken and woolen fabrics and materials embroidered in gold thread and trimmed with pearls and amber.⁸

Pref. to *Gesta*, p. 399; *Vita Athanasii* chap. 2, p. 441; E. A. Lowe, *Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914) 9, 54f.

⁵ *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, ed. F. Pfister (*Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, no. 6 [Heidelberg, 1913]) *Prol.* 2; cf. Pfister's Pref. 1-8, and Lowe, *op. cit.* (see note 4) 8f., 55, 82f. It is probable that the two leaves now at the University of Prag (Univ. 1224), containing Livy 3.37.7-40.4 in a tenth-century Beneventan hand, a portion of which is reproduced as Plate 47 of Lowe's *Scriptura Beneventana* (Oxford, 1929) formed part of a sumptuous edition of Livy made for Duke John.

⁶ Translation by Gertrude Slaughter, *The Amazing Frederic* (New York, 1937) 82. On the university and its later history see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, new ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford, 1936) 1.8, 82-84; 2.11, 22-24.

⁷ Published by C. Minieri Riccio, "Genealogia di Carlo II d'Angiò Re di Napoli," in *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 7 (1882) 5-67, 201-262, 465-496, 653-684, and 8 (1883) 5-33, 197-226, 381-396; and by N. Barone, "La *Ratio Thesaurariorum* della Cancelleria Angioina" in the same periodical 10 (1885) 413-434, 653-664, and 11 (1886) 5-20, 175-197, 415-432, 577-596. In the following footnotes these articles are cited simply by the author's name, with volume and page. I have not had access to the original documents, and my statements are therefore based on these two publications. Certain portions of the record had already disappeared when Minieri Riccio published his article; it is impossible to guess how much is left now.

⁸ Barone 11.20, 186f.

Even more interesting is a set of items ranging in date from 1280 to 1342, covering payments for the copying and purchase of books. The copying was done by a group of scribes living in a house provided for them by the king, with a head scribe who had general oversight of the work, fixed the rate of payment, and made disbursements.⁹ Certain entries provide for substitutes to carry on the work in case the original scribes cannot complete their task, and for *litterati* to correct the finished copies.¹⁰ The scribes are mentioned by name, and are frequently spoken of by such complimentary titles as *clericus et familiaris*, or *fidelis clericus . . . et familiaris*, or *scriptor et familiaris regius*.¹¹ The list includes a few who must have come from Naples or its environs: Jannellus, whose name appears in a characteristically Neapolitan form, and Nicola, called "piczulo," from Somma, near the top of Mount Vesuvius. By far the greater number, however, are from other parts of Italy, from France, England, the Low Countries, or Germany. We find such names as Johannes de Mutina, Bellus de Florentia, Jacobus de Milano, Johannes de Ypra; names like Odettus or Gualtierius, which suggest a French or German origin; and names with such additions as Lombardus, Normannus, Anglicus, or Teutonicus.¹²

Payments are most often made in the monetary system in general use in Sicily and Southern Italy at this period, in which the unit was the Arabic gold coin called *tari* or *tarenus*, each *tari* being equal to twenty grains, and thirty *tari* making an *uncia* or ounce. Ounces and *tari* continue to appear in the records throughout the period, even though King Charles I issued carlines, and in 1328 King Robert had silver carlines and copper "piccoli danari" struck at the mint in Naples with his own name, and announced that this was to be the only legal coinage.¹³ We find an occasional payment in carlines or in the coinage of the locality from which the scribe or craftsman comes: a copyist in the reign of Charles I is to be paid either in *Augustales* or in carlines of gold; Robert pays one ounce in carlines of silver for a devotional book written in French; Bello of Florence receives four florins of gold for his work as corrector; Master Marcus Aurifaber (i.e., Goldschmied) is to have a mark and a half of silver for making clasps for a newly copied

⁹ *Ibid.* 10.424, 657; 11.430.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 10.426.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 10.424, 426; 11.179.

¹² *Ibid.* 11.426, 430; 10.424, 426; 11.424, 426, 578.

