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Researching the origin of Perugia's Public Library (1582/1623) before and after *Material Evidence in Incunabula*

Introduction

Among the many research topics that the database *Material Evidence in Incunabula* (MEI) can help to investigate, the reconstruction of historical libraries presently dispersed is certainly one of its most powerful outcomes.[2] Libraries around Europe and the United States merge into MEI the description of the copy specific features of their incunabula, including the recording of former ownership. This way, the *disiecta membra* of historical collections whose whereabouts are unknown to the libraries that today host fragments of such collections, are being brought together by a search engine. The multiple locations of a dispersed collection are immediately visible in the new MEI thanks to the default facets presentation by 'Present Holding Institution'. To offer just one example, by typing "San Giorgio Maggiore" or "Georgius maior" in the free text search, MEI will display the 78 copies so far recorded as coming from the Benedictine monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. They are now preserved in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria (33 copies), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (8 copies), Chantilly, Musée Condé (2 copies), Manchester, John Rylands Library (2 copies).[3] Individual copies are found in Brescia Queriniana, Locarno

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[1] C. Dondi is responsible for parts one and three, MA. Panzanelli Fratoni for part two. We thank Martin Davies for reading through this article.

[2] MEI is a database specifically designed to record and search the material evidence (copy specific, post-production evidence, or provenance information) of 15th-century printed books: ownership, decoration, binding, manuscript annotations, stamps, prices, etc. MEI is linked to the *Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue* (ISTC), provided by the British Library http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/istc/, from which it derives the bibliographical records, and it allows the user to combine searches of bibliographical records (extracted from ISTC) with copy specific records. Its first creation, in 2009, was funded by the British Academy, and further development (part of the 15cBOOKTRADE project) is being funded by a five-year ERC grant awarded to Cristina Dondi in 2013; http://15cbooktrade.ox.ac.uk. MEI is hosted by CERL, and freely available on its website. Over 160 libraries from nine different countries in Europe and the United States are contributing data, mostly from book in hand examination, though data from printed catalogues are also being entered. An up-to-date list of contributing libraries, of the editors who created the records, funding received, training provided, papers and articles delivered and published, can be found on the MEI pages of the CERL website: https://www.cerl.org/resources/MEI/main. In October 2015 some 5,140 editions were present in MEI in multiple copies, precisely 10,472 of them. Some 26,615 blocks of provenance have been generated, including 8,613 former owners and 8,354 former corporate owners.

[3] Count of 31 January 2016. However, other incunabula from San Giorgio Maggiore are known to survive in other libraries and records will be progressively created in MEI.

Madonna del Sasso, London British Library, Milan Trivulziana, Padua Seminario Vescovile, Treviso Capitolare, Venice Marciana, and one copy in the trade.[4] Also listed are 25 'Historical copies' which we know were part of the books taken to Padua in 1806, after the dissolution of the monastery, and gathered in the ex monastery of Sant'Anna, as recorded by two documents at the University Library of Padua: *Catalogo generale, ossia riunione di tutti gli elenchi de' libri scelti dalle biblioteche delle corporazioni regolari concentrate nel già convento di S. Anna di Padova. Catalogo de' libri scelti dalla libraria de' padri benedettini di San Giorgio Maggiore di Venezia* (Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2250, pp. 101-152); *Catalogo de' libri di qualche pregio separati da quelli di scarto rimasti al Demanio dopo la scelta fatta dai Delegati del cessato Governo Italico per la Pubblica Istruzione* (Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2252, pp. 2-22). None of these 25 books has yet been located. Some are probably lost forever, others, however, surely sit on the shelves of European and American public libraries, unrecognised as coming from the book collection of San Giorgio Maggiore of Venice because not yet catalogued with attention to their copy specific features. As book in hand cataloguing progresses, and particularly if this is done in MEI, more historical copies will be matched with physical copies now surviving in libraries. Another option is the use of the browser to search the Index of Owners.[5]

Let us not delude ourselves into thinking that tracking dispersed libraries is now a simple exercise. The ability of the search engine to capture such data is only the end of a very long process which begins with the willingness of an institution to survey its collections, the

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[4] MEI offers the possibility of recording copies sold by booksellers or at auction, and of easily tracking the movements of book. For example, a copy of the Livy printed in Venice by Vindelinus de Spira in 1470 and owned by the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore was later owned by Lord Monson (1796–1862) and by his heirs sold through Sotheby in 2013, as attested by the catalogue, *Music and Continental Books and Manuscripts*, London 5-6 June 2013, lot 209. This copy is recorded in MEI no. 00200404, Holding Institution: Trade Copy (undefined); Shelfmark: Sotheby, London, 2013, lot 209. Its presence at Sotheby's is also given as the last block of provenance of the book. If the volume re-emerges in a public library or in a private collection whose owner agrees to share information in MEI, Holding Institution and Shelfmark will be changed to the current one, but the Sotheby's block of provenance will be there to witness that stage in the life and circulation of this specific copy of Livy.

[5] This is a new feature of the new MEI. In line with other large indexes of provenance of incunabula, such as that of *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library* (=Bod-inc), ed. A. Coates, K. Jensen, C. Dondi, B. Wagner, and H. Dixon, with the assistance of C. White and E. Mathew; blockbooks by N. Palmer, and an inventory of Hebrew incunabula by S. Schaeper, 6 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), and Paul Needham's *Index Possessorum Incunabulorum* (=IPI) available on the CERL website at http://ipi.cerl.org/cgi-bin/search, personal names present the form, "surname, name, sigla of religious order" (e.g., Hoffmaister, Johannes, OSA); institutions are listed under the name of the city, then of the order, then of the dedication, and followed by the religious sigla (e.g., Venezia, Benedettini, S. Georgius Maior, OSB). It is planned that both indexes will be merged into MEI in the near future.

ability of the cataloguer, and the understanding of the value of converging data in an international database like MEI.

