

**Images of Royalty
in the Nineteenth
and Twentieth
Centuries.**

**Tradition
and Modernity
in Italy, Portugal
and Spain**

**Pierangelo Gentile
Leonardo Mineo
Miguel Metelo de Seixas
Isabel Corrêa da Silva
(eds.)**



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A Library for the Crown: Charles Albert of Savoy and the Foundation of the Biblioteca Reale of Turin

Maria Alessandra Panzanelli Fratoni

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1. Kings and libraries: an outline and the case study

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A fascinating compilation of essays was published a few years ago in order to provide insights into the main collections of the British Library. As might be expected, one chapter of the book was devoted entirely to the King's Library, and this included an essay which started with a sentence that could easily be adapted and applied to the subject of this paper: «When George III came to the throne in 1760 there was no royal library»¹.

A very similar situation did in fact present itself to Charles Albert when he acceded to the throne in 1831: there was no royal library in Turin, and the reason for this was much the same as the situation in Britain. Three years before George III became king, the old royal library collection had been donated to the recently founded British Museum (1753), which would go on to become one of the most important public cultural institutions in the Western world.

1. P.R. Harris, *The King's Library*, in G. Mandelbrote, B. Taylor (eds.), *Libraries within the Library. The Origins of the British Library's Printed Collections*, London, The British Library 2009, p. 296.

The private collection of the sovereigns now belonged to the nation.

It might therefore appear that a similar decision had been made by Victor Amadeus II of Savoy who, in around 1720, had made the reorganisation of the ducal collections an element of a great reformation of the State. The king had decided to split up the renowned library – known as the «Grande Galleria» – of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy and bestow most of it to the enhancement of the university library, which had been given royal status². The remaining collections were kept in the Royal Palace or the Royal Archives, where they provided a source of information for public officials or were shown to select groups of visitors.

The reforms made by Victor Amadeus II in fact involved a complete renewal of the city of Turin, in a project headed by the Sicilian architect Filippo Juvarra³. The urban landscape was redeveloped in the splendid late-Baroque style that still distinguishes much of it today, and its topography was restructured following a rational, aesthetically pleasing plan. An entire wing of the remodelled Royal Palace was built to house the secretariat and the Royal Archives, which were arranged systematically in a sequence of divisions, from documents on current affairs to historical sources.

A series of beautifully wainscoted rooms were prepared to host the archival documents and the library, and the latter can still be visited and admired as part of the cultural heritage preserved in the State Archives. The library was not given the status of an autonomous institution, nor was it recognised as a royal library, and so it was not until 1832 that a royal library – the «Biblioteca Realea» – was established, in accordance with the wishes of Charles Albert, who had become king of Sardinia the year before⁴.

2. In the meantime, the Grande Galleria had been devastated by two fires which destroyed the marvellous setting of the library, but parts of the collections were saved by being thrown out of the windows. The fires occurred in 1659 and 1667, around the time of the Great Fire of London (1666).

3. An enthralling exhibition on Juvarra was held recently, and a catalogue is available to the many who could not attend, especially because of the Covid-19 pandemic: F. Porticelli *et al.* (eds.), *Filippo Juvarra regista di corti e capitali. Dalla Sicilia al Piemonte all'Europa*, Turin, Centro Studi Piemontesi 2021; on the urban landscape: C. Roggero Bardelli, *Juvarra e la visione urbanistica*, pp. 333-338.

4. He did precisely what George III had done and, strange as it may seem, the foundation of the Royal Library of Turin happened at more or less the time of that George III's

In 2011 a great exhibition on the libraries of the Savoy was organised as part of the celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the unification of Italy, and a tome-like catalogue was published. The title of the chapter dedicated to the Biblioteca Reale significantly highlights how the library originated from private book-collecting and a desire to celebrate the glory of the dynasty: *La Biblioteca Reale: una “libreria” privata tra collezionismo e celebrazione dinastica*⁵. Interestingly, the relation between public interests and private book-collecting forms the focus of a recent volume in which David McKitterick (formerly Head Librarian of the Trinity College, Cambridge) considers the subject from a wide perspective: *The Invention of Rare Books: Private Interests and Public Memory, 1600-1840*⁶.

Rarity is a crucial factor: collectors, including book-collectors, search for and long to own rare objects. However – as McKitterick makes clear – rarity has not always meant the same thing nor always been clearly defined. This is particularly true of book-collecting where the concept can be applied to volumes that are deemed interesting, strange or in some way special, judgments that depend on prevailing tastes. As a matter of fact, from the early seventeenth to the nineteenth century the concept of rarity was constantly subjected to revision and was used to describe a wide range of objects.

