

Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder  
and Saint Jerome

An Edition and Translation  
of  
*Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo*









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MEDIEVAL & RENAISSANCE

TEXTS & STUDIES

VOLUME 177



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An Edition and Translation  
of  
*Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo*



by

JOHN M. MCMANAMON, S.J.

Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies  
Tempe, Arizona  
1999

*Generous grants from  
Pegasus Limited for the Promotion of Neo-Latin Studies and  
the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation  
have assisted in meeting the publication costs of this volume.*

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### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Vergerio, Pietro Paolo, 1370-1444.

[Sermones pro sancto Hieronymo. English]

Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome : an edition and translation  
of Sermones pro sancto Hieronymo / by John M. McManamon.

p. cm. — (Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies ; v. 177)

Includes bibliographical references.

ISBN 0-86698-219-1 (alk. paper)

1. Jerome, Saint, d. 419 or 20 Sermons Early works to 1800. 2. Sermons,  
Latin Translations into English. I. McManamon, John M. II. Title.  
III. Series: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies (Series) ; v. 177.

BR1720.J5V4713 1999

270.2'092—dc21

99-19915

CIP



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Printed in the United States of America



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*For John O'Malley*



## *Preface*

In concluding a recent biography of Pierpaolo Vergerio, I argued that he comprised one of the most creative voices of the third generation of Italian humanists. At a moment when Coluccio Salutati, revered elder statesman of the movement, retreated from a full defense of humanism out of austere Christian convictions, Vergerio used a Christian hero of his childhood as a model for the committed humanist intellectual. One could, therefore, be humanist and Christian; in fact, in Vergerio's estimation, Jerome's pursuit of the humanities had made him that much more catholic. In what follows, I have attempted to supply for scholars and students of Italian humanism a crucial portion of the documentary evidence that led me to those conclusions. For the first time, all ten of the panegyrics that Vergerio composed to express his devotion to Saint Jerome are presented here in a critical edition with an accompanying English translation.

Through his characteristic depiction of Jerome in sermons and letters, Vergerio inspired appreciation for the saint among his fellow humanists. Vergerio depicted a Jerome who sanctioned the study of classical and Christian works and demonstrated the ways in which a humanist education based upon the classical languages assisted the task of theological scholarship. This kind of education had special relevance for exegetes who utilized philological methods to interpret the text of Scripture. Vergerio depicted a Jerome who renewed the Roman ideal of the ethical orator, an individual of eloquence who lived the values that he advocated. Time and again, Vergerio emphasized that Jerome had sought to achieve that ideal in his intellectual activities on behalf of the believing community and thereby earned the ecclesiastical title of *doctor*. And

Vergerio depicted a Jerome whose behavior easily distinguished itself from that of leading churchmen of the Renaissance. The contrast led Vergerio to stress the need for religious reform according to the exemplary pattern set by the humanist saint. In so depicting Jerome, Vergerio adapted for his preaching the conventions that classical rhetoricians had specified for epideictic oratory. As I trust that the reader will concur, Vergerio's medium and message helped to initiate the special recognition accorded Jerome by Renaissance intellectuals.

Because I nurture fervent hope that the work of textual criticism will remain the last outpost of the *res publica litterarum*, I have adopted conventions in this book that may be more familiar to scholars in Europe than America. In all Latin quotations, I have expanded abbreviations and followed modern criteria for punctuation and capitalization. I cite classical and patristic authors in like manner, without punctuation between the author's name and the title of the work. In cataloging manuscripts, I use the Latin form of the name for authors born before 1200, and I use the more customary form of the name—Latin or vernacular—for those born after 1200.<sup>1</sup> I follow the same criterion for an author's name in the notes. The contents of a manuscript are divided into a maximum of three layers: Roman numerals designate the parts of a composite codex, bolded Arabic numerals designate groupings or individual entries, and normal Arabic numerals designate the entries within a grouping. The word "sylloge" is used to describe an identifiable collection of texts, usually letters. An ascender is the initial stroke on a letter such as "b," a descender the initial stroke on "p." In editing the sermons, I employ angular brackets < > for editorial additions and square brackets [ ] for editorial deletions. To prevent confusion, I have followed the same conventions everywhere in the book. I reserve < sic > for readings that may appear strange but are so written in the text. In order that readers may understand the logic of the manuscript sigla, I give the definition in Latin; I often follow the choices made by Leonardo Smith in his excellent edition of Vergerio's letters. The reasons for the criteria adopted in editing Vergerio's sermons are given in full in Part IV below. Throughout, I have tried to be as consistent as possible, to follow the lead of the best textual critics, and to minimize pretentiousness. Let the good reader decide.

