

The collection of Monserrat Rosselló in the University Library of Cagliari

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ABSTRACT

The book collection of the jurist Monserrat Rosselló (ca. 1560-1613) from Cagliari comprises approximately 4,500 editions and is the most notable private library on the island in modern times. Rosselló stipulated that on his death it should be entrusted to the Jesuit College in Cagliari; following the suppression of the Jesuit order, in 1779 it was given by the ruling Savoy family to the University Library, which had recently been founded as a public library.

The Rosselló collection is not merely a matter for local pride but, with its introduction in Sardinia of the model of a modern public library, represents an important episode in library history. An attentive reading of Rosselló's testament shows that he did not wish simply to donate his library to the Jesuits; he wanted to entrust them with the responsibility for preserving and maintaining it, as a living collection which would serve as a library "for everyone". An examination of the inventory of the library reveals that in building it Rosselló did not merely accumulate volumes; he acquired and exploited bibliographical tools which helped him to navigate the world of publishing. Among these tools there are some bookseller and publisher catalogues, some of which survive today in the University Library, by means of which Rosselló gathered information on available publications, thus widening his scope beyond what the local booktrade in Sardinia could offer to take in the whole of Europe.

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KEYWORDS

Private libraries; Cagliari; Sardinia; Monserrat Rosselló; Booksellers' and publishers' catalogues; 16th century.

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The establishment of the University Library in Cagliari is part of the history of the refoundation of the University under the Savoy dynasty. This in turn was a central element in a programme to revive the island's fortunes not only culturally but also economically and socially; the reorganisation of schools and universities was a key part of this plan. The origins of the University in fact go back to the period of Spanish dominion and in particular to Philip III's provision in 1620 in support of the island's pressing demands. Yet a century later, with Sardinia now under the Savoy, the ruling family found the University to be in such a state of decline that they took the decision, confirmed in the 1764 Constitution, to re-found the institution (Sorgia 1986, Merlin 2010).

A central plank in the reforms was the creation of a 'public university library', following in the tradition of the great institutional libraries established in the modern period, above all, the University Library in Turin founded in 1720.¹ It was not an easy undertaking. It required organisation and above all a library collection, which in Sardinia needed to be formed *ex novo*. For this purpose books from the court library were given to the University on the express wishes of Carlo Emanuele and to these were added the volumes produced by the Stamperia Reale in Turin as well as others through the munificence of the Minister Bogino.

Yet the transformation of this initial nucleus of books into a genuine "public institution" only really took shape several years later, when the University received the libraries of Jesuit colleges after the suppression of the order in 1773. At the University's request, a royal decree in 1779 allowed for the transfer of the Jesuit library collections to the University library which in this way underwent a radical transformation in the quality and range of its contents. It could justifiably aim to become a point of reference for the island's scholarly community (Martini 1845, Biblioteca 1996). The task of accessioning and ordering the Jesuit books was given to the Professor of Sacred Scripture, Girolamo Hinz; he was at first given a temporary appointment but in 1785 he was offered the post of Librarian. In the same year, as the wooden plaque on the walls of the eighteenth-century reading room in the Library records, the shelving which would house the volumes was finished, although the re-organisation of the books in fact lasted until 1792, the year the Library effectively opened for public use.

The transformation in quality which the Library underwent and which enabled it to fulfil its public role was due to the richness of the Jesuit collection. This in its turn had been much enriched by the extensive library which had been bequeathed to the Society by the Sardinian jurist Monserrat Rosselló in 1613.

Monserrat Rosselló was born in about 1560. He had studied law away from Sardinia, where there was as yet no university, and graduated in Bologna in 1583 (Guerrini 2005, 307), after a spell of study in Pisa. He then returned to Cagliari where he had a highly successful career in local government and jurisdiction. In 1598 he was appointed 'visitador' (inspector) of the royal officials in Sardinia, in the

¹ The University Library in Turin was founded by a Royal decree dated 25 October 1720 "per commodo sì delli studenti, che del pubblico" ["for the benefit of students and the general public"] (Teatro 2011). Similarly article 27 of the *Costituzioni* of Cagliari University (*Costituzioni* 1764, 78-79) stipulates that the new library should have the best books published in every discipline "so that both students and others will be able to make use of it as need arises" ["onde sì gli studenti che altri siano in caso all'opportunità di farvi ricorso"].

same year he became a judge of the ‘Real Audiencia’, and in 1601 ‘abogado fiscal’ (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 13–29; Manconi 2010, 339–343; Ferrante 2013). Little is known of his activities. He took part as a member of the military *stamento*, or class, in the Parliament, or assembly of the traditional estates, which was presided over by the Viceroy, Gastone de Moncada Marquis of Aytona, from 1592 to 1594 and, when the Assembly concluded its work, was sent as a delegate to Madrid to present the Parliamentary *capitoli* for Philip II’s approval (Quaglioni 1997). He was also a member of the Parliament presided over by the Viceroy Antonio Coloma Count of Elda from 1602 to 1603, again following which he was given the responsibility for collecting Sardinian local laws and *consuetudines* as well as preparing the statutes of the University prior to its establishment (Doneddu 2015). However the outstanding aspect of his career was his passion for collecting books. He assembled a remarkably rich library, both in terms of the period and in the context of the island. The inventory, probably drawn up when the Jesuits took possession of the bequest, comprises at least 4,450 editions, far more than even the most prominent libraries in Sardinia at the time possessed.²

In bequeathing his library to the Jesuits, Rosselló imposed as a condition of the gift that they kept it intact, without selling or exchanging any of the books, and that they housed it in a special room separately from the standard library in the College. They were also supposed to add to the collection each year by spending an annual sum of 25 ducats from the inheritance. Finally, they were not to erase the name of the donor from the books but add it both to books already in the collection where it was missing as well as to the new books which they purchased for the library (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 22). The Jesuits adhered to Rosselló’s wishes, although the purchase of new books was somewhat neglected over the years; nevertheless, they succeeded in keeping Rosselló’s library almost intact until the second half of the eighteenth century, when this remarkably extensive collection was transferred – not without a degree of dispersal – to the new “public library” of the University of Cagliari. When the library opened its doors in 1792 it could boast a collection in the region of 8,000 volumes (Martini 1845, 17).