In the meantime, the practice of private book-collecting formed the basis for the acquisition of the knowledge (and the development of the discipline) that underpinned the curation collections which, for well-known historical reasons, had gone from being private to public and now form

great collection was donated to the British Museum (ab. 1828). A wing was added to the museum to house it, a beautiful gallery which was home to the King’s Library until 1997, when the British Library moved from Bloomsbury to St Pancras. As expected, moving the King’s Library was not painless but the solution that was found (a floor-to-ceiling glass tower in the centre of the library’s main hall that makes the royal collections visible to all) is astonishingly communicative. On this: J. Goldfinch, *Moving the King’s Library. Argument and Sentiment 1825-1998*, in Mandelbrote, Taylor, *Libraries within the Library* cit., pp. 280-295.

5. C. Vitulo, E.A. Pollone, *La Biblioteca di Sua Maestà*, in I. Massabò Ricci *et al.* (eds.), *Il teatro di tutte le scienze e le arti. Raccogliere libri per coltivare idee in una capitale di età moderna. Torino 1559-1861*, Turin, Centro Studi Piemontesi *et al.* 2011, pp. 397-400.

6. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2018; the theme was originally explored and presented at the British Library in 2015 for the *Panizzi Lectures*.

the core of our contemporary national libraries. From this standpoint the Biblioteca Reale of Turin is a fascinating case study that enables us to make an in-depth analysis of the book-collecting practices of the Savoy kings in order to determine how and to what extent the royal library was, from the very start, an expedient adopted for the purpose of projecting and enhancing the image of the monarchy.

What kind of rarities were acquired for the royal library of Turin in its early days? Who made the choices and how much were these determined by the need to create a certain image of the monarchy? And, afterwards, did Charles Albert's successors follow in his footsteps or did they move in other directions?

With this paper I aim to offer an initial outline of the question, to show what sources are available, and to give examples by focusing on a particular section within the collections, that of the 'incunabula', in other words books printed in the early period after the introduction of printing. Probably more than any other part of the library, the incunabula provide good insight into the book-collecting practices and choices of the librarians in charge of acquisitions, in part because we now have tools (such as databases) that help to sharpen the heuristic skills of researchers by enhancing the documentary and evidential value of the books.

2. The incunabula collection

It is necessary to provide a brief survey of the collection of incunabula as an introduction to the overall quality of the material and the research paths that it might open up⁷.

The earliest such edition preserved in the Biblioteca Reale is a copy of Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* printed in Venice by

7. Data are taken from various sources: the ISTC (*Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue*, https://data.cerl.org/istc/_search), where copies of 185 editions are currently recorded for the Biblioteca Reale of Turin; a dedicated catalogue: G. Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*, Regione Piemonte, Turin 1987, 2nd revised ed.; from the books themselves, some of which I have examined in detail to start their recording in the database MEI - Material Evidence in Incunabula (https://data.cerl.org/mei/_search) on which more is said in the final pages of this article. Finally, data are also taken from a recent report provided by Giuseppina Mussari, Director of the Library, to whom I send sincere thanks. On the ISTC and MEI see: C. Dondi (ed.), *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450-1500. Fifty Years that Changed Europe*, Edizioni Ca' Foscari, Venice 2020, especially C. Dondi, *Introduction* (pp. 21-54) and J. Goldfinch, K. Limper-Herz, *The Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue (ISTC). Past, Present and Future* (pp. 899-909).

Vindelinus de Spira in 1469 (ISTC ip00786000), and the latest is a copy of Johannes de Sacrobosco's *Sphaera mundi* printed around 1500, also in Venice, at the expense of a certain Georgius de Monteferrato, *doctor artium et medicinae* (ISTC ij00421000), who also contributed a commentary to the volume. The connection with Monteferrato (also known as Georgius de Ferrariis)⁸ is what sets this book apart from the many other editions of the *Sphaera mundi* printed in the fifteenth century. The ISTC lists thirty-three editions printed before 1501, and dozens more were published in the sixteenth century. It is worth noting that Monteferrato's name appears only in the above named edition, the copies of which are therefore the only printed documents (at least for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) that provide information of him. There are more than a few copies of this edition, which is currently found in forty-two libraries⁹, but among the incunabula cases of *unica* (that is, editions of which there is only one extant copy) are not rare.

Sometimes it actually happens that *unica* are copies of the only printed edition of a text, which is otherwise either known only through manuscripts or not at all. In consequence, incunabula are often documents of primary importance for the study of texts or for the information they provide about obscure scholars (such as Georgius de Monteferrato) involved in book production. From this point of view, the collection of incunabula of the Biblioteca Reale of Turin is of the utmost importance for the number of extremely rare editions it contains. These are listed on the next few pages.