Essential as it is to get well acquainted with the content of our historical collections, we know that they are but part of a larger body, the one which can still be identified. Documentary evidence recording the survey of libraries at different times through their history offers essential complementary information on the content and fuller extent of historical collections: it was therefore necessary to devise a system to bring documentary and physical evidence together.[6] The case study in this article will present the MEI solution. MEI introduced an innovative approach to the recording of provenance: the application of geographical (GeoNames) and temporal indicators applied to every element of provenance, to track the movement of books over space and time during their 500 years of life. Now we are in a position to visualise the movement of thousands of books, and to understand patterns and trends in the use and survival of early printed books.[7]

This innovative approach was devised by Cristina Dondi and developed by Alex Jahnke back in 2009 to answer the need to use not only conventional provenance to retrace the history of books (such as former owners' various marks) but physical evidence too: a German binding of the 16th century, French illumination or Italian manuscript annotations of the 15th century, or an English purchase note recording a price in the 19th century.[8] We are pleased to be seeing this concept and model now implemented in similar contexts.

In MEI we have dozens of fields pertaining to provenance. We can single out distinctive copy features (variant, cancellans/cancellandum, parts of text in facsimile, parts of text in manuscript, manuscript signatures, absence of any rubrication, chain-holes); the type of provenance evidence is classified according to inscriptions, coats of arms, genealogical tables, supralibros, exlibris, mottos, emblems, stamps, fire stamps, binding, decoration,

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[6] See the article and references of Flavia Bruni in this volume, and the articles collected in *Virtual visits to lost libraries: reconstruction of and access to dispersed collections*. Papers presented on 5 November 2010 at the CERL Seminar hosted by the Royal Library of Denmark, Copenhagen, ed. by I. Boserup and D.J. Shaw, London, 2011 (CERL Papers, vol. 11).

[7] Professor Min Chen and Dr Simon Walton of the Oxford e-Research Centre are applying scientific visualisation techniques to our MEI provenance data, as part of the 15cBOOKTRADE project.

[8] Alex Jahnke of Data Conversion Group (DCG) at the University of Göttingen. DCG created and supports many of CERL's digital resources.

manuscript notes, bibliographical evidence, shelfmark, accession mark, deaccession mark, and seller's mark/note.

The method of acquisition can be distinguished as purchase, donation, bequest, exchange, institutional transfer, dedication copy, consignment, requisition, theft.

Each former owner is further defined in his/her gender, status (lay, religious), and profession. Decoration can be searched as illustration coloured in by hand, illumination, ornamental letters, coat of arms, rubrication, partial rubrication, pen trials, illustration stamped in. Manuscript annotations can be studied in the categories of corrections, completions, supplements, extraction of keywords, collation,[9] translation, structuring the text, comments, censorship, reading marks, drawings, corrections/notes by the printer, lecture notes, later rubrication, autographs. All of them can then be further described in their frequency and location in the book.

All MEI fields have been devised with clear historical questions in mind, questions which, until now, we were unable to answer. Now we can begin to address them. Just to offer one example: scholars of books and libraries are aware of the tremendous impact that the secularisation of religious institutions had on the dispersal and formation of libraries. Historical collections in Europe and the United States would not be what they are today without the vast mobility of books triggered by national policies with regard to religious institutions and their libraries. In MEI we are finally capturing the extent of the phenomenon: to date, some 1,569 copies in MEI have been recorded with the descriptor "institutional transfer".

As mentioned above, in MEI we also devised a simple and effective way to capture "Historical copies", that is copies which we know, from library catalogues or inventories, existed until a certain time in a certain place, but are now lost, either destroyed, or more likely in some library where they have not been identified as referring to that former ownership yet. In the lucky event of the identification of a "Historical copy" with a physical copy, all we have to do is replace "Historical copy" in the "Holding Institution" field, with the name of the library now holding that copy, and provide its shelfmark. At present "Historical copies" from the

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[9] In its philological sense of comparison with other texts.

libraries of Prospero Podiani of Perugia, of the Benedictines of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice, and of Francesco Maria II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, are being gathered in MEI.

The case study: Perugia's Public Library (*Biblioteca Augusta*) and its former collection of incunabula

The Biblioteca Augusta of Perugia takes its origin from a private collection formed in the second half of the 16th century by a citizen of that town, Prospero Podiani. Podiani was born around 1535 to a family of professionals and small landowners from a village in the Perugian countryside, Poggio Aquilone. From there – 'de Podio', whence the family name derives – the notary Paolo di Simone moved to Perugia towards the end of the 15th century, and started a family that was soon well integrated into the social life of the city.[10] We know very little about Prospero's education, but there is evidence that he deeply valued belonging to a family that had been active in the government of the town and in the university. Personal relationships with scholars from the local university and the newly founded school of Jesuits were also important.

The project of founding a library was conceived by Podiani as a way to turn his passion for books into a job, so as to make the most of his knowledge of the booktrade. The proposal for the library was accepted in 1582, when a long contract was included among the official reports of the city council, to establish the donation and the management of the future public library.[11] Podiani was expected to donate all the books he owned at the time, about 7,500 volumes, as well as all the books that he acquired in the future. Delays occurred in the building of the hall of the library, which was only completed around 1590, when Podiani

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[10] The physician Lucalberto (1474–1552), and his son Mario (1501–1583) became well known as scholars, and were also engaged in the writing of public speeches and documents for the chancery of the Commune. Updated information on Mario, as well as Prospero, will soon be available in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* two entries prepared by Paolo Vian, see http://www.treccani.it/biografico/elenco_voci/p. See also G.B. Vermiglioli, *Biografie degli scrittori perugini e notizia delle opere loro* (Perugia 1828-29), II, pp. 229-233 on Lucalberto, 233-237 on Mario, and 237-244 on Prospero.

[11] M.A. Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Prospero Podiani (1535–1615) and the Foundation of a City Library', *Italian Studies Library Group Bulletin*, 10/11 (2012), pp. 36-42. The foundation document is available in G. Cecchini, 'L'origine della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia*, 29 (1961), pp. 8-15. The same author wrote the first history of the library, G. Cecchini, *La Biblioteca Augusta del Comune di Perugia* (Roma 1978).

personally took care of the works.[12] Podiani slowly lost all confidence in the city governors, and consequently refused to deliver the catalogue, and the library with it; he even tried to revoke the donation. Meanwhile, he continued to treat the library as if it was still his own collection. This did not imply that the library was closed; on the contrary, many people had access to the collection, as more than 200 letters and borrowing ledgers testify. The library was actually in use, though not officially open.[13]

This situation came to an end in the autumn of 1615: on October 17 the city governors, worried about losing the library, which Podiani had meanwhile moved from the Palazzo pubblico to a monastery, sent an official embassy to visit him so as to have the donation confirmed. One month later, on 16 November 1615, Podiani died.