¹³ Minieri Riccio 7.662.

volume.¹⁴ The rate of payment is sometimes based on time: one *tari* per day to the head scribe, and fifteen grains per day to his assistant, in the year 1280; twelve grains per day to each of a group of scribes who made corrections in 1281; four *tari* per month to a certain scribe in 1313.¹⁵ Sometimes the rate is based on quantity: in February 1282, six *tari* for each quinternion; in May of the same year, one *tari* and two grains for each quaternion; in 1336, two ounces and twenty-four *tari* for the transcription of twenty-one quaternions (a rate of four *tari* per quaternion).¹⁶ The totals run as high as two ounces for the writing of a single volume of *Sermones Regii*; four ounces for the writing of a breviary and a missal.¹⁷

Illumination and book-binding figure frequently in the records, and seem to be well paid: nineteen *tari* for the illumination and binding of the treatise *De Regimine Principum*; seventeen *tari* and ten grains for the illumination and binding of the Epistles of Saint Paul; one ounce of gold for the illumination of Gregory's *Moralia*; eight *tari* for the binding of a volume *Contra Gentiles*.¹⁸ The records of Charles I contain detailed provisions about the illumination and "paragraphing" of two different works, together with the name of the German miniaturist Minardus, who was to illuminate one of the texts, and the scale of prices agreed upon between him and the supervisor, Johannes de Nigellis, or Nigella (i.e., Jean de Néele): six letters with flowers and tails, one grain; ten letters with flowers, but without tails, one grain; one hundred small letters, one grain and a half; one hundred paragraph signs, one grain and a half; one letter made with a brush, three grains; one letter with a tail extending the length of a column, three grains. The king orders that if Minardus should die or should be unable to do the illumination, the texts are to be given to another skilled illuminator, at the most advantageous price possible; and he also orders that if there is difficulty in getting the necessary pigments and gold leaf, the books are to be turned over to a monk of Monte

¹⁴ Barone 10.428; 11.185; 10.424, 432. The *Augustales* must have been the beautiful gold coins of Frederick II, one of which is reproduced as the frontispiece of Slaughter's *The Amazing Frederic*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 10.424, 426; 11.175.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 10.431, 657; 11.584. The wide variation in the quantitative rate may point to a difference in the size of the page.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 11.426, 430.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 11.19, 430, 19, 426. The last-named work may have been the *Summa Contra Gentiles* of Thomas Aquinas.

Cassino who is staying with the Archbishop of Naples, with the understanding that he will be responsible for making the miniatures. In the end, the illumination of these particular volumes was done by the monk Giovanni of Monte Cassino, who spent two months and a half on the commission, and received an honorarium of two ounces and a half in gold; and the volumes themselves, with their paragraph signs, decorated capitals, and exquisite miniatures, have actually come down to us as a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS lat. 6912).¹⁹ Even without such direct evidence we can form some idea of the beauty of another volume, in which were "Ore Beate Virginis et Memoria Passionis Christi cum diversis ymaginibus diversis lictis magnis ad aurum et aliis parvis diversorum colorum," for the copying, illumination, and binding of which, payment was made in May, 1327, in florins, soldi, and danari.²⁰ The record states that this book was for the use of King Robert's son Charles, the Duke of Calabria, and that it was delivered to Petrus de Oringiac (i.e., Pierre d'Oreignac), chaplain and almoner, who was to keep it carefully. The young duke had accepted the lordship of Florence early in 1326, and made his residence there from July of that year until December, 1327; it is therefore probable that the work on the book was done by Florentine craftsmen at his special order.

Diagrams and illustrations (called *tabulae*) also play an important part in the records. King Robert pays for a set of *tabulae* showing the descendants of Adam and Noah and the sons of Israel, for one illustrating the sermons of Gregory on Ezekiel, and for the *miniatura* of a table illustrating Roman history.²¹

Payment is made for various supplies. In addition to the purchase of large quantities of parchment, paper, red wax, and ink for official documents, we find payments for the cinnabar necessary for coloring the three genealogical tables and the illustration of Gregory's sermons; for the parchment needed to transcribe a decade of Livy; for eighteen sheets of parchment from Genoa, at the rate of eight and a half grains per sheet; and for twenty-one quaternions of kidskin bought from a Calabrian dealer and used in the transcription of certain medical works.²² In the last item the price

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 10.426, 431f. Cf. P. Durrieu, "Un Portrait de Charles I^{er} d'Anjou," *Gazette archéologique* 11 (1886) 192-201, and p. 150 *infra*.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 11.419.

²¹ *Ibid.* 11.424, 426.

²² *Ibid.* 11.176, 424f., 431; Minieri Riccio 8.26; Barone 11.584.

of the material and the cost of the labor are both given, and the kidskin costs almost half as much as the work of the scribes.