The extraordinary richness of Rosselló’s library as it now survives in the University of Cagliari is well-known to Sardinian scholars. It is perhaps, paradoxically, because of its renown, that, while its overall features are familiar, the collection has been very little studied in detail. What studies of it exist have all too predictably taken a localised approach, meaning that our perception of Rosselló’s collections have remained confined to regional perspectives and interests, ignoring both the broader theoretical context as well as the methodological instruments which would instead help to analyse and value its intrinsic characteristics.³

² The principal libraries of the time on the island were those belonging to Alessio Fontana (d. 1558) in Sassari, the bishop of Cagliari Antonio Parragues de Castillejo (d. 1573), Nicolò Canyelles (ca. 1515-1585) the bishop of Bosa and founder of the first printing press in Sardinia, the Sassari humanist – and also bishop of Bosa – Giovanni Francesco Fara (1543-1591). Studies of the inventories of these libraries have been published by Cadoni and Turtas (1988); Cadoni (1989b); Cadoni and Contini (1993); the total number of volumes in each library comes to 236 (Fontana), 550 (Parragues), 425 (Canelles), 1006 (Fara).

³ The publication of the inventory of Rosselló’s library by Cadoni and Laneri (1994/2) is the most important contribution on the subject and formed part of a wider project on the book collections of 16th-century Sardinian humanists (see note 2), a broad survey aimed at providing evidence for the circulation of books throughout the island during this period. It was

It must be emphasised above all that the creation and donation of Rosselló's library form an important episode in library history which cannot simply or fully be explained by reference to historical and cultural developments in Sardinia. It is an episode which displays all the discontinuities which characterise the entry of Sardinia into the 'modern era'. Niccolò Canelles first introduced printing to Sardinia in 1566 (Balsamo 1968); in the same way Rosselló was the first to bring to the island the concept of what a library was, which was gaining currency in continental Europe: not a private collection for personal use but an institution possessing a collective importance and impact and which should, as such, therefore – even though in private ownership – allow some form of public access. This was the model which Gabriel Naudé would soon outline in his *Advis*, based on the examples of the Angelica in Rome, the Ambrosiana in Milan and the Bodleian in Oxford (Naudé 1627).

In the light of this, at least two aspects of the history of Rosselló's collection should be addressed: the ways in which he planned for the future survival of his library and how he oversaw its bibliographical content.

The conditions under which Rosselló bequeathed his library to the Jesuit college are in essence those just mentioned but it is worth looking more closely at the reasons he gave for the bequest and the purposes he foresaw for the collection. Both of these can be found in an important passage in his will which has in general been overlooked in contrast to the prescriptive remarks on which other scholars have focussed but which expresses, albeit in compressed form, some fundamental concepts which underlay what he thought he was doing:

Instituhint dit col.legi a mi hereu universal *ab pacte emperò vinclè y condició*: primo que tota la mia llibreria, tant de lleys y cànones com de theologia y altres facultats, que yo tinch, no la vènan ... sinó que la conserven, ... tota axí com està en un lloch a part de la llibreria communa que té dit col.legi *per servir-se' n quant convinga; que tots los llibres són a vegades mester tenir, encara que sien de diverses y extraneas facultats de la que hom professa...* (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 163:28-164:4, the italic is mine)

[I hereby name the said College as my universal heir, *but on these binding and non-negotiable conditions*: firstly, that my entire library, both the part on Law and Canon Law as well as Theology and other subjects ['facultats'] as well, is never put up for sale ... but is preserved intact just as it is and in a room apart from the general library of the College, *to be used as the need arises; since it is necessary to preserve all the books, even though they treat of different subjects from those which people are interested in*].

As we see, the Jesuits in accepting Rosselló's bequest were obliged to keep the library intact and separate from the rest of their collections, "per servir-se'n quant convinga", so that the books could be read and consulted whenever they were seen to be of use. From this it is clear that the conservation

intended to answer a precise historical question, in particular to serve as a response to the harsh judgement of the island's cultural backwardness in the 16th century, a longstanding (dating back to the 16th century itself) critical view (Cadoni 1989a). As well as transcribing the inventory, the study gives a broad outline of the library's main features, but the editions which form the collection are not identified, with the result that important aspects of the bibliographical structure of the library are not brought out and also leading to errors in the analysis of the data: see below for example the entry in the inventory of Rosselló's library (henceforward IRL) 3354, the work Rosselló had published in Madrid.

and management of the collection are bound up with its use, while this in its turn is subject to the convenience of those scholars who wish to use them, without further condition. In effect, it is to be freely accessible. This explains why Rosselló's books must not be merged, shelved or even housed with those in the College library, which, according to the rules of the order, was an internal library, not accessible to everyone but only for the use of staff and students who had to obtain the key from the Rector of the College (Vacalebre 2016).

Rosselló's reasons for leaving his library to the Jesuits are given in the phrase which follows in his will. This reflects a concept of the collection which is significantly broader than the utilitarian idea of it as a mere possession: "it is necessary to preserve all the books, even though they treat of different subjects from those which people are interested in". In other words, even if the range of subjects covered by the books in a library exceeds the particular interests of its owner, this does not diminish the necessity and the usefulness of preserving it intact for – though this is not explicitly stated by Rosselló in his will, the implication is clear – others to use. In this way the possession of a collection and the use which is made of it are sharply distinguished. This conceptual distinction underlies both Rosselló's collecting and the obligation he imposes on the Jesuits not only to keep his library intact but also to add to it with new acquisitions, despite their not being the sole and exclusive users of the collection.

In leaving his collection to the College Rosselló was entrusting it to an institution which could ensure that it would continue to be used over time, freely and without restriction. What was bequeathed to the Society was not the 'library collection' as such, regarded as an 'asset', but rather the responsibility of preserving and maintaining it as a living resource for everyone who needed it. These are the terms in which it is presented in the will: the Jesuits inherit the collection on condition of assuming the responsibilities of maintaining it. Were they to fall short of the conditions set down in the will, they would lose possession of the library and have to pay a sum of money equivalent to its value to another organisation which played an active social role on the island, the 'Ospedale di S. Antonio' in Cagliari (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 164:9–11).

It is hard to say if Rosselló in drawing up his will had a particular model in mind. It is worth pointing out, however, that he possessed in his collection one of the first treatises on librarianship to be published in the early modern period, the future founder of the Angelica Library Angelo Rocca's work on the Vatican Library.⁴ In this book, published in 1591, Rocca undertakes a wide-ranging survey of the most important Italian and European libraries of the time, singling out two features, where they existed, as being worthy of praise, which are the same as those Rosselló later underlines in his will: on the one hand, the breadth and diversity of a library collection and, on the other, the adequacy and convenience in the way that it is organised (Serrai 1993b, 175–176). Among the earliest libraries to be mentioned in Rocca's account is the Marciana. He does not limit himself to giving a brief description of the library but recounts its institutional history in some detail. In particular he provides a complete translation of the famous letter written in 1468 in which cardinal Bessarion entrusted his library to the city of Venice in order that its contents "assembled with such great pains

⁴ IRL 295 – Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana (cum) commentario variarum artium ac scientiarum materiis, 1 t., fol. 4, Romae 1591 (*Edit16. Censimento nazionale delle edizioni italiane del XVI secolo*, <http://edit16.iccu.sbn.it/> [henceforward Edit16 CNCE] 33796).

and at such expense ... would, after [his] death --- not be dispersed or given away but kept in a secure place, for the common use of all scholars...” [“con tanta fatica, et con tanta spesa, ... dopo la morte ... non sarebbero dissipati, et alienati, ma sarebbero seruati in qualche luogo sicuro, et commodo per la comune utilità de gli uomini studiosi...”] (Rocca 1591, 388–390). It is possible therefore that this is the concept which inspired Rosselló when he stipulated that his collection should remain available “per servir-se’n quanto convinga”.