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<sup>1</sup> Armando Petrucci, *La descrizione del manoscritto: Storia, problemi, modelli*, Aggiornamenti 45 (Rome: La Nuova Italia Scientifica, 1984), 84.



I take pleasure in acknowledging the generous assistance that I have received while preparing these texts for publication. I first thank the institutions who offered their financial support: the Gladys Kriehle Delmas Foundation, Loyola University Chicago, and the Jesuit Research Institute in Venice. A semester as the Visiting Jesuit Scholar at John Carroll University gave me a chance to correct the edition of Vergerio's panegyrics. For that opportunity, I am especially grateful to Fr. John Dister, S.J., and, for that reason and many more, I remember with great affection the deceased president of John Carroll, Fr. Michael Lavelle, S.J.

To collate Vergerio's sermons and assemble the catalog of manuscripts preserving his works, I had to visit numerous libraries and correspond with the administrators of those I could not reach. Even though many were already named in my biography of Vergerio, I again wish to acknowledge my debt to them all. Scholars and librarians at the following institutions graciously responded to my written queries: the University Library in Cambridge, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Ambrosiana Collection at the University of Notre Dame, the Library at Holkham Hall in Norfolk, the Pius XII Library and the Vatican Film Library at St. Louis University, the British Library in London, the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Hamburg, the Universitätsbibliothek in Tübingen, the Biblioteca Universitaria in Padua, the Biblioteca del Monastero in Camaldoli, the Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati in Siena, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier in Brussels, the Stadtbibliothek in Trier, the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library at St. John's University, and the Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares in Toledo.

Through the congenial service of directors and staff, I was able to consult a wide range of materials in the following institutions: the Bodleian Library in Oxford, the Biblioteca Queriniana in Brescia, the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense in Milan, the Biblioteca Comunale and the Biblioteca Capitolare in Treviso, the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, the Biblioteca Guarneriana in San Daniele del Friuli, the Museo Civico and the Biblioteca del Seminario in Padua, the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, the Library of the American Academy in Rome, and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana in Vatican City. My work at the Vatican Library was greatly facilitated by Antonio Schiavi, Luciano Drogghieri, and Elvio Buriola.

I am very grateful to those persons and institutions who made it possible to reproduce materials in this work. For permission to quote

from volume 262 of the Loeb Classical Library, *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, translated by F. A. Wright, I thank Ms. Melinda Koyonis and Harvard University Press. For permission to reproduce photographs, I express my gratitude to all of the following: Ms. Mandy Marks and the Picture Library of the National Gallery in London, Dr. Goffredo Dotti and the Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense in Milan, Dr. Susy Marcon and the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, Dr. Mauro Giancaspro and the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples, and Ms. Deborah Stevenson and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. For invaluable counsel with regard to problems of textual scholarship, paleography, and codicology, I thank Armando and Franca Petrucci, Gianfranco Fioravanti, Maurizio Bettini, Ronald Witt, Roland Teske, Laura Casarsa, Concetta Bianca, and Massimo Miglio. I also appreciate the bibliographical assistance supplied by Eva Horvath, Eva Irblich, Pierantonio Gios, and J. C. Marler. They all saved me from mistakes along the way, though I am sure that I have still made them and therefore beg the reader's pardon.

Finally, I am grateful to the former editors of MRTS-Binghamton as well as Prof. Robert Bjork, Dr. William Gentrup, and all of their associates at MRTS-Arizona State University who bravely publish critical editions. They have given me an opportunity to dedicate this book to a person I truly admire. Many of my close friends—and especially my mother—often want to know why I spend so much time studying the humanists of the Italian Renaissance. Though the more cynical among them probably trace that interest to my first meal in a Roman restaurant, it actually stems from a course I completed in 1972. The course dealt with the history of the Italian Renaissance and was taught by Fr. John O'Malley, S.J. I will always remember it as a model of good teaching: it expanded my narrow horizons and left me pondering a number of intriguing questions. From our first meeting till today, I have never ceased to admire the imagination of John's research, the humanity of his convictions, the quality of his life. I am delighted to pay tribute here to John's many achievements and his constant friendship.

## Abbreviations

Abbreviations for classical authors and works are taken from P. G. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), ix–xx; and Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), xvi–xli.