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3. Unica

The following fourteen editions, listed here in chronological order, are known today only through the copies preserved in the Biblioteca Reale:

Guarino Veronese, *Regulae grammaticales. Carmina differentialia. De diphthongis*. Pinerolo, Jacobus Rubeus, 1479, 4°, ISTC ig00534950 (INC. I.22)

Psalterium. Mondovì, Laurentius de Vivaldis, II.1480, 4°, ISTC ip01041600 (INC. I.28)

8. See Cerl Thesaurus: <https://data.cerl.org/thesaurus/cnp00523652>.

9. Last consultation of ISTC was on 14/10/2021.

- Psalterium*. Mondovì, Laurentius de Vivaldis, II.1480, 4°, ISTC ip01041700 (INC. I.29)
- Prospero d'Aquitania, *Epigrammata de virtutibus et vitiis*. Torino, Franciscus de Silva, 17.XII.1488, 4°, ISTC ip01020500 (INC. I.21)
- Prospero d'Aquitania, *Epigrammata de virtutibus et vitiis*. Torino, Nicolaus de Benedictis e Jacobinus Suigus, 1491, 4°, ISTC ip01020700 (INC. I.15)
- Pietro Paolo Vergerio (il Vecchio), *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis* [con:] Vita Vergerii. [e] Basilius Magnus, *De legendis antiquorum libris*. Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus, *De moribus puerorum*. Torino: Nicolaus de Benedictis e Jacobinus Suigus, [ca. 1494], 4°, ISTC iv00138200 (INC. I.24)
- Bonifacius Bugellanus, *Oratio ad Taurinatem Academiam*. [Torino, Nicolaus de Benedictis e Jacobinus Suigus, 1495], 4°, ISTC ib01276500 (INC. I.47.5)
- Ludovico Maria Sforza (Il Moro), *Decretum* [Cremona, Carolus de Darleriis, dopo il 17.III.1495], 2°, ISTC is00487130 (INC. II.29.3)
- Ludovico Maria Sforza (Il Moro), *Decretum circa testamentorum donationum et dotium instrumenta et nonnulla alia*. [Milano, Antonius Zarotus, dopo il 30.IV.1495], 2°, ISTC is00487150 (INC. II.29.2)
- La rotta di Serezana e Serezanello* “*Quello infinito amor che'l tucto vede*” [Firenze, Laurentius de Morgianis e Johann Petri, 1495], 4°, ISTC ir00339500 (INC. I.49)
- Leggenda di Lazzaro, Marta e Maddalena*. Torino: Francesco de Silva, 1496, 4°, ISTC il00109500 (INC. I.38)
- Prospero d'Aquitania, *Epigrammata de virtutibus et vitiis*. Torino: Jacobinus Suigus, 1497, 4°, ISTC ip01021600 (INC. I.33)
- Francesco Petrarca, *Septem psalmi poenitentiales* [et al.] Torino: Franciscus de Silva, 1497, 8°; ISTC ip00413400 (INC. I.1)
- Domenico Serafini, *Synonyma; Aequivoca; Differentiae*. Torino: Franciscus de Silva, 1500, 4°, ISTC is00463400 (INC. I.26).

As can be seen, eleven of these fourteen editions were printed in Piedmont, specifically in Pinerolo, Mondovì and Turin. This is justification for one of the points of scholarly interest in the formation of the collection, namely the study of the local development and diffusion of printing processes in the region. Two of the editions are evidently documents issued by the duke of Milan, Ludovico Maria Sforza, both dated 1495, although the printed versions bear no typographical

notes and therefore imprint data have been determined by critical analysis: more work may nevertheless be needed since the two editions have thus far been described in IGI, ISTC and Russo's catalogue of incunabula, but not in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiedendrucke*¹⁰.

This points to a need for a more detailed study in order to provide the Berlin curators with data that enables them to include the two editions in their most important bibliography. To this end, a second examination of the text and the typefaces, or even of the support material (such as parchment or paper), will provide a better understanding of the initiative. In this case, however, copy-specifics may also reveal useful evidence for statements pertaining to the edition. The two documents, along with a copy of the Statutes of Piacenza, are in fact bound together within a *sammelband* which appears to have been created around the time the documents were printed, and this may provide further information about the imprint data of the Statutes themselves¹¹.

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In addition, many manuscript leaves are bound into the volume, and long manuscript notes dating back to the time of printing are found on the flyleaves and elsewhere. In short, even at first glance, this *sammelband* reveals various interesting features. So, too, does the recent history of the copy, which bears the *ex-libris* of Umberto I of Savoy¹², telling us that the book must have entered the library after 1878, the year of Umberto's accession to the throne. This sheds some light on the acquisition practices put in place by the successors of Charles Albert and will be of use in subsequent studies. For the purposes of this paper, however, we will focus on the acquisition choices made by the founder of the library, namely Charles Albert, the study of which can rely upon material evidence found in the books (*ex-libris* and the like) and in other documentary evidence, such as the registers of acquisitions maintained by or for the king.

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10. <https://data.cerl.org/istc/is00487130>; <https://data.cerl.org/istc/is00487150>.