In addition to the books that were copied for the king, certain other volumes were acquired by purchase. These range in price from a tiny *Officium Memoriae Passionis Christi*, at fifty-five soldi, to a volume of sermons at two ounces.²³ Two purchases of books in considerable quantity are recorded: in April, 1332, eight books from the abbot of the monastery of Santa Maria di Montevergine (a foundation east of Naples which was under the special patronage of the House of Anjou, and is still of interest to tourists); and in October, 1335, more than twenty different works from some unspecified source.²⁴ In these lists the most expensive items are a book of French history, at twelve *tari*; a "Harmony of the Old and the New Testament" and a "Book of the Rosary," at fifteen *tari* each; and two works on canon law, costing respectively twenty-two *tari* and one ounce. In comparison with the four *tari* per month paid to the scribe Johannes de Ypra in 1313, or even with the salary of one *tari* per day paid to Robertus de Meldis for his work as scribe and corrector in 1280, these are high prices.

The inventory of the royal treasures made in the year 1281, after mentioning various gold and silver vessels, precious fabrics, and jewels, includes a missal, a breviary, and a dozen other books;²⁵ and the records of the next sixty years (both inventories and lists of accessions) bring the total up to about one hundred volumes. By far the greatest number of accessions fall in the reign of King Robert, of whom Dante could speak only with scorn, but whom Giovanni Villani described as "il più sauo Re, che fosse tra Cristiani già fa cinque cento anni, sì di senno naturale, sì di scienza, come grandissimo maestro in Teologia, e sommo Filosofo."²⁶ The number and the content of the books acquired in Robert's reign support Villani's characterization, and the total list not only reveals the intellectual interests of the members of the House of Anjou, but also links up at various points with their personal history.

One of the first books to be added in King Robert's reign, *De Regimine Principum*, must have had special significance for the royal family. It is said to have been written by the king's chaplain,

²³ Barone 11.419; Minieri Riccio 8.208.

²⁴ Barone 11.425, 582f.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 10.428-430.

²⁶ *Cronica* 12.9. For the allusion in Dante see p. 148 *infra*.

Frater Antonius, for the use of the king,²⁷ and may have been an original work; but it seems more reasonable to assume that it was a copy of the famous treatise on the training of princes by Aegidius of Colonna, who spent the later years of his life in France and died at Avignon in 1316. When Robert himself was crowned at Avignon in 1309, his elder son, Charles, was eleven years of age, and the younger, Lewis, was nine. Robert may have heard the fame of Egidio's treatise and determined to bring up his sons according to its precepts. But by the time the book was bound and delivered to him in October, 1310, the younger son was dead; and even Charles, though he received the title, "Duke of Calabria," did not live to succeed his father on the throne.

Some of the devotional and liturgical books, too, are intimately connected with the personal history of the royal family. The work listed as "*De Sancta Fide* in vulgari Gallico," was copied for the use of the Duke of Calabria and presented to him by the king²⁸ when he was about eighteen years of age, shortly before his marriage to Catherine of Austria. The Book of Hours containing the *Memoria Passionis Christi*, as we have already seen, was copied and illuminated for the young duke during the brief period when he was lord of Florence. He died of a fever in Naples a year and a half after the book was finished; so he did not have long to enjoy its beauty. The *Officium Memorie Passionis Christi*, acquired at the same time as the Book of Hours,²⁹ must have had special interest for King Robert because it was composed by Pope John XXII, with whom Robert had been well acquainted at Avignon in the years 1319-1324. The breviary and the missal which Robert had copied in 1332 for use in the royal chapel³⁰ were perhaps intended to take the place of the older service books that Charles I had counted among his treasures fifty years before. The *Liber Rossarii*, by Dominus Sparanus de Baro, purchased in 1332, and the book *De Fructibus Penitentie*, copied in 1335,³¹ may have been used in the king's private devotions.

The list of acquisitions also includes a large number of theological works, which link up interestingly with the history of the royal family and of the University of Naples. The university in Fred-

²⁷ Barone 11.19.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 11.185.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 11.419.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 11.430.