The Biblioteca Augusta in 1617

A new phase in the history of the Biblioteca Augusta started in June 1617, when Fulvio Mariottelli, a learned and erudite priest, was appointed to rearrange the library, starting with a survey of the books recovered from the monastery and brought back into the Palazzo pubblico. The result of Mariottelli's work was a detailed inventory of the library, which is still preserved in the Biblioteca Augusta as MS 3082.[14] Podiani's name does not appear in the title of the inventory, most probably in revenge for the way the city governors had finally taken possession of the library. Mariottelli, however, who had been on good terms with Podiani, wished to make it clear that the latter was responsible for the creation of that library: as soon as he had delivered the inventory, he published a report on the work he had done and put the name of Podiani in the title.[15] Along with praise of the great value of the

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[12] Documents testify of the payments that he made in favour of the artists involved in the decoration of the hall: two frescoes representing Parnassus and Christ among the doctors; in both cases Podiani's name appears in the stones in the middle of the frescoes.

[13] M.A. Panzanelli Fratoni, *Tracce di circolazione del libro a Perugia tra Cinque e Seicento,* in *Biblioteche nobiliari e circolazione del libro tra Settecento e Ottocento*, Proceedings of the Conference, Perugia, Palazzo Sorbello, 29-30 June 2001, ed. by G. Tortorelli (Bologna 2002), pp. 263-325.

[14] Fulvio Mariottelli, *Inventario dei libri della libraria fatto mentre la libraria stava nel Palazzo al tempo del Magistrato del S.r Carlo Baglione e Colleghi dell'anno 1617*, Biblioteca Augusta, Perugia (henceforth BAP), Ms. 3082.

[15] *Raggvaglio di Fuluio Mariottelli intorno alla Libraria che fù del Sig. Prospero Podiani, & si disegna aprire in detta Città ad vniuersal benefitio degli Studiosi.* In Perugia, Appresso Marco Naccarini, il primo di Gennaro 1618. It is worth noting that the work was addressed to the chief of the governors, his colleagues and to all citizens of the town: "All'Illustrissimo et eccellentissimo Signore il Signor Bartolomeo del Monte Marchese di Piano, Capo del Magistrato de i Diece, & à i SS. Suoi Colleghi & à gli altri Nobili, & Popolari di Perugia".

library as a public good, the report was conceived to explain its arrangement and to give information on the collections as a complement to the inventory.

The inventory consists of unusually detailed descriptions: for each item Mariottelli provided the name of the author, an abridged title, the language, the place and year of printing, and the format. On the other hand, the majority of the books were described before being rearranged on the shelves: the lists of items were therefore determined by the order of the 80 chests that were used to bring the books back to the Palazzo pubblico. Inside the chests, the books were listed according to their format: "Books of the first chest in folio [...] in quarto" and so on.[16] Some 7,570 items were listed in 1617 under the supervision of Fulvio Mariottelli, who added his subscription and the official declaration that he took delivery of all the books listed in the document. Three years later ninety items were added consisting of books that had been given back by various people.[17] Altogether the document lists 7,659 items, including descriptions of many items grouped together, such as 260 'pieces of manuscripts' and five chests of unbound books which close the first list (fol. 135r). According to data provided by Mariottelli in his *Ragguaglio*, the Biblioteca Augusta consisted of about 10,000 volumes, 600 of which were manuscripts.

Before MEI

Given its degree of detail and precision, the manuscript BAP 3082 was chosen as the main source of information on the Biblioteca Augusta.[18] As the starting point for any further in-depth analysis, a complete transcription of the document was put into a spreadsheet, so as to have all relevant data in a homogeneous format, as follows:

| No.	Author	Subject (i.e. Title)	Language	Place of printing	Year of printing	Format
1	Bibia con la glosa ordinaria Nicolò de lira et Paolo Burgense et Mattia Toringio				1508	in folio
2	Giouan battista Pigna	Historia de Principi		Ferrara	1570	in folio

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[16] There were 6,741 items, followed by books found outside the chests which had already been placed in particular locations (Library A, 6742-6973; 'another shelf of the same library: 6974-7042 and 'Cupboard B': 7043-7570. A few years later, in 1620, other books were officially 'delivered to Ludovico Aureli [the librarian]'; they had been recovered from or given back by various people: 7571-7659.

[17] The books were delivered to Ludovico Aureli, the first Librarian of the Biblioteca Augusta when it officially opened in 1623 and most likely also the man who had cooperated with Mariottelli in the preparation of the inventory.

[18] M.A. Panzanelli Fratoni, *L'inventario di Fulvio Mariottelli della Biblioteca "Augusta" di Perugia*, Dissertation, School for Librarians and Archivists, University of Rome "La Sapienza", 2000.

		d'Este				
3	Nicolò de lira	Sopra i 4° Euangelij				in folio
4	Repertorio della sopradetta Bibia e sua glosa					in folio
5	Elio Dionisio	Tesoro di Cornocopia	Greco	Venetia	1496	in folio
6	Orationi di diuersi Greci in un tomo		Greco	Venetia	1513	in folio
7	Martian Cappella et	di Cose mathem(ati)che et Filologia	Latino		1500	in folio
8	Giouanni Boccaccio	Geonologia	Latino	Venetia	1494	in folio
9	fra Geraldo Oddone	sopra l'Etica di Aristotile	Latino	Brescia	1482	in folio
10	Siluio Italico con i Comenti di Pietro Marso et Lucano		Latino	Venetia	1520	in folio