11. Which have no imprint data and are attributed to either Boninus de Boninis (Brescia, 1485) or to Bernardinus de Misinta (ca. 1495) (ISTC is00722000),

12. The *ex-libris*.

4. Charles Albert's acquisitions (1832-1849) and his collection of incunabula

Seven volumes of acquisition registers form the core of the library's archive. These were carefully examined during the organisation of the exhibition held in 2011 and have since been made available online on a database hosted by the Archivio di Stato website¹³.

After scrutinising this database and comparing it with the incunabula listed in the ISTC, it has been possible to identify the following editions, along with the date of their acquisition and the name of the antiquarian bookseller who sold them or (as in several cases) the donor who gave them. The items in the list are ordered by printing date (from the earliest to the latest), and the following information is provided: descriptions taken from the ISTC, though titles are shortened and minor changes have been made in the formulation of the imprint data; then information from the documents (obtained from the transcriptions in the online database) giving the name of the bookseller or the donor of the books, the year of acquisition and the record number; then the shelf location, in brackets; then the number of institutions (including the Biblioteca Reale) which have one or more copies of the edition, a detailed provided in order

13. On the same website several sources on the historical libraries of Turin are available, to start with the old library of the Archivio itself; they include digital versions of historical inventories and catalogues of the dukes' library. The earliest document is the inventory of the Grande Galleria of Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy written in 1659, just after the fire which damaged the marvellous collection together with the thesis of Mauro Albenga that provided a full transcription of the text (both documents are found here: <https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/torri/>); the catalogues made for Victor Amadeus II follow: the one compiled in around 1713 by Filiberto Maria Machet, who was charged with the task of reorganising the collections (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/machet/>); the catalogue of manuscripts and early printed books of the Library of the Royal University created by Francesco Domenico Bencini after Victor Amadeus II, by then King of Sardinia, decided to give some parts of the library of the dukes to the university (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/bencini/>). Acquisitions made for the university library over nearly one-hundred years (1729-1826) can be studied by means of a database of orders of payments (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/mandati-di-pagamento/>) preserved in the university archive; royal collections of Hebraica are the object of a special project (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/libri-ebraici-a-corte/>). Along with all the above there is a database dedicated to the acquisitions of the Biblioteca Reale made during the reign of Charles Albert, 1831 – 1849 (<https://archiviodistatorino.beniculturali.it/larchivio/la-biblioteca-asto/la-biblioteca-antica/registri-di-carico/>).

to indicate the degree of rarity (here meaning “scarcity”) of the edition; and finally a note concerning the provenance evidence gleaned from the library of Charles Albert (usually the ex-libris bearing the script: «Ex Bibliotheca Regis Karoli Alberti»).

- 1) Sixtus IV papa, *De sanguine Christi et De potentia Dei* [et al., Roma, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, post 1471] (ISTC is00579000);
‘Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis’, 1841, reg. n. 5971 (INC. II.6; holding institutions: 52); «Ex Bibliotheca Regis Karoli Alberti» (from now on Ex-libris KA).
- 2) Petrarca, Francesco, *Secretum de contemptu mundi*, [Strasburgo, Adolf Rusch, ante 1473] (ISTC ip00412000);
«Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis», 1841, reg. n. 4489 (INC. II.18; hold. inst.: 63); Ex-libris KA.
- 3) Petrarca, Francesco, *De vita solitaria*, [Strasburgo, Adolf Rusch, ante 1473] (ISTC ip00417000);
«Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis», 1841, reg. n. 4488 (INC. II.19; hold. inst.: 55); Ex-libris KA.
- 4) Biondo, Flavio, *Italia illustrata*, Roma, Johannes Philippus de Lignamine, 1474 (ISTC ib00700000);
«Librajo Foa», 1847, reg. n. 872 (INC. IV. 11; hold. inst.: 29); Ex-libris KA.
- 5) Bruni, Leonardo, *Historiae Florentini populi* [tr. Donato Acciaiuoli], Venezia, Jacobus Rubeus, 1476 (ISTC ib01247000);
«Libreria del Conte Caissotti di Chiusano», 1837, reg. n. 318 (INC. IV. 9; hold. inst.: 153); Ex-libris KA.
- 6) Alighieri, Dante, *La Commedia*, comm. Jacopo della Lana [et al.] [prec.]: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Vita di Dante*, [Venezia], Vindelinius de Spira, 1477 (ISTC id00027000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1840, reg. 7835 (INC. III.8; hold. inst.: 101); Ex-libris KA.
- 7) Petrarca, Francesco, *Vite dei Pontefici e Imperatori Romani*, Firenze, Apud Sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli, 1478/79 (ISTC ip00420000);