Why did Rosselló choose to entrust his library to the Jesuits? This was probably due in large part to Rosselló’s close personal association with the Society but there is the possibility that another factor affected his choice. By leaving his collection to the Jesuits he was entrusting it to a religious order whose presence in Sardinia was very closely bound up with higher education and with the foundation of the University which was first set up under Spanish rule (Turtas 1988). The repeated attempts in both Cagliari and Sassari to establish a university on the island focussed on the Jesuit colleges which were already present. As it turned out, the university in Cagliari when it was finally established was administered by the City council and the Bishop, but the Jesuits retained an important role and several professorial chairs were reserved for them (Sorgia 1986, 16–18).

It is highly probable that this context is key to understanding Rosselló’s motivation in leaving his library to the Jesuits, taking into account at least three elements. First, Rosselló’s will was drawn up in the same year, 1607, as one of the first official recognitions of the University – the papal bull which authorised its foundation.⁵ Secondly, Rosselló himself played an active part in setting up the University. Finally, the way he describes the contents of his collection in his will is itself significant: the subject fields he specifies are not generically chosen but reflect the proposed organisation of the University, where Law and Theology were the two founding faculties together with a third area of the collections indicated as books serving “altres facultats” or “other subjects”. If this interpretation is correct, as I believe it to be, then Rosselló’s library forms the antecedent of the “pubblica biblioteca universale” which would be established in Cagliari at the end of the eighteenth century.

The other innovative element which I would like to discuss here relates not to Rosselló’s arrangements for the future of his collection but to the way he put it together or rather planned its construction. Precisely because the library was not merely a collection of books acquired for personal and professional reasons but a constructed entity which went beyond the limited references to the “facultats de la que hom professa”, it includes a large number of the complex and detailed bibliographical instruments which, by the end of the sixteenth century, had become a necessary resource for finding a way through the by now vast and endlessly varied output of the printing press. This is an aspect of Rosselló’s library which has not been sufficiently noted; indeed, on an initial perusal of the inventory, it easily escapes attention, with more or less generic descriptions of various bibliographical works under the general headings “Catalogus” and “Index”. Yet it is a highly significant component of the library which throws much light on its overall structure, its intellectual context and the ways in which Rosselló set about building it up.

⁵ The papal bull, which precedes the royal decree for the foundation of the University in 1620, is dated 12 February 1607 (Sorgia 1986, D’Arienzo 1997), while Rosselló’s will is dated 1 December 1607.

Rosselló was very much aware of the need to possess some kind of compass to explore, with confidence and within wide horizons, the world of printed books. This was the same awareness which had led Gesner to compile his *Bibliotheca Universalis* and it is not by chance that Gesner's book was present on Rosselló's shelves, both in the shortened version or epitome edited by Lycosthenes and published by Oporinus in 1551 and in the Froschauer edition of 1555.⁶

But Gesner's work is not an isolated example of Rosselló's interest in bibliography. In the inventory we find one of the main sources used by Gesner in compiling his work, the *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* of Trithemius,⁷ as well as other bibliographical tools of various kinds which in the period after Gesner helped to shape the methods and functions of the bibliography of printed books: the early forms of national bibliographies, bibliographies pertaining to subject disciplines and the catalogues issued by publishers and booksellers.

As far as national bibliographies are concerned, Rosselló possessed what was a largely comprehensive collection of the editions relevant to the two countries of main cultural reference for him, Italy and Spain. For Spain, we find the apologetic work by Alfonso García Matamoros, the *De asserenda Hispanorum eruditione* as well as the *Catalogus clarorum Hispaniae scriptorum* by Valerius Andreas,⁸ while for Italy there is Doni's *Libraria*, in two different editions – the first edition from 1550 and the revised edition of 1580.⁹

The same detailed degree of coverage can be found among the subject bibliographies in the library, especially in relation to law and jurisprudence. Rosselló possessed copies of the two main bibliographies in this field from the second half of the sixteenth century, following on from Nevizzano's work: the *Index* by Ziletti in the second edition of 1566 (Fig. 1) and Freymon's *Elenchus*, also in the second edition published in 1579.¹⁰

⁶ Despite the discrepancy in the date of publication, IRL 1135 – Conradi Gesneri Elenchus scriptorium omnium, 4 fol., Basileae 1552 – can certainly be identified with *Elenchus scriptorium omnium ... in compendium redactus per Conradum Lycosthenem*, Basel, Johann Oporinus 1551 (*Universal Short Title Catalogue*, <http://ustc.ac.uk/> [henceforward USTC] 649812, while the *Epitome Bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri ... locupletata per Josiam Simlerum*, Zürich, Christoph I. Froschauer, 1555 (USTC 652948) is probably to be identified with IRL 628 – Cat(h)alogus scriptorum omnis generis, fol. Tiguri 1555, which is the title found in the incipit of the book after the *Nuncupatoria* and the *Prefatoria*. Unfortunately neither edition has survived among the books which belonged to Rosselló's library in the present-day University Library in Cagliari.

⁷ IRL 2915 – Ioannis Trithemii De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis liber unus, 4 fol., Coloniae 1546, to be identified with the edition published by Quentel in Cologne in 1546 (USTC 640871), which was the last 16th-century edition of the work.

⁸ The entry IRL 153 – De asserenda Hispanorum erudi[c]tione, 1 t., fol. 8 – is for the work by Alfonso García Matamoros, in the Complutensian edition published by Juan de Brocar in 1553 (USTC 336440, 347983-85) while IRL 4371 – Valerii Andreae Taxandri Cat[h]alogus Hispaniae scriptorum, 4 fol., Moguntiae 1607 – can be identified with the Mainz edition of Valerius Andreas' *Catalogus* published by Balthasar Lipp in 1607 (VD 17: *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts*, <http://www.vd17.de>, 23:000304L).

⁹ See entries IRL 1397 – Bibliotheca continens nomina et libros auctorum, 12 fol., Venetiis 1550 (Edit16 CNCE 17682) – and IRL 1397 – Idem opus vetustius [sic], 12 fol., Venetiis 1580, (Edit16 CNCE 17717). Unfortunately neither edition has survived in the present-day University Library in Cagliari.