³¹ *Ibid.* 11.425, 583.

erick's time had not measured up to the Emperor's ideal, and after "reformations" by Frederick himself and by his son Manfred it was finally raised to a position of dignity by Charles I, who invited distinguished French professors to join the faculty, tried to attract students from Paris and Orléans, and called the most illustrious graduate of the university, Thomas Aquinas, now "Doctor Angelicus" and professor at the University of Paris, back to Naples to lecture on philosophy. Charles II purchased the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas, at a price of fifteen ounces of gold, through the prior of the Dominican convent of Aversa, for the use of his second son Louis, Robert's older brother, who entered the order of the Frati Minori and later became Bishop of Toulouse.³² Robert added to the royal library a large number of Biblical texts, theological treatises, and commentaries: the Book of Nahum the Prophet and the Epistles of Saint Paul; the Acts of the Apostles, with the glosses of Frater Augustinus, and the notes by the same Augustinus on the Gospels and on the Epistles of Saint Paul; the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti* and a book on the "historical allegories" of both Testaments; the Biblical *tabulae* already mentioned; a commentary of Cardinal Bruno on the Apocalypse; the *De Trinitate* of Boethius; the *Moralia* of Gregory; and the treatise *De Spiritu et Anima* ascribed to Saint Augustine, as well as genuine works of Augustine.³³ The *Sermones Regii*, copied in 1332, were presumably discourses by Robert himself; these were supplemented in 1337 by *Sermones* copied "ad opus Regium," and in 1338 by the purchase of a volume *Certorum Sermonum tam Dominicalium quam Sacroralium (sic)*.³⁴ After reading these titles one finds a special meaning in the words which Dante puts into the mouth of the deceased eldest son of Charles I, Charles Martel:

Ma voi torcete alla religione
Tal che fu nato a cingersi la spada,
E fate re di tal ch'è da sermone.³⁵

The records of Charles I mention a payment to a scribe in May, 1282, for copying a volume of *Cronica*. This volume is still extant, as MS lat. 5005A of the Bibliothèque Nationale, and bears un-

³² Minieri Riccio 7.60.

³³ Barone 11.425, 430, 429, 425, 583, 424, 425, 582, 19, 582, 594.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 11.426, 586; Minieri Riccio 8.208.

³⁵ *Paradiso* 8.145-147.

mistakable proof of its origin in the subscription: "De mandato magistri Johannis de Nigella, physici sanctissimi et invictissimi domini regis Karoli et cappellani domini pape, ego Angelus Alberti, notarius, hunc librum scripsi et exemplavi."³⁶ The addition of historical works to the library continues in Robert's reign with the *Gesta Francorum*, the table of Roman history, and a history of Robert Guiscard, all acquired in 1332, and certain other histories copied in 1341.³⁷

Another acquisition of considerable significance was the book *De Mirabilibus Magni Canis* (i.e., "About the Extraordinary Things in the Country of the Great Khan"), which King Robert had copied and illuminated in 1336. The story of the departure of Marco Polo, with his father and uncle, from Venice in 1291, of their journey to the country of Kublai Khān, and the strange and interesting sights that they saw before their return in 1295, had been written in 1298–1299, when Marco Polo was a prisoner of war in Genoa, by his fellow-prisoner Rustichello of Pisa, who used Polo's notes as the basis for a narrative in French. A "revised" version, likewise in French, was in the hands of a certain Thiébault, Seigneur de Cépoï, in 1307, and Latin and Italian versions were in existence before Polo's death in 1324; so Robert's copy of the work may have been in any one of these three languages. Polo's book, as modern students know, contained a vast store of information about the geography, natural resources, plants and animals, customs and religions of the faraway countries that the travelers had visited; but, because of the apparent extravagance of his statements, it was received by his contemporaries with general incredulity. The fact that Robert ordered a copy of the book to be made, and that he went to the additional expense of having it illuminated, bears testimony to the king's insight as well as to the breadth and keenness of his interests.³⁸

³⁶ Barone 10.657; L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1868–1881) 2.387. The scribe Angelus Alberti may be the same one who signed the name "Angelus de Marchia" to one section of the translation of *al-Hāwī*. See p. 150 *infra*. According to the catalogue of 1744, MS 5005A contains: (1) Gerardi de Fracheto, *Chronicum Lemovicense ab orbe condito ad annum Christi 1265*; (2) *Fragmentum historiae Aquitanicae*; (3) *Provinciale Romanae Ecclesiae*; (4) *Fragmentum de Sibyllis*.

³⁷ Barone 11.425, 426; Minieri Riccio 7.683f.; Barone 11.594.

³⁸ Barone 11.584; G. Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore [1927–1931]) 2.1056–1060; J. K. Wright, review of Benedetto's edition of Marco Polo's work, *Isis* 11 (1928) 135–138.