- «Librajo Pezzi», 1839, reg. n. 4491 (INC. II.17; hold. inst.: 63); Ex-libris KA.
- 8) S. Hieronymus, *Vitae sanctorum patrum, sive Vitas patrum* [et al., tr. Domenico Cavalca], Venezia, Nicolaus Girardengus, 1479 (ISTC ih00227000);
«Librajo Foa», 1836, reg. n. 9809 (INC. III.1; hold. inst.: 25);
Ex-libris KA (but also «del Barone Vernazza»).
- 9) Caoursin, Guillaume, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, [Venezia, Erhard Ratdolt, post 1480] (ISTC ic00108000);
«Acquistato da N. Librajo a Londra», 1840, reg. n. 1338 (INC. I.36; hold. inst.: 42); Ex-libris KA.
- 10) *Aesopi Vita. Aesopus moralisatus*, Napoli, Francesco del Tупpo, 1485 (ISTC ia00155000);
«Libreria Chisano», 1846, reg. n. 6791 (INC. III.5; hold. inst.: 43); Ex-libris KA.
- 11) Leo I papa, *Sermones* [et al.; tr. it. Filippo Corsini], Firenze, [Antonio di Bartolommeo Miscomini], 1485 (ISTC il00136000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1841, reg. n. 3735 (INC. II.15; hold. inst.: 71); Ex-libris KA.
- 12) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia* [ed. Pietro Cara], Torino, Jacobinus Suigus, 1487 (ISTC is00002000);
«Librajo Bocca», 1835, reg. n. 7855 (INC. II.22.1; hold. inst.: 24); Ex-libris KA.
- 13) Vegetius, Flavius Renuatus, *Epitoma rei militaris* [et al.], Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1487 (ISTC iv00106500);
«Camera di S.M., Sig. Cantel», 1834, reg. n. 6937 (INC. I.16.1-3; hold. inst.: 57); Ex-libris KA.
- 14) Modestus, *De vocabulis rei militaris*, Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1487 (ISTC im00738100);
'Camera di S.M., Sig. Cantel' (see INC. I.16.1-3, after which this copy is bound) (INC. I.16.4; hold. inst.: 63); Ex-libris KA.
- 15) Christine de Pisan, *Faits d'armes et de chevalerie. Les douze*

vertus d'un noble homme, Paris, Antoine Vérard, 1488 (ISTC ic00471000);
«Librajo Bocca», 1841, reg. n. 8539 (INC. III.23; hold. inst.: 14); Ex-libris KA.

16) *Aesopus moralisatus* [adapted by Accio Zucco], Venezia, Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 1491 (ISTC ia00151000);
«Librajo Pezzi» (see INC. I.35.1, after which the copy is bound); (INC. I.35.2; hold. inst.: 8); Ex-libris KA.

17) *Vita Aesopi*, Venezia, Manfredus de Bonellis, de Monteferrato, 1493 (ISTC ia00111000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1837, reg. n. 9807 (INC. I.35.1; hold. inst.: 9); Ex-libris KA.

18) Schedel, Hartmann, *Liber chronicarum*, Nuremberg, Anton Koberger, 1493 (ISTC is00307000);
«Librajo Picca», 1843, reg. n. 7663 (INC. IV.14; hold. inst.: 856); Ex-libris KA.

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19) *Scriptores rei militaris*, Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1494, (ISTC is00344000);
‘Librajo Pezzi’, 1836, reg. n. 6983 (INC. I.27; hold. inst.: 105); Ex-libris KA.

20) Campano, Giovanni Antonio, *Opera* [ed. Michael Fernus], Roma, Eucharius Silber, 1495 (ISTC ic00073000);
«Librajo Foa», 1845, reg. n. 1266 (INC. IV.18; hold. inst.: 221); Ex-libris KA.

21) Livius, Titus, *Historiae Romanae decades*, Milano, Uldericus Scinzenzeler, 1495 (ISTC il00246000); «Restituita dalla Regia Biblioteca dell’Università», 1841, reg. n. 3830 (INC. IV.15; hold. inst.: 41); Ex-libris KA.

22) *La rotta di Serezana e Serezanello*, [Firenze, Laurentius de Morgianis, 1495] (ISTC ir00339500);
«[Librajo] Bocca», 1847, reg. n. 9401 (INC. I.49; *unicum*); Ex-libris KA.

23) Pius II papa, *Epistolae familiares. De Duobus amantibus. De-*

scriptio urbis Viennensis. Norimberga, Anton Koberger, 1496 (ISTC ip00720000);
«Sig. Lancetti di Bologna», 1844, reg. n. 6385 (INC. II.1; hold. inst.: 181); Ex-libris KA.

24) Simon de Cassia, *Espositione sopra evangeli* [ed. by Fra Guido, i.e. Giovanni da Salerno], Firenze, Bartolommeo di Libri, 1496 (ISTC is00523000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1846, reg. n. 8145 (INC. II.26; hold. inst.: 8); Ex-libris KA.