¹⁰ IRL 2357 – Index librorum iuris pontificii et civilis, 4 fol., Venetiis 1566, which can be identified with the corrected and expurgated edition of Ziletti's compilation (Edit16 CNCE 39983, Colli 2006, 205–244) and IRL 1408 – Elenchus omnium auctorum sive scriptorum qui in iure civili et canonico claruerunt, 4 fol., Francofurti ad Menum 1579 (USTC 649808). Both editions survive as part of the Rosselló collection today (BUCA, Misc. 1339/0001 and Ross. D 405).

It is worth examining in further detail, on account of its richness, the third category of bibliographical resources, publishers' and booksellers' catalogues, which provided, as is now recognised – in Italy mostly as the result of Alfredo Serrai's work (Serrai 1993a, 5–75) – a channel of communication with the booktrade world as well as up-to-date and easily consulted guides to both current and past publications (Coppens 2008, 2012, Nuovo 2016).

Above all Rosselló owned several bookfair catalogues, in particular some volumes of the series of Frankfurt catalogues for the period between the spring of 1586 and the autumn of 1589.¹¹ These are the years just after his university studies in mainland Italy and his return to Sardinia, during which he was beginning his professional career but at the same time he was evidently also starting to build and shape his collection and looking beyond the opportunities for acquisitions found locally to Europe as a whole.

Not by chance another bookseller's catalogue relates to the same period in Rosselló's life: the *Index librorum quorundam Romae impressorum* printed by Giacomo Ruffinelli¹² and containing some 380 16th-century editions, all printed in Rome by different printers, particularly for the period between 1581 and the year of Ruffinelli's edition, 1586. But Rosselló's interest in this kind of catalogue never seems to have diminished. In chronological sequence, following this initial set of catalogues, we find three more such publications from the 1590s. The first is the *Indice copioso, e particolare di tutti li libri stampati dalli Gioliti in Venetia, sino all'anno 1592*, the only catalogue dedicated to the output of a single publishing house, the Giolito firm. Then there is the Rouillé heirs' stock catalogue, published in Lyon in 1593, and the similar *Index librorum* issued by the 'Venetian' bookseller Simone Vassalini in Madrid in 1597.¹³

Rosselló's copies of the bookfair catalogues as well as of the Ruffinelli and Giolito catalogues do not survive in the library, whereas the catalogues of Rouillé and Vassalini do (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria [henceforward BUCA] Ross. A 401 and Ross. D 115). On the Vassalini catalogue (Fig. 2), the only known copy of which is in Cagliari, it is noteworthy that the date of its publication, 1597, coincides with the period of Rosselló's visit to Madrid to obtain Philip II's ratifications of the decisions taken by the Sardinian Parliament of 1592-1594. The process of obtaining royal approval was usually a protracted affair, lasting months or even years. In this case it lasted until 1598, probably on account also of the death of Philip II on 13 September of 1598 (Quaglioni 1987, 106–107). Thus Rosselló must have spent a lengthy period of time in Madrid, especially when we consider the probability he had arrived in the city as early as 1596. It was in 1596 that Rosselló's only book was published - and in Madrid. This was a work on the allegations made in the legal dispute over the hereditary rights of the count of Laconi, don Giacomo di Castelvì, to certain fiefs in northern Sardinia (*Ad causam feudorum*

¹¹ Specifically the volumes for the spring and autumn fairs of 1586, the spring fair of 1587 and the autumn fair of 1589, described in the inventory at entries IRL 998 – Catalogus novus nundinarum vernalium Francoforti ad Maenum, fol. 4, anno 1586; IRL 999 – Catalogus alius novus earundem nundinarum sed autumnalium eiusdem anni; IRL 1000 – Catalogus alius earundem nundinarum vernalium, anni tamen 1587; IRL 1001 – Catalogus alius earundem nundinarum vernalium anni 1589. None of these survives in the present-day collection.

¹² IRL 2361 – Index librorum quorundam, 24 fol., Romae 1586 (Edit16 CNCE 51878).

¹³ IRL 2360 – Index copiosior et particularis omnium librorum, 8 fol., Venetiis 1592 (Edit16 CNCE 51033, Coppens 2005). IRL 1002 – Catalogus librorum Lugduni, Parisiis, Belgiae et Germaniae excussorum, fol. 12o, Lugduni 1593 (USTC 146296). IRL 2359 – Index omnium scientiarum et artium, 4 fol., Madriti 1597 (USTC 343568, Rueda Ramírez 2017, 2018).

civitatis Plovacensis, et oppidorum de Salvennor, et Florinas ... pro d. Iacobo a Castelvi Responsum), printed by Luis Sánchez and already recorded by Pérez Pastor (1981, 523, cf. Clemente San Román 1998, 710) although, as it was published anonymously, it was never attributed to Rosselló. The work however can be firmly ascribed to him on the basis of the inventory of his library where, at IRL 3354, it is described as follows: “Monserrati Rosello i.c.ti Responsum ad causam feudorum civitatis Plovacensis et oppidorum de Salvennore et Florinas etc. aliorum pro don Iacobo a Castelvi Laconensi comite, fol., Mantuae Carpentanae 1586”. This is certainly the edition published in 1596, despite the date, which must be an error of transcription: as is clear from the *Responsum* itself, the question of the succession to the fiefdom did not come into being earlier than 1591.

Thus we can safely assume I think that he purchased the catalogue in the course of his stay in the Spanish capital from 1596 to 1598. It is likely that he also acquired the 1593 Rouillé catalogue (Fig. 3), given that it circulated in Spain where the Rouillé had an extensive commercial network.¹⁴ There is another feature to do with Rosselló’s copy of the 1593 Rouillé catalogue which is worth noting. It is bound with another bookshop catalogue which is not known in any other copy: a list of Giolito editions which, as a bibliographical production, is much less polished than the 1592 catalogue mentioned above but largely overlaps with it in terms of content, except for some additions and some cancellations. It reflects a phase of revision of the *Indice* datable to around 1596 (Granata 2017) and therefore appears to be a variant of the lists which were issued in this final phases of the publisher’s activity (Coppens 2005). In connection with Rosselló’s library, the date of publication means that it belongs to a period which appears to have been a significant one for his acquisition of this kind of bibliographical material.