Authors and places of printing have been identified, their names standardized, so as to produce various indexes and general statistics. Although based on imperfect information – descriptions of the inventory before the identification of the editions – these data provide an overall idea of the features of the library. Most of the books were printed during the middle decades of the 16th century, and came from all over Europe; yet the collection was constantly updated, as witnessed by the presence of a number of books printed as late as Podiani's last years. The quantity of editions printed in Northern Europe is also remarkable, considering that Catholic censorship had made their purchase very difficult and often also quite dangerous.
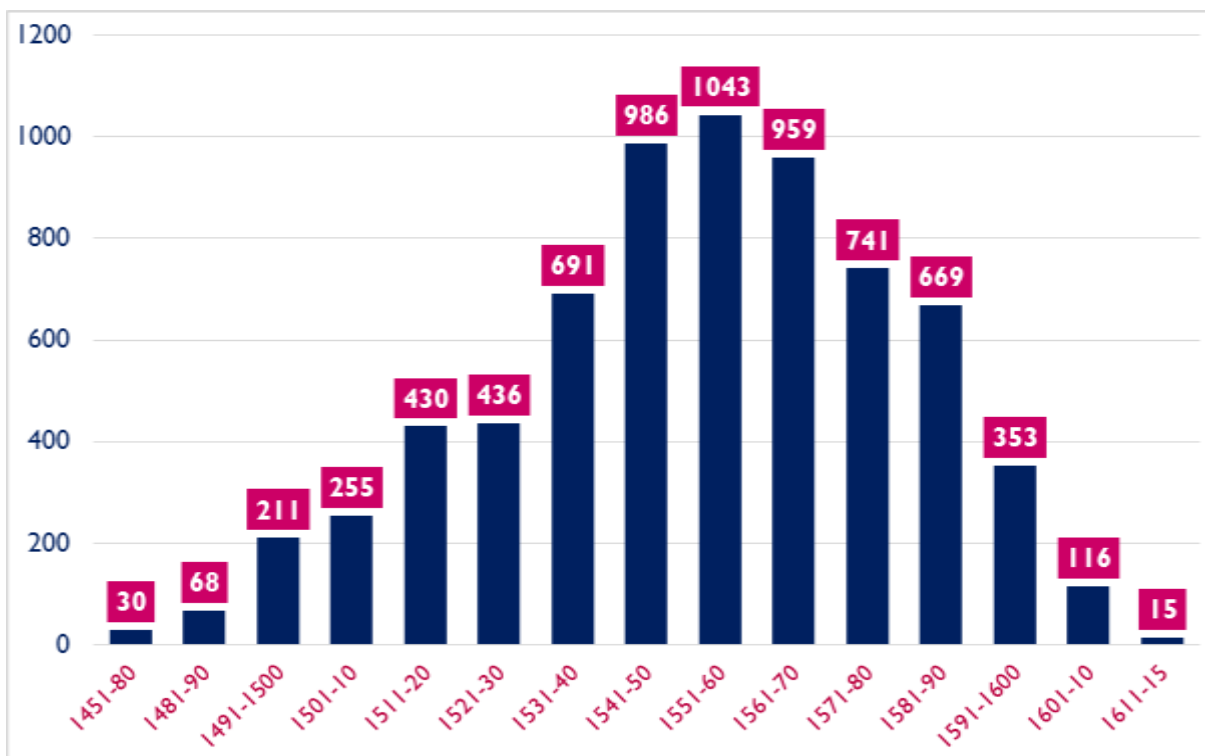
Number of editions per date of publication
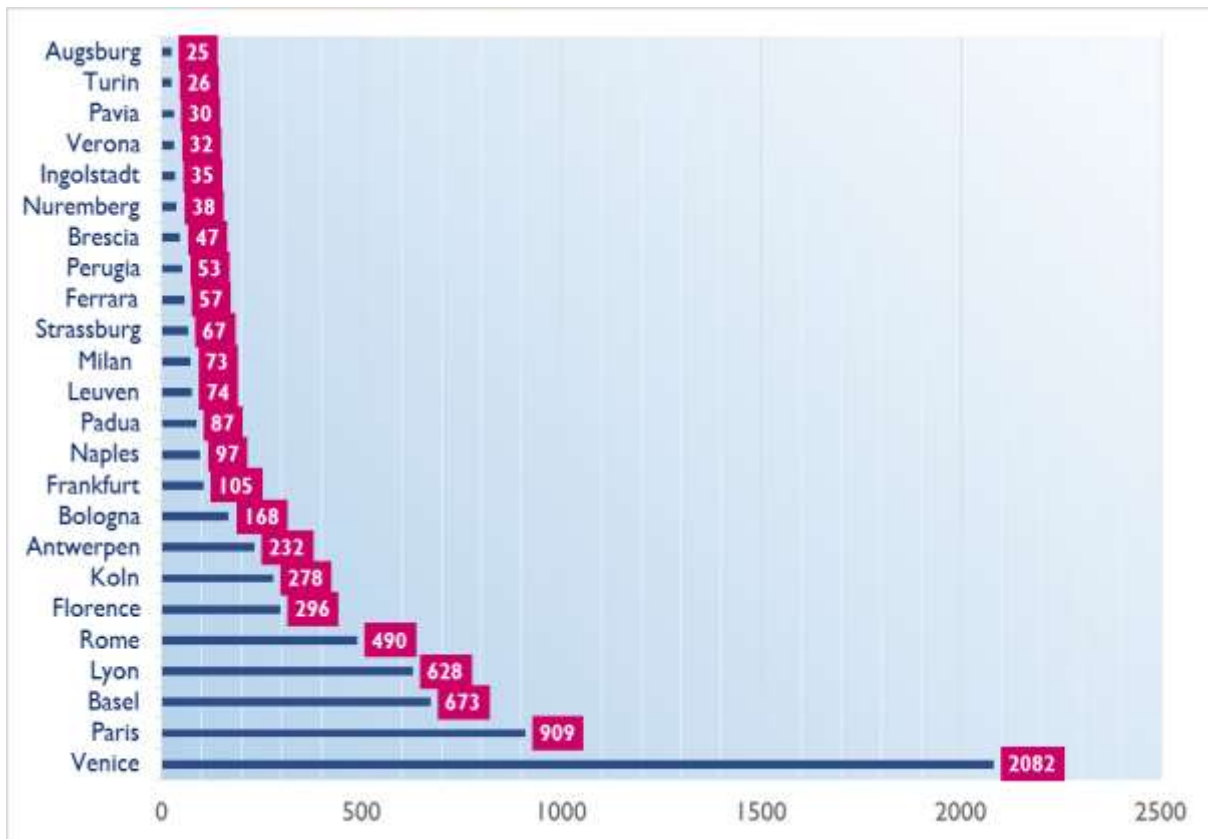
Number of editions per place of printing (listing only places with 25 editions or more)