25) Pius II papa, *Epistolae familiares*, Lione, Jean de Vingle, 1497 (ISTC ip00722000);
«Dono di S.E. il Cav. di Saluzzo», 1847, reg. n. 9034 (INC. II.16; hold. inst.: 56); Ex-libris KA.

26) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia*, Torino, Franciscus de Silva, 1497 (ISTC is00003000);
«Librajo Bocca» (INC: II.22.2; for provenance see INC. II.22.1 after which this copy is bound); Ex-libris KA (on II.22.1).

27) Poliziano, Angelo, *Omnia opera*, Venezia, Aldo Manuzio, 1498 (ISTC ip00886000);
«Librajo Bocca», 1842, reg. n. 5362 (INC. III.22; hold. inst.: 274); Ex-libris KA.

28) *Statuta Genuae*, Bologna, Caligula de Bazaleriis, 1498 (ISTC is00714000); «Librajo Bocca», 1837, reg. n. 9576 (INC. II.20; hold. inst.: 62); Ex-libris KA.

29) Leto, Pomponio, *Romanae historiae compendium* [et al.], Venezia, Bernardinus de Vitalibus, 1499 (ISTC il00024000);
«Librajo Pezzi», 1836, reg. n. 5375 (INC. I.34; hold. inst.: 116); Ex-libris KA.

Even such brief descriptions give an idea of the variety of research pathways that might be taken starting from this material. Beginning with the overall quality of the collection of incunabula gathered by Charles Albert, it is evident that very few copies are rare, in the sense of scarce: there is one *unicum*, and most of the editions on the list are in fact fairly common, which is somewhat unexpected. *Unica*, as we have

seen above, is today one of the features of the library, but clearly this was not so in its early years. What was it, then, that influenced Charles Albert's choice of acquisitions? Attempting to answer this question may well prove to be a rewarding investigation, while provenance is another question that calls for in-depth research.

Before examining the list of the booksellers named above, the isolated case of a copy which was neither bought nor donated, but instead was given back by the University Library («Restituita dalla Regia Biblioteca dell'Università», nr. 21¹⁴) might provide more pointers for further inquiry. The book is a copy of Livy's *History of Rome* (published in Milan, 1495); it is not particularly rare, but it is enriched by illuminated initials and borders, and, on the first printed leaf, a coat of arms that presumably belonged to its first owner. The Savoy coat of arms on the cover was added later, probably when the book was donated to Victor Amadeus II¹⁵.

From this copy we might infer that the king aimed to create a new collection of books once owned by his ancestors, in particular ones dealing with topics of particular interest, such as history. The list of booksellers and other individuals who provided items for the royal library is obviously a rich source of information which still waits to be fully plumbed. Since McKitterick had a wide range of vision, perhaps the focus should be the antiquarian book trade in Turin and the whole of Piedmont.

It is noteworthy that the provenance of fifteenth-century books only partially overlaps that of the major part of the collection, as the following tables show:

Provenance (Incunabula)	Items	Provenance (later editions)	Items
Librajo Pezzi	8	Gabinetto di S.M.	2030
Librajo Foa	6	Camera di S.M.	488

14. The book had been part of the library of the dukes of Savoy before Victor Amadeus II decided to give part of the collections to the University.

15. The book appears to have been rebound in the eighteenth century, and the Savoy coat of arms tooled in gold at the centre of the boards; a printed leaf was inserted to acknowledge that the book had been donated to the duke Victor Amadeus by Claudio Nicola Stampa; see G. Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli* cit., pp. 84-85.

Librajo Bocca	5
Dono del Sig. Cav. Promis	4
Dono di S.E. il Cav. di Saluzzo	2
Libreria Chisano	1
Camera di S.M., Sig. Cantel	1
Librajo Picca	1
Libreria del Conte Caissotti di Chiusano	1
Restituuta dalla Regia Biblioteca dell'Università	1
Sig. Lancetti di Bologna	1
Acquistato da N. Librajo a Londra	1
Total Items	32

Librajo Pezzi/Pezzi	494
Librajo Bocca/Sig. Bocca	502
Librajo Foa	214
Racconigi	166
Librajo Giannini/Giannini	184
Sig. Lancetti di Milano	130
Librajo Mazzetti di Bologna	67
Libreria de fu Conte Caissotti di Chiusano	58
Librajo Bertacco	43
da Milano [i.e. from Milan]	33
Librajo Genova	30
da Napoli [i.e. from Naples]	28
Azienda della Real Casa/ Azienda	51
Sig. Demarchi	26
Librajo Pic	25
Da N.N.	24
etc.	etc.

Even a quick glance at these lists reveals the part played by three booksellers through whom the royal library acquired both incunabula and later editions: Bocca, Foà and Pezzi. However, as regards editions printed in the sixteenth century onwards, the most important source was the private library of the king (Gabinetto di Sua Maestà).