Andr.	Andreas, Andrea
Ant.	Antonius, Antonio
att.	attested
Bart.	Bartholomaeus, Bartolomeo
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Bern.	Bernardus, Bernardo
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis</i> . 2 vols. Edited by Socii Bollandiani. <i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 6. Brussels, 1898–1901; <i>Supplementum</i> . <i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 12. Brussels, 1911; <i>Novum Supplementum</i> . <i>Subsidia hagiographica</i> 70. Brussels: Société de Bollandistes, 1986.
Bibl.	<i>Bibliotheca</i> , <i>Biblioteca</i> , <i>Bibliothèque</i> etc. (Library)
BMC	<i>A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the British Museum</i> . 12 vols. Edited by R. Proctor and A. W. Pollard. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1908ff.
Briquet	Charles M. Briquet. <i>Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600</i> . 2d ed. Paris, 1923.
Car.	Carolus, Carlo
cart.	<i>cartaceus</i> (paper)
CCL	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1954ff.

- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Berlin, 1863ff.
- Clavis* *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*. Edited by Eligius Dekkers and Aemilius Gaar. 2d ed. Steenbrugge, Belg.: in abbazia S. Petri, 1961.
- cod(d). codex / codices
- Col. Colutius, Coluccio
- Comm. *Commentarius* (Commentary)
- Copinger W. A. Copinger. *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*. Part 2, *Additions*. 2 vols. London, 1898–1906.
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna, 1886ff.
- CTC* *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*. Edited by P. O. Kristeller and F. Edward Cranz. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Univ. of America Press, 1960ff.
- DBI* *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960ff.
- Ep.* *Epistola* (Letter)
- Epist.* *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*. Edited by Leonardo Smith. *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo 74. Rome, 1934.
- ex. *exeuntis* (from the last quarter of a given century)
- excerpt. *excerpta* (excerpts)
- expl *explicit* (the concluding words of a text)
- fol(s). folio(s)
- fragm. *fragmentum* (fragment)
- Franc. Franciscus, Francesco
- Gasp. Gasparinus, Gasparino
- GW* *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*. Leipzig: K. Hiersemann, 1925ff.
- Hain Ludovicus Hain. *Repertorium Bibliographicum*. Berlin, 1925.
- IERS* *Indice delle edizioni romane a stampa (1467–1500)*. Vol. 1.2 of *Scrittura, biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*. Edited by P. Casciano, G. Castoldi, M. P. Critelli, G. Curcio, P. Farenga, and A. Modigliani. *Littera Antiqua* 1.2. Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica, e Archivistica, 1980.
- IGI* *Indice generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia*. 6 vols. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1943–81.
- impr. *impressus* (printed)
- IMU* *Italia medioevale ed umanistica*

in.	<i>ineuntis</i> (from the first quarter of a given century)
inc	<i>incipit</i> (the opening words of a text)
Ioan.	Ioannes
<i>Iter</i>	Paul Oskar Kristeller. <i>Iter Italicum</i> . 6 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963–91.
Leon.	Leonardus, Leonardo
Lud.	Ludovicus, Ludovico
Mazzatinti	Giuseppe Mazzatinti et al. <i>Inventario dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia</i> . Forlì, 1891–1911; Florence, 1912ff.
m.	<i>medii</i> (from the middle quarters of a given century)
membr.	<i>membranaceus</i> (parchment)
Nic.	Nicolaus, Nic(c)olò
Petr.	Petrus
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> . Edited by Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris, 1844–64.
PPV	Pierpaolo Vergerio (the elder)
Praef.	<i>Praefatio</i> (Preface)
Ps.	Pseudo
Raph.	Raphael
ras.	<i>rasura</i> (erasure)
rem. sim.	remotely similar to
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i> . Edited by Ludovico Antonio Muratori. Milan, 1723–51; n.s., Città di Castello and Bologna, 1900ff.
s.	<i>saeculi</i> (from a given century)
sim.	similar to
s.t.	<i>sine typographo</i> (Publisher unknown)
UnivB.	<i>Universitätsbibliothek</i> (University Library)
var. diverg.	divergent variety attested
var. ident.	identical variety attested
var. sim.	similar variety attested
(1)	from the first half of a given century
(2)	from the second half of a given century



# PART I

Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder  
and the  
Cult of Jerome  
as a Humanist Saint