Reports by contemporary observers confirm that Podiani's library was considered a remarkable collection: Angelo Rocca (1546–1620), the founder of the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome in 1604, wrote that Podiani deserved to be regarded as magnificent as a prince, for he manifested the nobility that is particularly required in the foundation of a library. In fact – Rocca added – Podiani had founded a library in Perugia (or, possibly, *the* Library of Perugia) to be admired for the many manuscripts and the choice of all the best editions printed up to those days.[19]

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[19] "Prosper Podianus, civis Perusinus, animi nobilitate ac magnitudine in hac praesertim re praestanda, hoc est in Bibliotheca instituenda, Principibus viris aetate nostra haudquaquam cedere debere iudicatur: extruxit enim Bibliothecam Perusiae mira manuscriptorum codicum, omniumque librorum, qui ad hanc usque diem in lucem prodierunt, varietate refertissimam" (Angelo Rocca, *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana a Sixto V translata*, Roma 1591, p. 396). Podiani's library is still numbered among the biggest libraries of its time: A. Nuovo, 'Private Libraries in Sixteenth-century Italy', in *Early Printed Books as Material Objects*, Proceedings of the Conference Organized by the IFLA Rare Books and Manuscript Section (Munich, 19-21 August 2009), ed. by B. Wagner and M. Reed (Berlin-New York 2010), pp. 229-240.

In view of the scale of the library and of the number of books listed in the inventory, preparatory studies centred on portions of the library, postponing exhaustive identification of all the editions described in the inventory. The attention focused on two aspects: first, how the library was used, that is works, editions, and copies mentioned in letters to and from Podiani, and in borrowing ledgers. Second, the presence of forbidden books as defined in the Roman Indexes published in the 16th century, that is in 1557, 1559, 1564, and 1596.[20] In both cases, cross-references were arranged between citations of editions found in external sources of information and the descriptions found in the inventory. From a conceptual point of view, the identification of prohibited books was pretty easy, since it relied on the use of the same categories: some or all editions, of some or all works, by a certain author; the identification of copies would follow, when they were still in the library:

Citation in the Inventory	Inv. no.	N.	AUTHOR	TITLE	year	Shelfmark	Catalogues Id.	Degree of matching	Index ibrorum Prohibitorum	ex libris
Abdia, Dell'Historia del Combattimento ap[ostolico, latino, Parigi, 1566, in 8	128	1	**ABDIAS vescovo di Babilonia (pseudo) <ca. 600?>**	Abdiae Babyloniae primi episcopi ... De historia certaminis apostolici, libri decem ... Parisiis : apud G. Guillard & Thomam Belot... 1566	1566		IT\ICCU\UBOE\028247	***	1559	

The identification of items mentioned in letters or in the ledgers, on the other hand, has been much more difficult, since it was not always possible to gather all bibliographic elements necessary for an undisputable identification. For this reason, a point-system was adopted, to express the different degrees of certainty in identification which existed between

[20] M.A. Panzanelli Fratoni, *Bibliofilia, biblioteche private e pubblica utilità. Il caso di Prospero Podiani*, PhD thesis (*Scienze bibliografiche, archivistiche, documentarie e per la conservazione e il restauro dei beni librari e archivistici*), University of Udine, 2006. Individual case studies have given occasion to offer a more extensive analysis of all available documents and to make cross-references between various sources of information: M.A. Panzanelli Fratoni, 'Notizie sulla formazione di Girolamo Tezi. Ragionando dei libri che egli ebbe in prestito da Prospero Podiani e delle origini della Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia', in: *Erudizione e antiquaria tra Perugia e Roma nel Seicento. A proposito delle* Aedes Barberinae *di Girolamo Tezi,* Proceedings of the Seminar, Perugia, 31 October 2008, *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 106 (2009) 2, pp. 171-242. *I Francescani e la ricerca bibliografica. La disponibilità di libri a Perugia nell'età della Controriforma*, in *Natura e scienza nella rivoluzione francescana*, ed. by L. Conti (Città di Castello 2013), pp. 263-293.

the citations in the letters and the descriptions in the inventory, and between the descriptions in the inventory and a known edition or, when possible, a copy. One point for the identification of the author; two points for the identification of the author and the work; three points for author, work, and edition; 4 points for author, work, edition, and copy:

Citation in letters	Citation in the Inventory	Inv. no.	Degree of matching	Cat. N	AUTHOR	TITLE	year	Shelfmark	Catalogues Id.	Certainty of identification: 1. Author, 2. Work/edition		Identified ed. and inv. description
la Thopica della Accademia Veneta	Nuoua esplicatione nella Topica d'Aristotile nel'Academia di Venetia, latino, Venetia 1559, in folio	1561	**	1	**ACADEMIA VENETA (**Aristoteles)**	Nova explanatio topicorum Aristotelis (In Academia Veneta, 1559.) 4°	1559	**ALD 588(1**	**British Library 003771997**	***	**	**

Overlapping might well occur between editions cited in the letters and the set of prohibited books. On 23 October 1600, Piergentile Gentili, a schoolmaster from Todi, a town 45 km south of Perugia, wrote a letter to Podiani to report complaints and requests from a couple of scholars with astronomical interests who were in the process of purchasing books from Podiani. He wrote: 'My Lord, I gave the books to Mr Corradi and to Mr Guazzaroni. They are grateful but there are some complaints: Leovitius is forbidden in the first class, and the cause are the "Tabulae Alfonsinae", because they are not correct'[21]. Other complaints pertained both to the content of the books and their condition. The letter ended with the mention of another author who had also appeared in the Indexes, although not in the first class, Girolamo Cardano.[22]

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[21] Cyprian von Leowitz († 1574) is the best known astronomer to have printed (in 1557) tables still based on the Alfonsine tables (i.e. the astronomical tables made by Alfonso King of Castile, 1221–1284): 'Le più note effemeridi post-copernicane ancora basate sulle tavole Alfonsine furono invece quelle stampate da Cyprianus Leovitius nel 1557': E. Proverbio, 'Francesco Giuntini e l'utilizzo delle tavole copernicane in Italia nel XVI secolo', in *La diffusione del copernicanesimo in Italia. 1543–1610*, ed. by M. Bucciantini and M. Torrini (Firenze 1997), pp. 37-55, p. 41.