The importance of the acquisition registers and the database which gives access to them can hardly be overstated. Suffice it to say that this data has not been recorded by Giselda Russo in her catalogue, which is based on the description of the copies¹⁶. On the other hand, the ex-libris of

16. It must also be said that Russo did not include the names of the kings in the index of former owners of incunabula, probably because they were not perceived as former owners, like all the previous ones. This means, however, that one has to go through the whole catalogue to retrieve the incunabula belonged to each king, from Charles Albert to his successors.

Charles Albert is found in other copies that are not included in the registers, namely the following thirteen:

- 1) Brasca, Santo, *Itinerario alla santissima città di Gerusalemme* [et al.], [Milano], Pachel and Scinzenzeler, 1481 (ISTC ib01101000);
(INC. I.14; hold. inst.: 16); Ex-libris KA;
- 2) Pius II papa, *Epistolae in Pontificatu editae*, Milano, Antonius Zarotus, 1481 (ISTC ip00725000);
(INC. III.12; hold. inst.: 70); Ex-libris KA.
- 3) Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum* [et al.], Roma, Stephan Planck, 1482 (ISTC ia00088000);
(INC. II.27; hold. inst.: 87); Ex-libris KA.
- 4) Valturius, Robertus, *De re militari* [tr. it. Paulus Ramusius], Verona, Boninus de Boninis, 1483 (ISTC iv00090000);
(INC. IV.16; hold. inst.: 55); Ex-libris KA.
- 5) Blondus, Flavius, *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades*. Pius II papa, *Abbreuiatio supra Decades Blondi*, Venezia, Thomas de Blavis, de Alexandria, 1484 (ISTC ib00699000);
(INC. IV.8; hold. inst.: 121); Ex-libris KA.
- 6) Foresti, Giacomo Filippo, *Supplementum chronicarum*, Brescia, Boninus de Boninis, 1485 (ISTC ij00209000);
(INC. III.17; hold. inst.: 97); Ex-libris KA.
- 7) Platina, Bartholomaeus, *Vitae pontificum*, [Treviso], Johannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1485 (ISTC ip00770000);
(INC. II.11; hold. inst.: 239); Ex-libris KA.
- 8) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia*, Torino, Suigo, 1487 (ISTC is00002000);
(INC. II.12.1; hold. inst.: 24); Ex libris KA (on II.12.2, see below).
- 9) Pellos, Frances, *Compendio de lo abaco*, Torino, Nicolaus de Benedictis, Jacobinus Suigus, 1492 (ISTC ip00260000);
(INC. II.4; hold. inst.: 7); Ex-libris KA.

- 10) *Constitutiones synodales Episcopi et Cleri Montisregalensis*, Mondovì, Laurentius de Vivaldis, 1495 (ISTC is00749500); (2 copies: INC. I.13; INC. I.40; hold. inst.: 4); Ex-libris KA on both copies; the former one bears also «Ex Bibliotheca Regis Victorii Emmanuelis».
- 11) Brant, Sebastian, *Das Narrenschiff. La nef des folz du monde* [French Tr. Locher da Pierre Rivière], Parigi, Geoffroy de Marnef et al., [post 1497] (ISTC ib01094000); (INC. III.4.1; hold. inst.: 13); Ex-libris KA.
- 12) *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia*, Torino, Franciscus de Silva, 1497 (ISTC is00003000); (INC. II.12.2; hold. inst.: 13); Ex Libris KA.
- 13) Annius, Johannes, Viterbiensis, *Auctores vetustissimi*, [Venezia], Bernardinus de Vitalibus, 1498 (ISTC ia00749000); (INC. I.18; hold. inst.: 84); Ex Libris KA.

Why are these books not in the acquisition registers? More research and further analysis of the copies and particularly of information relating to previous owners, such as the note found on INC. II.12.2, is required before that question can be satisfactorily answered.

INC. II.12.2 is a copy of the *Sabaudiae decreta ducalia* printed in Turin in 1497. It bears a note saying it was bought, along with a copy of the edition printed in 1477, for the sum of 400 lire and 5 cents («Acquistato all'incanto dei libri del senator Paolo Emilio Carena, unitamente ad un esemplare dell'edizione del 1477 per la somma di lire 400, centesimi 05») at an auction of the books once owned by the senator Paolo Emilio Carena. The note appears right above the ex-libris of Carena: «Paulii Aemilii Carena regii professoris»¹⁷. Carena, a professor of law in the University of Turin and member of the senate (of Piedmont), is known mainly through his works; his biographical dates are not known but he must have been born in Carmagnola in around 1735 – 40, since he entered the professional college in 1761¹⁸. The ex-libris of Charles Albert is the other prove-

17. G. Russo, *Catalogo degli incunaboli* cit., p. 112.

18. Evidence can be found in the work he published for the occasion: *Paulus Aemilius*

nance note found in the book, which leads us to think that he bought this copy (and the copy of the Statutes printed in 1477) before becoming king. If so, the same may be true of the rest the collection not recorded in the acquisition registers.