When the University of Naples was founded in 1224, it nominally included a faculty of medicine; but in 1231 such teaching of medicine as was done there was suppressed by a decree of Frederick II forbidding anyone to teach or to practice medicine in his domains unless he had been examined by the masters of Salerno and certain other officials of the realm. In 1253 an attempt was made to transfer all the faculties of Naples to Salerno; but in 1258 this experiment was given up, the school of medicine remained at Salerno, and the other faculties returned to Naples. Charles I made a definite attempt to encourage the teaching of medicine at Naples. He sent groups of learned men to the Orient to search for medical texts, secured a number of these, including the mammoth encyclopaedia of medical knowledge compiled by the tenth century Persian physician Rhazes under the title *al-Hâwî*, and had the texts translated from Arabic into Latin. Several items in the records of 1280–1282 deal with the translation and copying of these medical works. We find the name of the translator, the Jew Faracius (i.e., Farag or Faradsch Ben Salem, of the School of Salerno); also the information that the Arabic original of one work was kept among the king's treasures in the Castello dell'Uovo, and that special permission was necessary for the translator to remove it to his lodgings. Three treatises are mentioned by name: *al-Hâwî*; *De Expositionibus Vocabulorum seu Sinonimorum Simplicis Medicine*; and a *tacuinum* (i.e., a set of synoptic tables) *De Febribus*. From the detailed provisions that are made for the copying and illumination of these medical works, one would infer that King Charles I counted them among his chief treasures; and that the work of Rhazes, at least, continued to be so regarded is evident from the mention, in the inventory of 1316, of "two great books, bound in yellow silk, the first and second volume of *Alcay Rasi*." Through a stroke of fortune that seems almost miraculous, this treasure from the royal library has been preserved to our own day, as MS Lat. 6912 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It goes by its Latin title, *Liber Continens*, and is now bound in five volumes instead of two; but in all other respects it agrees perfectly with the records of the reign of Charles I, even to the name of the scribe, Angelus de Marchia, who copied one section of the manuscript. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the whole work is a set of three miniatures on the first folio, showing respectively: (1) the Prince of Tunis giving the Arabic text of *al-Hâwî* to three ambassadors of

King Charles; (2) the ambassadors presenting the book to Charles; and (3) Charles handing over the book to Farag (in the upper portion of the picture), and (in the lower part) Farag engaged in the work of translation.³⁹ In Robert's reign the interest in medicine continues, and we find Galen's *Liber de Omnibus Passionibus*, his *De Accidenti et Morbo*, *De Mala Complexione*, *De Simplici Medicina*, etc., as well as an *Antidotarium* (i.e., *Antidotarium*, perhaps the list of antidotes prepared by Nicholas of Salerno), a copy of the famous book of remedies called *Circa Instans*, which originated at Salerno, and one called *Multe Practice Salernitane*. There is also a book entitled *Difficiliora Physice*, and several other works on medicine.⁴⁰ Other works which seem to come under the general heading of science are a *Liber in Scientia Perspectiva* (presumably dealing with lenses and vision) and one called *Summe Questiones Naturales*.⁴¹

Some of the books on medicine may have come from the University of Bologna, where outstanding work in anatomy was being done in the early part of the fourteenth century. Certainly the influence of Bologna was strong in the other great field represented by the royal library at Naples, that of the law. These books fall into two groups: civil law, which had come down from Roman times; and canon law, for the government of the clergy, a large part of which consisted of the decretals of the popes and their interpretation. The writings on civil law include the *Summa* of one of the great teachers of the early thirteenth century, Azzo of Bologna, and certain works of Andrea of Isernia in Samnium, himself an important official of the Neapolitan court and an intimate friend of King Robert, as well as a professor at the University of Naples from 1289 until his death in 1316. Perhaps the work entitled *Boccardica* (i.e., *Brocardica*), a collection of general rules, especially those covering subjects on which there was some differ-

³⁹ Barone 10.424, 426, 427, 431, 657, note 3; 11.191; cf. Durrieu, *op. cit.* (see note 19); A. Castiglioni, "La Medicina ai Tempi e nell' Opera di Dante," *Archivio di Storia della Scienza* 3 (1922) 217, and the same author's *History of Medicine*, translated by E. B. Krumphaar (New York, 1941) 267-270, 329; G. Sarton, *op. cit.* (see note 38) 2.833f. The first two miniatures of the set of three are reproduced as Fig. 33 in *The Legacy of Israel*, edited by E. R. Bevan and C. Singer (Oxford, 1927), with an explanation of the figures which differs in some details from that given by Durrieu.