Another aspect worth mentioning is that both the Rouillé and Vassalini catalogues show signs of use (Figs. 4-5). In particular, several titles have been marked with a dot written in black ink in the margin. In the Rouillé catalogue these marks indicate for the most part law books, especially the series of *Consilia* published in Italy. The marks are more frequent in the Vassalini catalogue and are mainly found in the sections on Theology and on Canon and Civil Law. Once again, in the section on Civil Law, the *Consilia* are marked as a block of titles together with several *Decisiones* and *Pratiche*. It should be noted that Rosselló’s library was very well provided with this kind of work; the collection of *Consilia* by Italian jurists is one of the richest aspects of the legal content of the library, with in the region of 150 titles. In the Theology section the markings are more sporadic and indicate individual titles here and there; it is significant that one of these is the *Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana* by Angelo Rocca, held by Rosselló and described in his inventory.

Indeed, the marginal marks in both catalogues reveal a specific focus on subject areas which are the ones most strongly represented in Rosselló’s library. This, together with the fact that in general these titles are also found in the collection, might plausibly suggest that Rosselló himself marked up the catalogues. The same method of marking can be found in other surviving copies from his library, in particular the Ziletti *Index* where in addition to the dot we find another type of mark, an oblique

¹⁴ The 1593 catalogue survives in other two copies, for one of which there is also a Spanish connection since it is found in the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Madrid), 40-VI-29. Enc. Esc (Castelli 2014). The other copy is in Rome (Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Oe 111/1).

stroke in the inner margin by the side of individual entries (Fig. 6). This second type of marginal marking can be found in various sections of the catalogue, whereas the dot, as in the Rouillé and Vassalini catalogues, has been added systematically above all in the part on the *Consilia*, where again there is a high degree of overlap between the editions marked in this way and actual copies in Rosselló's library. However, the marks do not appear to relate directly to the specific acquisition of these editions. Some occur in both catalogues while, on the other hand, some of the titles indicated in the catalogues are listed in different editions in the inventory. It is therefore perhaps more probable that the marks were part of either a preliminary or subsequent stage of checking what was already in the collection vis-à-vis the availability of titles in the booktrade. What remains significant is that the two catalogues were not only acquired but also used by Rosselló.

It is not possible to check such indications of use in the last catalogue – last in chronological sequence – mentioned in the inventory, the *Catalogus librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae, Ioannis Baptistae Ciotti, et sociorum*, published in Venice in 1608,¹⁵ since it does not survive as part of the library today. As with the examples of Rouillé and Vassalini, it is a bookseller's catalogue which does not merely include the output of the partnership of Giovanni Battista Ciotti and Bernardo Giunta, which in 1608 had only very recently been formed, but also the stock of the two partners before their agreement (Rhodes 2013, 72–75). It comprises approximately 3,500 editions, a very large number which would certainly have attracted Rosselló's attention. But while we cannot check the actual copy for signs of use, it is worth noting that the date of publication is very close to the date when Rosselló drew up his will; its acquisition thus shows the enduring continuity of his interest in this type of bibliographical resource thanks to which he was able to discover what was on offer in the booktrade throughout western Europe and intervene in its transnational circuits.

His familiarity with this type of catalogue, within the broader context, as mentioned before, of his interest in bibliographical resources in general, helps to explain both the extraordinary growth of Rosselló's library and why it was so innovative among the collections built up by other Sardinian 'humanists'. They provided Rosselló with a formidable tool not only for acquisition but also of information which he could use alongside more traditional methods which he also certainly made use of. One of these was certainly the local circulation, commercial and otherwise, of books within Sardinia, as we see from various copies which survive as part of the library and which show signs of provenance from other Sardinian collections, which were either sold or dispersed.¹⁶ We also know that Rosselló availed himself of the information he received from correspondents outside Sardinia, as he confirms in his will in which he names a Jesuit living in Naples, a certain Father Figus, to whom he owed a sum of money for the supply of various books (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 169:3–13). The bookshops in Cagliari certainly played a part in the growth of Rosselló's collection although very little

¹⁵ IRL 1003 – Catalogue librorum qui prostant in bibliotheca Bernardi Iuntae et sociorum, fol. 12, Venetiis 1608 (Castelli 2014, 315–316).

¹⁶ The present author is carrying out a census of the copies in the Rosselló collection as part of a wider study of the library as a whole. The data currently available is not complete but already provides some evidence for this phenomenon, which supports the archival investigations into Rosselló's acquisitions of material from other collections in Sardinia (Fiesoli, Lai and Seche 2016, 229–30, 241). The indication of Canelles, the first printer in Sardinia, as a former owner in one copy in the library (BUCA Ross. A 137) is of especial interest since it seems to confirm the suggestion that part of Canelles' library was acquired when it was put up for sale after Canelles' death (Cadoni 1989, 20).

is known about them. The few studies which exist on the subject provide the names of several merchants working in Sardinia in the second half of the 16th century, who normally did not specialise in the sale of books (Di Tucci 1954, Turtas 1988), with the exception of Canelles, who, like his successors, combined running a bookshop with the activity of printing (Balsamo 1968, Corda 1992-1994, Ledda 2012). Finally among these methods of acquisition we should also take into account the opportunities which Rosselló's own travels afforded him. The rich collection of editions from Madrid, for example, that makes the University Library of Cagliari so interesting for Iberian studies (Romero Frias 1983) could have been acquired – and most probably were – during Rosselló's diplomatic mission in Spain at the end of the 16th century. In fact, almost half of the approximately 150 entries of the inventory are dated between 1595 and 1598.

Yet, whatever the methods of acquisition and provision Rosselló employed, the important point to make is that they underpinned a wide and continuously updated knowledge of publishing output which enabled Rosselló to range the world of books systematically and to choose what he wanted with a full awareness of what was available.

The library he assembled as a result was quite remarkable for its sheer size in Sardinia at the time; even more importantly, it was conceptually different from the other collections on the island because of the potential of the information it brought together. It is this latter quality which means it transcends the private sphere to become a collective resource.

Rosselló knew this and therefore made sure that his collection not only remained intact in terms of its contents but was also made accessible as a working library. These are the requirements he stipulated in giving his books to the Jesuits, intended to ensure that his library both continued to be used and continued to grow with new acquisitions. As far as these were concerned, his instructions to the Jesuits on how to go about acquiring reflect his own approach:

Y perquè més se conserve y augmente dita llibreria és també ma voluntat que, ... cascun any se compren y ajusten a dita llibreria fins la summa de vint-i-sinch ducats de llibres, un anyn de lleys y cànones, altre de theologia y altre de altres facultats o llibres spirituals a arbitre del superior, ab que dels tres anys no se'n dexe un any de comprar llibres de lleys y cànones que és lo principal d'esta llibreria (Cadoni and Laneri 1994/1, 164:19–27).