This is just hypothesis, of course, the truth of which can only be established through a detailed analysis of the copies together with evidence from documents pertaining to the Savoy collections before the foundation of the Biblioteca Reale, as well as from the archive of the library.

5. A few preliminary observations

Forty-two copies of incunabula are therefore identified as once belonging to the founder of the Biblioteca Reale. The list itself along with notes about the rarity (scarcity) of the copies and what one can read in the catalogue provide enough elements for planning the course of research paths, starting with authors and texts. Humanists and classical authors—especially authors of history, military art and architecture—are major constituents of the collection. They include Pius II, Flavius Blondus, Pomponius Laetus, Bartholomaeus Platina, Johannes Annius, Flavius Vegetius and Angelus Politianus; the last-named is represented by the prestigious edition of his *Opera omnia* printed in Venice by Aldus Manutius. Hartmann Schedel, the physician and humanist from Nuremberg, falls within this category, although the text and the very idea of his celebrated *Liber Chronicarum* belong very much to the medieval tradition of universal chronicles. The edition, however, was somehow brought into the new age by the flourishing use of illustrations, attributed to the workshop of Wohlgemut, the master of Albrecht Dürer, and to Dürer himself. That the first and later editions of this beautiful book enjoyed great success is confirmed by the great number of copies still preserved all

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Carena civis Carmaniolensis, juris utriusque doctor, ut in amplissimum Jurisconsultorum Collegium cooptetur in Regio Taurinensi Athenaeo, anno MDCCLXI die XXVII, Julii, hora VIII. matutina cum dimidio, Augustae Taurinorum, Ex Typographia Regia. Google Books is, so far, the only place where I have found notice of this publication; for this reason, I cannot say where this particular copy is preserved, the information not being provided by Google (despite its claims of being proud to help libraries). It does, however, appear to be the second item within a tract-volume (the number two is visible in the upper right-hand corner of the title-page).

over the world, including Turin where there are copies in the Biblioteca Nazionale, the old library of the Archivio di Stato and the city library.

Aesop, Livy, the *Scriptores rei militaris* (Vegetius, Frontinus, Aelianus Tacticus, Onosander), in two editions both edited by the humanist Sulpitius Verulanus, and the *Auctores vetustissimi*, in the edition by Johannes Annius represent the classical authors. Of the great authors of Italian literature only Dante is present, with one edition of the *Commedia* (but not the *princeps* nor the celebrated Florentine edition of 1481, commented by Landino and illustrated with beautiful engravings). Petrarch, however, is present with two editions of his Latin works (*Secretum* and *De vita solitaria*).

Among the medieval works, the juridical collections of the *Decreta ducalia* are worth noting, not least because they are copies of local editions, both edited (by the famous jurist Petrus Cara) and printed in Turin. Of a comparable kind, there are two copies of the same edition of the bishopric constitutions of Mondovì, printed in that town. Other editions printed in Piedmont, and especially Mondovì, were later acquired for the Biblioteca Reale, resulting from the flourishing of studies on bibliography started by Giuseppe Vernazza (1745-1822). Similarly, the two editions of the *Decreta ducalia* started a collection of city statutes and other legal compilations, which would become a feature of the library.

6. Conclusion

Even a brief account such as this demonstrates that a study of the foundation of the Biblioteca Reale and its connection with the making of the image of the monarchy can lead to a number of research efforts. As we have seen, rarity does not seem to have been the determinant for Charles Albert when he was buying early printed books. Rather, he seems to have started the collection of two kinds of books: local editions, which sometimes were rare, or very rare; and statutes and other legal compilations. This approach to the acquisition of books perhaps indicates an attempt to make a convincing portrayal of the values of the Crown.

Details of who had charge of the acquisitions and of how and when the collections were built up can be discovered by way of a systematic examination of data taken from archi-

val documents – such as the acquisition registers – and the books themselves. This kind of research is now being conducted on the collection of incunabula, via the recording of copy-specifics in the MEI database mentioned above (note 10). During the present year the recording of incunabula in the Biblioteca Reale has been also the subject of a workshop organised in collaboration with the University of Turin¹⁹, and that joint effort will hopefully help us achieve another goal: spotlighting the function of libraries as superlative research laboratories.

19. The workshop was offered to students enrolled in the postgraduate degree “Archival, Library and Culturale Heritage Studies” (<https://en.unito.it/ugov/degree/38172>); it involved both the Biblioteca Reale and the Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria and was run by Giuseppina Mussari, (Director of the Royal Library), and Fabio Uliana (curator at the National Library).

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