⁴⁰ Barone 11.582f., 584; Minieri Riccio 8.198. On the word *lacuinum* see L. Thorndike and G. Sarton in *Isis* 10 (1928) 489-493.

⁴¹ Barone 11.583, 430.

ence of opinion, also belongs under the heading of civil law.⁴² A great many more titles either in themselves suggest canon law, or are attached to the names of men known to be specialists in this field: a *Summa Aurea in Decretalibus*, probably the work of Henry, Bishop of Ostia, which, with other writings of his, was bequeathed at his death in 1271 to the University of Bologna; and other writings on the decretals and on special topics like marriage by such authorities as the Bohemian Damasus, who taught at the University of Bologna from 1210 to 1215; the great Master Tancred of Bologna, who lectured there between 1210 and 1234; Bernard of Parma, Canon of the Cathedral of Bologna and writer on canon law, who, at his death in 1263, was buried in the Cathedral beside Tancred; Goffredus of Trani in Apulia, who studied and taught at Bologna; Martinus, member of a distinguished family at Fano, who, after studying at Bologna, was made professor of law at the new university of Arezzo, and later taught at Modena; and the Spanish-born Garsia, who was *Doctor Decretorum* and one of the most highly esteemed lecturers on canon law at Bologna about 1277–1280.⁴³

Of classical texts we find only three, but all three suggest interesting problems: a quaternion *De Illustribus Viris*; a copy of Seneca (whether the tragedies or some of the prose works we do not know); and the decade of Livy, *De Bello Macedonico*.⁴⁴ The *De Viris Illustribus* of Nepos is not mentioned in any library catalogue until the latter part of the fifteenth century,⁴⁵ but it must have circulated widely before this, for numerous manuscripts are in existence—one, described as “saec. xii/xiii,” now at Wolfenbüttel, and others of later date in St. Gall, Munich, Paris, Rome, London, and Oxford. On the other hand, Jerome’s little treatise *De Viris Illustribus* was highly esteemed as a book of reference at this period, and it seems more likely that the quaternion written in November, 1335, was a copy of this work.

⁴² *Ibid.* 10.430; 11.594, 582. On Azzo and Andrea d’Isernia see F. C. von Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1850) 5.1–44; 6.488. On the word *Brocarda* see Savigny 5.242. The Library of the Harvard Law School has recently added to its treasures one of the few examples of *Brocardica* in this country, a little volume probably published in Paris in 1498, in which the axioms, “collected from the whole body of civil and canon law” are alphabetically arranged.

⁴³ Barone, 11.10, 425, 582. On the various authors listed see J. F. von Schulte, *Die Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des canonischen Rechts* (Stuttgart, 1875) 1.194–196, 199–205; 2.88–91, 114–117, 123–129, 138–139, 160–162.

⁴⁴ Minieri Riccio 8.25; Barone 11.583, 431, 594.

⁴⁵ M. Manitius, *Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen* (Leipzig, 1935) 42.

Seneca's epistles and moral essays are found in catalogues from the ninth century on; the *Quaestiones Naturales* and the *Apocolocyntosis* appear less frequently than the other prose writings; the tragedies figure for the first time in a catalogue of Pomposa in 1093, and are not common until the first half of the fourteenth century. As one reads the catalogue lists, one is struck by the large number of texts of Seneca in French libraries, particularly at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century. The list of the papal library at Avignon is especially notable, including various copies of the epistles, essays, and tragedies, a text of the *Quaestiones Naturales*, and also the commentary which the English Dominican Nicholas Trevet had written on the tragedies. We know that an interest in Seneca's plays spread from Avignon to northern Italy, and it is possible that the copy of Seneca which was made for King Robert had a French archetype.⁴⁶

Readers of Livy in the early fourteenth century, including Trevet in England and Dante in Italy, knew only Livy's stories of early Rome in the first decade, and the history of the war with Hannibal in the third. A manuscript of the fourth decade, dealing with the Macedonian War, which had been taken from Piacenza by Otto III between 996 and 1001, and had been given to the Cathedral library of Bamberg by Henry II, presumably at the institution of the bishopric in 1007, had been copied (probably twice) in the eleventh century;⁴⁷ but apparently neither the original manuscript nor the copies had been read by anyone since 1100. On December 23, 1332, this decade of Livy suddenly appears among the works copied for King Robert of Naples, and within a few years it is well known to scholars in Italy. Perhaps some day we shall be able to trace out the route by which it came to Naples and King Robert's library.