[And in order to maintain and increase the said library, it is also my wish that each year the sum of 25 ducats' worth of books should be purchased for inclusion in the library, one year publications in Law and Canon Law, the second year Theology, the third year other subjects or devotional works as the Director sees fit, in such a way that every three years one year is dedicated to the purchase of books on Law and Canon Law, which is the main subject area of the library].

These provisions reflect Rosselló's own experience. By asking the Jesuit fathers to acquire books in alternating years for each of the different subject areas of the library, not forgetting its legal content, clearly remote from the order's own interests, Rosselló was in effect requiring them to adopt and apply the same criteria of comprehensive and systematic coverage which he himself had used.

Seen from this point of view, Rosselló's bequest to the Collegio Cagliaritano did not merely represent a vast collection of books but above all a concept of what a library should be which reflected the

model which was emerging across Europe in the same period. His collection is in this sense the mirror of a new sensibility which was itself part of the far-reaching development which led to the establishment in modern times of the idea of a public library.

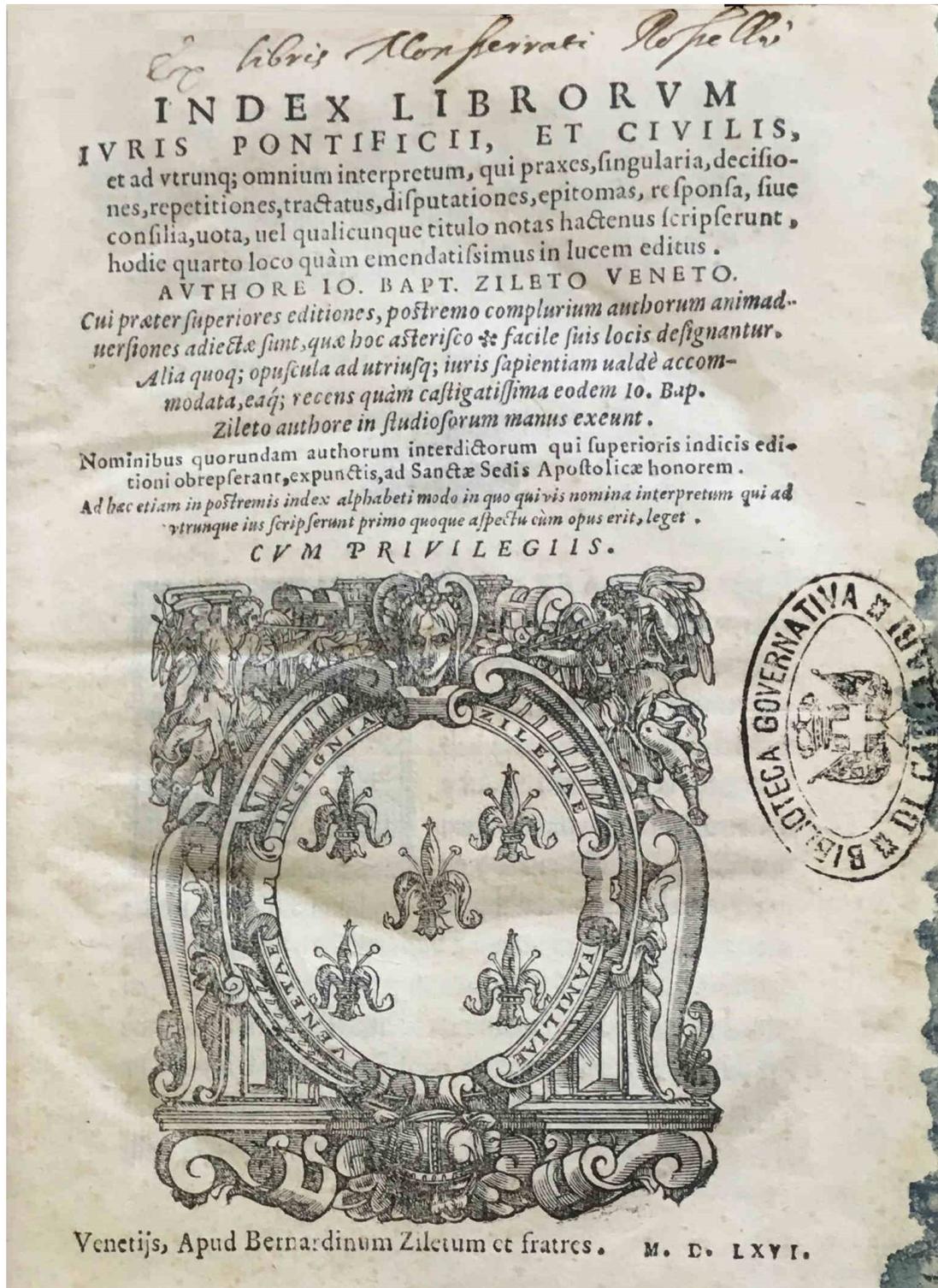


Fig. 1. Ziletti Index (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Misc. 1339/1).