[22] '... The tables by Regiomontanus are both misbound. Stadius [i.e. Jean Stade (1527–1579)] is imperfect because of the *Tabulae Bergenses*: Magini (Giovanni Antonio Magini, 1555–1617) shows the many mistakes made by him. Furthermore, it lacks several gatherings from the introduction and six years are missing at the end. All are in bad condition, clearly damaged by worms and rats, and extensively used. In light of all these defects, they want to know the final price – and they are still waiting for the Ptolemy with the commentary by Cardanus'. This is the original text: 'Molto Magnifico Signor mio Osservandissimo. Ho dato i libri al Sig. Pietro Corradi et al Guazzaronio, la rengratiano de la diligenza sua, ma dicono che vi sono queste imperfettioni: il Leovitio è proibito de la prima classe, et è per le Tavole Alfonsine che non son giuste. Le tavole del Monteregio sono in ambedue i tomi mal ligate, essendo la metà del primo, e la metà del 2° tomo in un tomo, e l'altre nell'altro. Lo

Altogether, 492 items of the inventory have been identified with about 450 prohibited books; and about 1,000 items have been identified in relation to authors and works quoted in the letters. Variation between the number of the inventory descriptions and of editions show that multiple copies of the same editions could be found in the library. On the other hand, a number of inventory descriptions turned out to refer to volumes of the same edition, as in the case of multi-volume works.

Research continued with the identification of copies and when direct examination was undertaken, important information was gathered, such as the percentage of copies bearing evidence of ownership. In fact, only 25 percent of the books have been found with stamps or other exlibris, out of a sample of about 200 copies, confirming the importance of a document such as the inventory and the choice to use it as the main source of information on the library. A major challenge, however, remained in knowing how best to arrange and use the document. The solution found (a spreadsheet where the main sequence is based on the list of identified editions) shows some definite weaknesses. Identified editions can be arranged only according to a single rationale at a time: alphabetical order, year of printing etc. And information about the readers and borrowers is scattered all over the catalogue: the use of the book is recorded but the 'habits' of readers cannot be perfectly appreciated.

After MEI

In MEI the recording of copies is based on a direct examination of the books as well as on external sources: catalogues and bibliographies pertain to the provenance type 'bibliographic evidence'. Moreover, as mentioned before, the system has been conceived in such a way that historical sources, such as the 1617 iinventory of Perugia's library, can be used to record a collection that existed at a certain time.

The system therefore appears to offer the best solution to the challenges that have just been discussed, at least as far as the incunabula are concerned, because MEI only records fifteenth-century editions.

Stadio è calcolato per le tavole Bergensi, che non son giuste, et il Magino fa un libro degli infiniti errori de lo Stadio. E' mutolo de molti e molti quinternetti ne le introduttioni e nel fine mancano 6 anni. Inoltre tutti tre sono mal conditionati, et offesi da le tarme, e sorci, dentro e fuora, e molto usati. Standoce tutte queste imperfettioni, desiderano sapere l'ultimo prezzo, e si aspetta il Tolomeo col Cardano'. (Perugia, Archivio di Stato, Archivio storico del Comune di Perugia, Misc. 103).

To begin with, all incunabula mentioned in the inventory were described as copies formerly belonging to Podiani and then as part of the foundation collection of the Biblioteca Augusta. An important result was soon reached: based on the historical source, a set of about 278 copies was identified with certainty as part of the former collection of incunabula of the Biblioteca Augusta. This set was then compared with the result of a census published in 1974, where no more than 60 books were listed. The census was in fact limited to books bearing the ownership note of Podiani (19 copies) or the stamps "August. Perus." and "Prosper. Podian." (41 copies).[23]

Of course the 1974 census has been added as another bibliographic reference, since it provides copy-specific information such as further provenance, bindings etc. The identification of copies currently in the library, however, has not been limited to the volumes listed in the census. As a matter of fact, the presence in the Biblioteca Augusta of a copy of a certain edition according to the ISTC record, has been considered as a meaningful pointer towards the identification of an edition of the inventory.

Although at least around 280 descriptions of the inventory seem to refer to incunabula, only copies of editions identified with a degree of certainty have been recorded in MEI, according to the following criteria:

1) "Certain" identification: descriptions that perfectly correspond to known editions: all given elements (author, title, place and year of printing, format) match.

2) "Uncertain" identification: descriptions that do not perfectly match because of one element, usually the format (4° instead of folio or viceversa). This can be considered a minor mistake, since this information in the inventory is not provided in each individual description but at the beginning of a set of books grouped together precisely by format. Moreover, it may be assumed that the author of the description did not work according to current standards.

3) 'Bibliographical merger': descriptions that do not match any known edition because they actually refer to books bound together: in Fig. 3 a scheme has been provided to show a case of a *Sammelband* perfectly matching an inventory description.