In the library of the kings of Naples, therefore, various currents met: cultural and religious influences from their native France, most strikingly evident in the copying of the book *De Sancta Fide* in French; the artistic gifts of the people of Germany and Italy, as they found expression in miniatures and decorative capitals; the

⁴⁶ See Manitius, *op. cit.* (see note 45) 90-102; B. L. Ullman, "Some Aspects of the Origin of Italian Humanism," *PhQ* 20 (1941) 215f.; R. J. Dean, "Ms. Bodleian 292 and the Canon of Trevet's Works," *Speculum* 17 (1942) 243-249. On pp. 245f. Miss Dean mentions Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus* as the source of an item about Seneca.

⁴⁷ See Traube in *AB* 24 (1909) 1-14; Manitius, *op. cit.* (see note 45) 73-76.

scientific interests of the Arab conquerors of Sicily and Southern Italy, carried on by the School of Salerno and later by the University of Bologna; the detailed study of canon and civil law, as pursued by great teachers at Bologna and other Italian centers; the classical tradition which had been preserved in France and Germany, and which now, after many years, came back to the land of its origin. In fitting together these various elements, the kings seem to have set themselves deliberately to make Naples a notable intellectual center; and, in particular, King Robert seems to have aimed to build up in his own city a university that should rival Bologna in the study of medicine and the teaching of civil and canon law.⁴⁸

In order to further these purposes, King Robert invited to Naples many notable men of his time, among them Petrarch, whom he had known at Avignon; the Genoese astronomer Andalò di Negro; the distinguished scholar Paolo da Perugia, who arrived in Naples in 1332 and became the king's librarian; and Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro, who was the author of commentaries on Seneca and other classical authors, had been professor at the University of Paris from 1328, and came to Naples as Professor of Canon Law in 1338.⁴⁹

To Paolo and Dionigi a large part of the building up of the library was undoubtedly due. The text of Livy was copied in the year of Paolo's arrival, and all the important additions of King Robert's reign in the fields of history, law, and medicine, occurred during the period of his librarianship. Paolo's activity alone would have been sufficient to account for the copying of the manuscript of Seneca in 1341, but Dionigi's interest in Seneca's writings probably furnished an additional reason for the acquisition of the text.

It is possible that the library which the kings of Naples collected had an even more far-reaching influence on one of the great figures of the Italian Renaissance, Giovanni Boccaccio. Boccaccio was in Naples from 1328 to 1340, when he himself was between the ages of fifteen and twenty-seven; he studied astronomy under Andalò di

⁴⁸ The records of Robert's reign mention numerous payments to professors of medicine and law; e.g., Barone 11.180f., 194, 196, 415, 593.

⁴⁹ On Paolo see Boccaccio, *De Genealogia Deorum* 15.6, and N. F. Faraglia, "Barbato da Sulmona e gli Uomini di Lettere della Corte di Roberto d'Angiò," in *Archivio stor. ital.*, Ser. 5, vol. 3 (1889) 313-326. On Dionigi see A. Della Torre, *La Giovinezza di G. Boccaccio* (Città di Castello, 1905) 145-147, 323-325; and E. H. Wilkins, "The Dates of Three Letters of Petrarch," *Speculum* 16 (1941) 485f.

Negro, and was an enthusiastic follower of Paolo da Perugia, especially in the latter's studies in mythology; he knew King Robert and may have had access to books in the royal library. His own monumental work on mythology, called *De Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*, makes use of just such genealogical trees as the *tabulae* of the descendants of Adam and Noah and the sons of Israel that were drawn for King Robert: and in one of the final chapters of this great work Boccaccio speaks of the vast store of books that readers may consult, using phrases which might almost serve as an index to the contents of the royal library: texts of civil and canon law, with the commentaries written on them by learned men; the works of the philosophers, likewise annotated; writings on medicine, with notes that clear up all difficulties; the Sacred Scriptures and their interpretation.⁵⁰ To this library and the scholars connected with it Boccaccio may have owed his early interest in literature; to Boccaccio and his friend Petrarch much of the intellectual awakening that we call the Revival of Learning is due.

⁵⁰ *Gen. Deor.* 15.6.