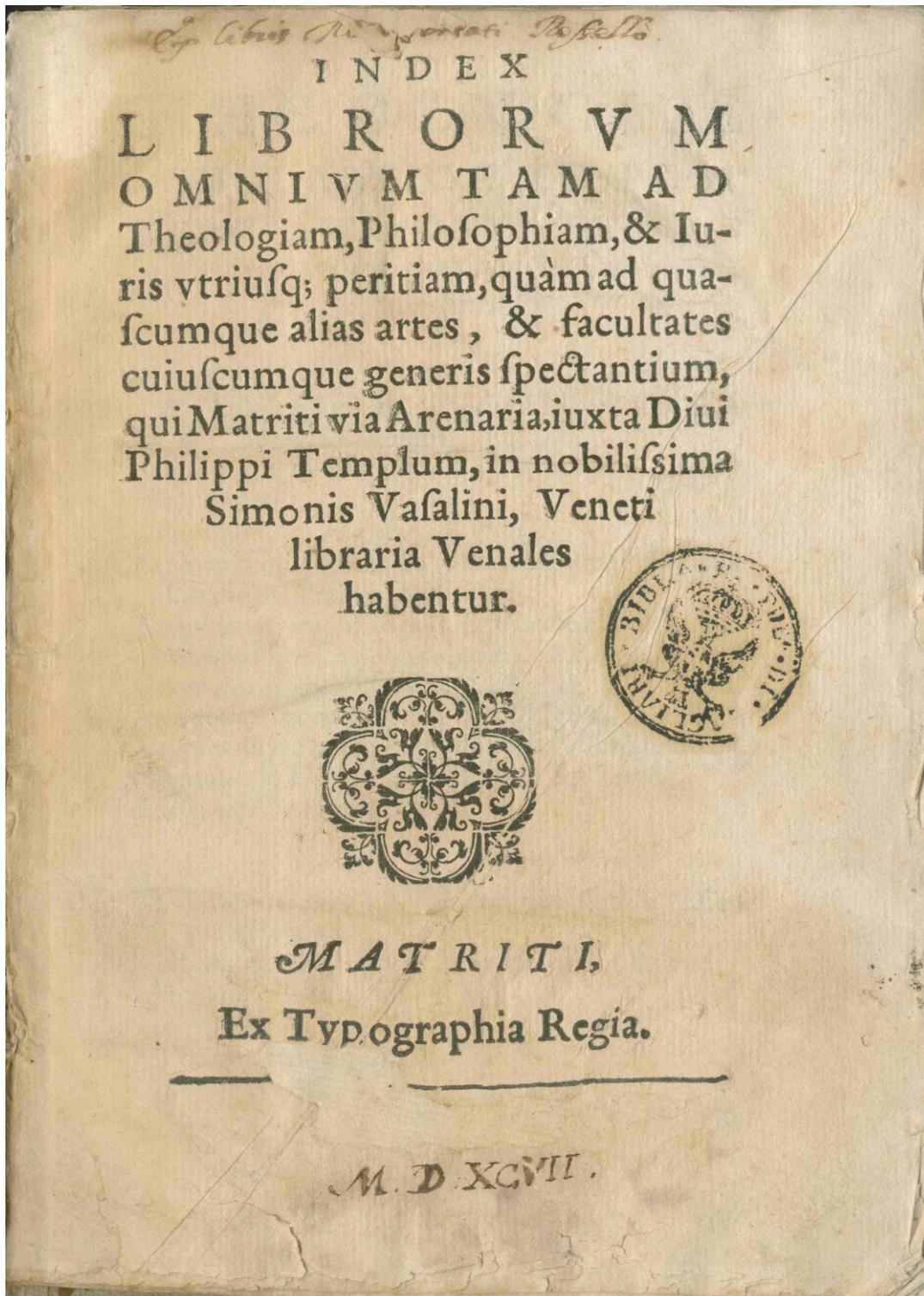


Fig. 2. Vassalini catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. D 115).



Fig. 3. Rouillé heirs' stock catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. A 401).

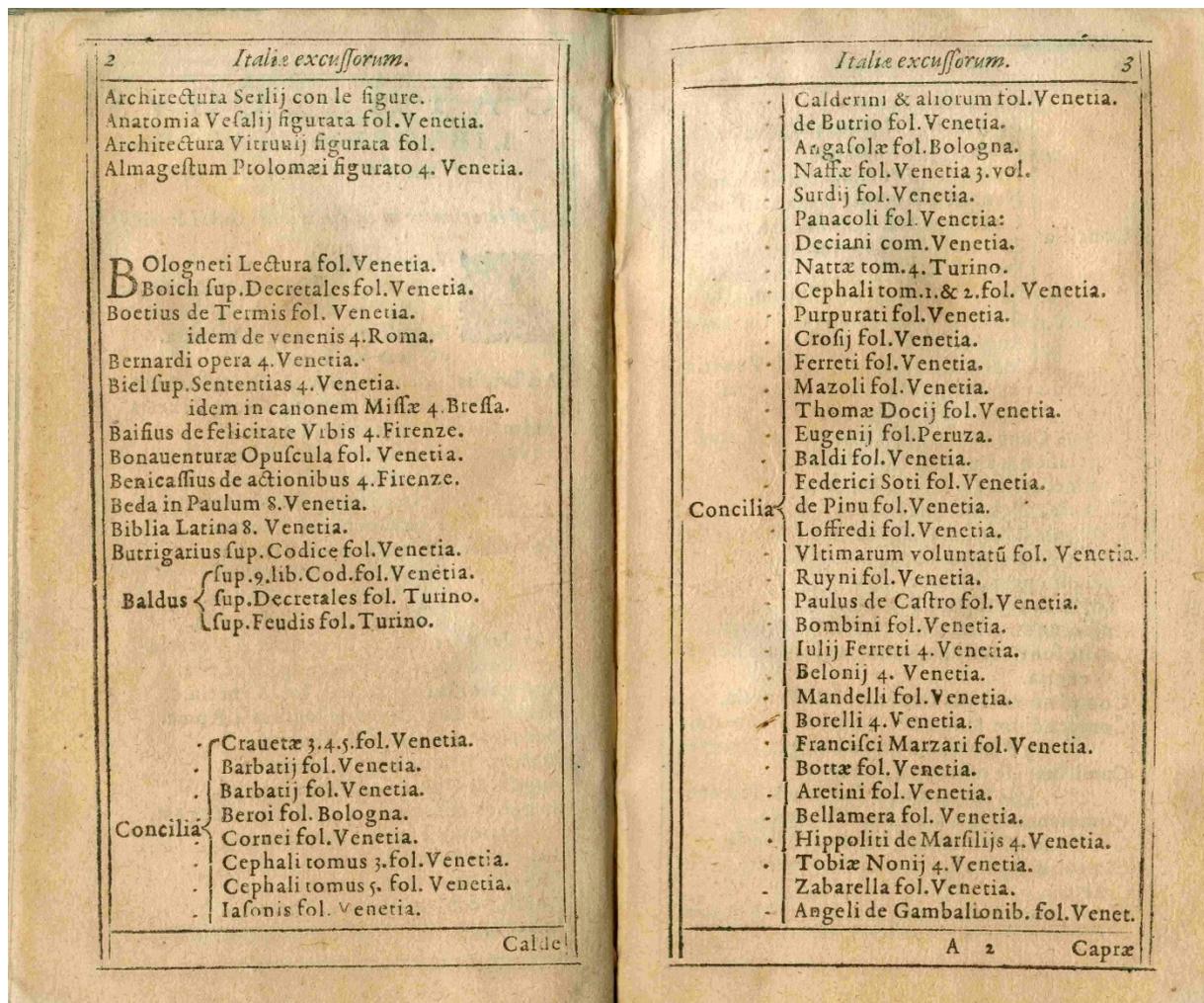


Fig. 4. Rouillé heirs' stock catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. A 401). Italian section, A1v-A2r: Consilia.