Beyond these three categories, descriptions apparently referring to incunabula (about 25 items) have been discarded. Possibly they might be identified if a direct examination of the

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[23] M. Pecugi Fop, 'Gli incunaboli del Fondo Podiani nella Biblioteca Augusta', *Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l'Umbria*, 71 (1974), pp. 99-116.

copies were to reveal the reason for the variance between the description and the copy in hand. In a case such as the *Sammelband* shown in Fig. 3, the identification has been facilitated by the preservation of the original arrangement of the copies. This is not always the case: a campaign of rearrangement of incunabula occurred in Perugia at the very beginning of the 19th century, in line with what was happening elsewhere. In Perugia the main exponent was Luigi Canali (1759–1841), a physician who later became rector of the university, and a deeply cultivated man who was also interested in the history of printing. Canali rearranged copies, especially the ones in small formats, according to their date of printing.[24] In doing so, he of course destroyed evidence of provenance, making it impossible to identify some of the descriptions found in the inventory. Fortunately, Canali did not always have the books rebound; moreover, when he removed a book from a *Sammelband*, he often recorded the fact by writing a note, such as the following: "Si è tolta l'edizione Speculum Ecclesiae Ugonis cardinalis del 1500" (*The edition of Hugo Cardinalis's* Speculum Ecclesiae *printed in 1500 has been removed from here*). This note can be read on the verso of the front flyleaf of the incunable INC 581, a very rare copy of: Sancho Perez Machuca, *Memoria de nuestra redención*, Valladolid 1497 (ISTC ip00274000, of which the only other recorded copy is at the Huntington Library). Luckily, the Perugia copy has preserved the original binding, along with a number of notes in red ink. The same notes have been found on the copy BAP INC 781, a copy of Hugo de Sancto Caro, *Expositio missae*, Salamanca 1500 (ISTC ih00528000), clearly the copy that had been removed from the original *Sammelband*. Placed again side by side, those two copies can now be easily identified with the inventory description no. 2452: 'Memoria della nostra Redentione, Spagnuolo, Salamanca, 1500, in 4'. At the time of writing, 278 copies have been recorded in MEI on the basis of the bibliographical sources mentioned above, i.e. the 1617 inventory and the 1974 census; some of the copies have been directly examined, in which case further provenance has been recorded. Out of these 278 copies, 61 copies are recorded in MEI as 'Historical copies', volumes that were in the Biblioteca Augusta in 1617 but are no longer there. They might have been alienated at any moment in the past: duplicates were likely sold very soon after the official opening of the public library (1623), as attested by a list of duplicates known to have been written a few years later. It is worth noting, however, that sometimes *all* the copiesof

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[24] See: C. Lippi Boncambi, 'Canali, Luigi', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani,* vol 17 (1974): http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-canali_(Dizionario-Biografico)/; G.B. Vermiglioli, *Cenni storici sulle antiche biblioteche di Perugia* (Perugia 1843), p. 63-64.

the same edition have been given away. One example: according to the inventory, Podiani owned multiple copies of the following edition: G. Burlaeus, *Expositio in Aristotelis Ethica*, Venice 1500 (ISTC ib01301000). Three descriptions of this edition have been found in the inventory, relating to three copies that have all disappeared (MEI no. 02013157, 02013158, 02013160). The recording in MEI of those three copies turns out to be, then, the only evidence of the distribution of a certain edition of a work, which in this case is highly relevant for the history of the teaching of philosophy.

Further evidence of the distribution of incunabula more than 100 years after their publication can be found in other documents, such as a letter sent from Foligno by a man called Natalitio Benedetti, just after the annual book fair. In the list of books that he attached to the letter – he was interested in buying them – two volumes can be identified as incunabula:

Letter	Inventory	MEI
S.to Agostino della Città de Dio volgare [in foglio]	S. Agostino, De Ciuitate Dei, uolgare, in Folio	02013102
Via inventrice delle Scienze [In Quarto]	Zaccaria Lilio, Dell'origine delle scienze, latino, Fiorenza, 1497, in 4	02012794

Podiani's habit of buying and selling books is almost certainly the reason why multiple copies of the same edition were in his library; it also explains why he did not mark all his books.

This is also the case with a volume described as 'Dionisio, De situ orbis con alcuni manuscritti, latino, in 4' [Inv. no. 7209, MAP BAP 3082, 129r], very likely referring to a *Sammelband* formed by two incunabula and a manuscript, which has turned out to be a very important copy (BAP INC 251-252: MEI 2013194, 2013478). It is a compilation of three geographical works: *De situ orbis* by Dionysius Periegetes (ed. Pomponius Laetus) [Rome: Besicken, about 1497]; ISTC id00259200), a *Cosmographia* by Pomponius Mela (Venice: Ratdolt, 1482; ISTC im00452000) and *De orbis divisione* by Antoninus Augustus, in a fifteenth-century manuscript, apparently not catalogued. Several elements show that it is a working copy: a very simple binding of plain parchment, notary style, holds together a manuscript and an imperfect copy of the *Cosmographia*, which may well have been used to work on the text of the work bound first. This copy, in fact, is very peculiar: a commentary

has been added in manuscript in the interleaved copy of the printed text. The same handwriting fills the margins and the space left blank by the printerusing red and brown ink. The commentary is not anonymous: on the contrary it starts with a title claiming that it was by Pomponius Laetus: 'POMPONII LAETI INTERPRETATIO IN DIONYSIUM'. The commentary was therefore a continuation of the work Laetus had done in editing the text of that very edition of Periegetes. What makes this copy particularly interesting is that it supplies a commentary by the very editor of the printed text, and in his own handwriting. Didier Marcotte has published some articles announcing the discovery of this copy, with important information on Laetus's geographical works.[25] As Marcotte has pointed out, the discovery brings to light what had been thought lost.[26] Further information may possibly emerge concerning the handwriting which filled the margins of the *Cosmographia*, which has still to be identified, as well as the scribe who copied the manuscript. As soon as new data are found, they will be recorded in MEI, where the history of this particular copy will be finally reconstructed by gathering together information scattered in historical catalogues, bibliographies and scholarly articles of all sorts. In doing so, each piece of information will be confirmed, refuted or clarified by the others. To offer a final example: the description of this book in the inventory does not provide secure evidence of Podiani's ownership, nor does the actual copy. A note about the manuscript, however, has been left by the historian and philologist Alfonso Chacón (1540–1599); it brings corroborating evidence: 'ANTONIUS Augustus, scripsit de Orbis divisione Librum, qui apud Prosperum Podianum manuscriptus extat.'[27]

Conclusion

In the opinion of the authors, the value of the database in supporting research on dispersed collections resides in its elasticity in hosting and accommodating information of various

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[25] D. Marcotte, 'Le commentaire de Leto à Denys le Périégète retrouvé', *Geographia Antiqua*, 19 (2010), p. 151-155; *Idem*, 'La géographie grecque à l'Accademia Romana', *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 2011, 2, p. 715-733: *Idem*, 'Un humaniste en son atelier. Les études grecques de Pomponio Leto, à la lumière d'un témoin nouveau', *Journal des savants* (2012), p. 121-164.
[26] 'Parks and Cranz put forward the hypothesis that Laetus would have written up notes on Dionysius while preparing his 1497–98 edition, but they also deplored the fact that these notes "seem not to have survived."', D. Marcotte, 'Dionysius Periegetes. Addenda et corrigenda', *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, 10 vols. (Washington 1960-2014), vol. 10, pp. 361-377, quotation from p. 369.
[27] *Bibliotheca libros et scriptores ferme cunctos ab initio mundi ad annum MDLXXXIII, Auctore et collectore F. Alfonso Ciaconio... primum in lucem prolata Parisiis MDCCXXIX* (Amstelodami et Lipsiae 1744), p. 181.

nature, bibliographical, physical, and documentary. And also in capturing and converting into historical evidence different levels of certainty, a sure inscription, but also manuscript annotations or a decoration style assigned palaeographically or art-historically to a certain area and period, an old shelfmark which can be meaningless in itself, but meaningful when set in a comparative environment. Finally, the possibility of continuously adding to a record to reflect the evolving life of the book. Our latest addition to the ongoing reconstruction of the Podiani collection comes from the trade: the electronic catalogue of the London bookseller Peter Harrington displays a copy of the 1499 *Etymologicum magnum graecum.*[28] Wherever the new location of the book, it is now captured as MEI 00200830. One of the objectives of the 15cBOOKTRADE Project[29] is the creation of visualisation software – already in its test version – which will map the complex history of these books, alone and as part of large groups, historical copies together with physical copies, for a better understanding of our historical collections: an understanding that brings together not only what we have but also what we have lost.

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[28] *Etymologicum Magnum Graecum* (Ed: Marcus Musurus). Add: Johannes Gregoropulus. Venice: Zacharias Callierges for Nicolaus Blastus and Anna Notaras, 8 July 1499 (ISTC ie00112000). Many thanks to Daniele Danesi who kindly alerted us to the presence of this copy on the market.

[29] On this project, see note 2.

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Suetonio ... quillo col ...		Latino	Venetia 1496
Paolo Diacono	Historia	Latino	
Avenne	Medicina	Latino	1482
Matteo Silvati	... d'Mediana	Latino	Petroia 1514
Plinio	... Con ...	Latino	Venetia 1519
Cicerone	Rettorica e ...	Latino	Venetia 1509
Giovanni Tortellio	orografia	Latino	
Giovanni Herculano	... Anatomia	Latino	Venetia 1497
Giovantonio Campano	Epist	Latino	
Vitruvio alla ...			
Marsilio Ficino	Della cristiana Religione	Latino	
Cesare Baronio	Annali ecclei	Latino	Roma 1596
Pietro Moltrano	Logica	Latino	Pavia 1483
Ovidio e ...	Metamorfosi	Latino	Parma 1505
Cristoforo Landino	questioni Camaldulense	Latino	
fra Filippo Bergomense	supplimento dele Cronide	Latino	Venetia 1490
Francesco Vicomercato	sopra la metafisica	Latino	Parigi 1556

In 8.° scoperta

Guglielmo Modiens	in lode di Virgilio	Latino	Perugia 1575
Eusebius	... ficatoria	Latino	
Giovanni Ferrerio	... signif.e delle Comete	Latino	per Parigi 1540

Prosografia degl huomini ill.i della Germania tom. 2. Lat. Basilea 1565. in fog.°

Le N.° di libri manuscritti posti in due Casse n.° doicento sessanta

Cinque Casse di libri stampati et scritti e per lo più assai diffusi

Io Giulio Mariotelli confesso havere in
mano mia consignati tutti i libri del
presente inventario con obligo di renderne
conto ad ogni richiesta de' ss.ri Sig.ri
et Deputati da ciò dal Consiglio.

ANTO.MANCI.   DOM.CAL.   MER.V. GEOR.V.

Argumenta Satyrarum Iuuenalis per Antóni-
um Mancinellum.   Cú quatuor cómētariis

Prima docet Satyræ causas: formamq; libelli.
Qui simulant curios satyra patuere Secunda.
Ex Vrbe umbritii digressum Tertia narrat
Quarta quidem crispinú odit: caluúq; neronē
Ganeo quæ tolerat parasitus Quinta notauit.
Sexta hæc insidas mulieres pandit abunde
Septima demonstrat Romam nil ferre poetis
Nobilis Octaua propria uirtute uocatur.
Turpia qui tolerant Nona carpuntur auari
Curæ hominum Decima rerúq; libido notanť
Arguit Vndecima uates conuiuia lauta
Bissena arguitur satyra captator auarus.
Tertia post decimam solatur damna dolentes.
In decima quarta dant praua exempla parêtes.
Numina diuersa ægypti penultima monstrat
Vltima militiæ fœlicis præmia narrat.

[917] Scoto, Questioni sopra i predicamenti, latino, Venetijs, 1491, Fol.

ISTC id00389000

Duns Scotus, Johannes. Quaestiones super Universalia Porphyrii. Add: Quaestiones super librum Praedicamentarum Aristotelis; Quaestiones super librum Perihermenias Aristotelis. Add: Antonius Andreae: Quaestiones super sex principia Gilberti Porretani; Johann Foxal: Commentum super Quaestionibus Scoti de Universalibus Porphyrii
Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 20 Dec. 1492

ISTC ia00584000

Andreae, Antonius. Quaestiones super XII libros Metaphysicae Aristotelis. Ed: Lucas de Subereto
Venice: Bonetus Locatellus, for Octavianus Scotus, 8 Aug. 1491

BAP, INC 553-554

MEI 02013186   MEI 02013187

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