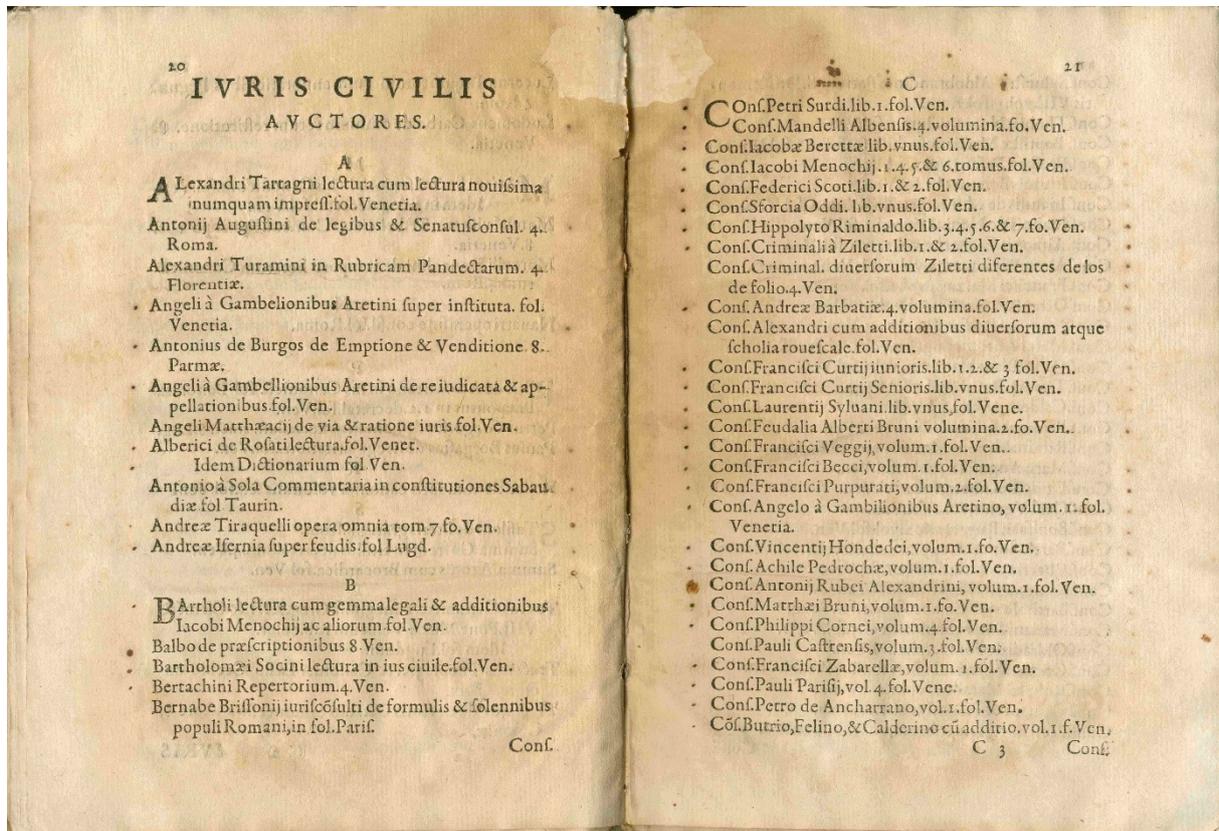


Fig. 5. Vassalini catalogue (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ross. D 115). Civil law section, C2v-C3r: Consilia.

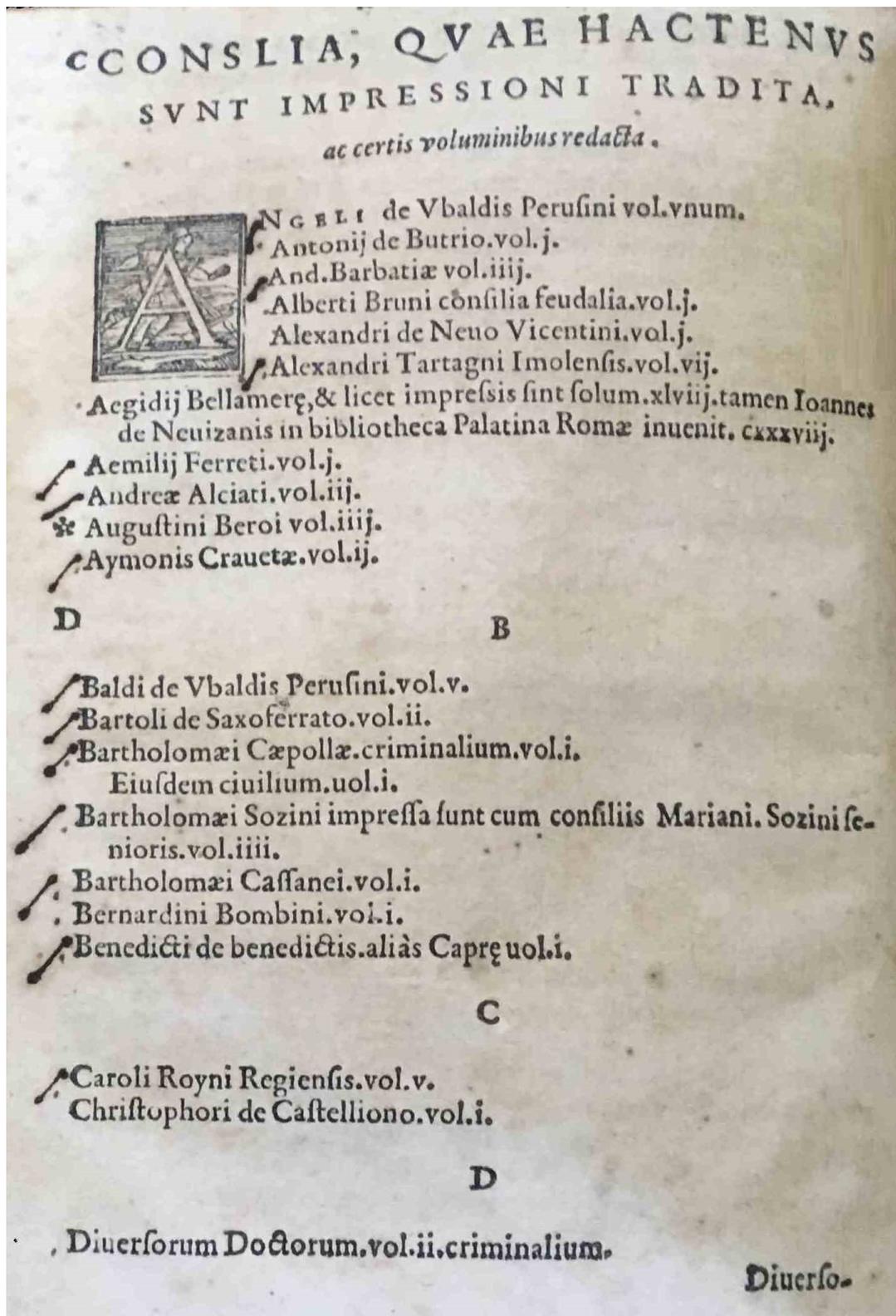


Fig. 6. Ziletti Index (Cagliari, Biblioteca Universitaria, Misc. 1339/1). Consilia section, O4v.

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