## CHAPTER 1

### Jerome:

### From the Scholar of History to the Saint of Legend

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**E**rudite and pugnacious, a Dalmatian priest named Jerome arrived in the city of Rome in the autumn of 382. The next three years proved to be among the most consequential of his long life. Soon after he had settled in the imperial capital, he was employed by Pope Damasus (366–384) to draft important documents. He also began to offer spiritual counseling to a select group of noble women. Through his ministries to the bishop and aristocratic ladies of the city, Jerome furthered the process of Rome's Christianization and Christianity's Romanization. However, his obstreperous personality, then as often, stirred up troubles, especially when he used caustic prose to chastise the Roman clergy for what he perceived to be hypocritical worldliness. Jerome's caricatures of clerical life were so vivid that even the pagans found them entertaining reading. He did not mince words when he wished to claim that he and his small flock of female ascetics lived a more fervent Christianity than the community's spiritual leaders. Peter Brown justly highlighted Jerome's exhortation to "learn of me a holy arrogance and know that you are better than them all."<sup>1</sup> Once his

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity*, Lectures on the History of Religions, n.s., 15 (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988), 366–67, citing Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.16 (CSEL 54:163). Brown begins his treatment of Jerome with the trial in Rome. Among modern biographies, I have especially consulted Ferdinand Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Louvain and Paris, 1922); and

patron Damasus had died, he soon faced a reckoning of accounts with his Roman enemies.

In August of 385, a tribunal of Roman clergy gave their verdict on accusations that fellow priests had made against Jerome. Though the Roman investigators ruled in his favor and acknowledged that those who had charged him with fornication were guilty of libel, they nevertheless urged him to leave Rome. Conceding that he could no longer minister effectively there, Jerome bowed to their wishes. The image of Jerome bitterly departing the city seems symbolic of his entire career: he was a turbulent figure in turbulent times. The strength of his personality militated against achieving heroic status among fellow Christians.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he struggled throughout his life to find a spirituality expressive of his deepest convictions.<sup>3</sup> Torn by competing priorities, Jerome took delight at times in secular learning and at others in self-denial. The urban cleric active in Roman affairs had only a few years earlier championed the life of a hermit in the wilderness.

Born in the small town of Stridon, so effectively sacked by the Goths years later that no trace of it remains today, Jerome was sent by his father to Rome as an adolescent to receive the best education available. Hoping to win a lucrative job in public service, he attended the school of Latin grammar directed by Aelius Donatus. He must have enjoyed those early years of schooling because questions of correct grammar and scholarly detail never ceased to interest him. Advanced training in the art of rhetoric supplied him with the weapon of satirical prose that he wielded so effectively. During his student years, Jerome also discovered how strong were the urgings of one's libido, and he struggled to control them with mixed results. Though Jerome would praise virginity in the most exalted terms, he had to admit that his own had proven a casualty of his wild adolescence.<sup>4</sup>

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J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York et al.: Harper & Row, 1975). Useful summaries of Jerome's life are available in Angelo Penna, "Girolamo," in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, Pontificia Univ. Lateranense, 1961-69), 6:1109-32; and Eugene Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), 1-22. For an extensive bibliography on all aspects of Jerome's career, see Paul Antin, *CCL 72*:ix-lii.

<sup>2</sup> See the characterization of Jerome's friendships in Kelly, *Jerome*, 335-36.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Bouyer, *The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers*, vol. 1 of *A History of Christian Spirituality*, translated by Mary Ryan (Kent, Engl.: Burns & Oates, and New York: Desclee, 1963), 459-67.

<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 49(48).20 (*CSEL* 54:385). See also Cavallera, *Saint Jérôme*, 2:72-73; and Kelly, *Jerome*, 10-23.

Just as important for his future development, Jerome offered himself for Christian baptism in Rome, in all likelihood before the year 366. That was a serious step usually reserved for a later moment in life. However, the ideals of Christianity so appealed to Jerome that he made his public commitment to the faith. Thus, his first stay in Rome nourished his mind in the two cultures that would subsequently compete for his loyalties. He embraced the culture of his Roman ancestors as he began to build an impressive private library of their books and sought employment in the emperor's bureaucracy. The world of the text, moreover, established a bridge to his enthusiasm for Christian belief. Jerome examined the books of the Bible and participated in the rituals of Christian faith. Indicative of those parallel developments, Jerome described the visits he made on Sundays to Rome's catacombs. He expressed his fervent piety for the martyrs in the reliable idioms of Ciceronian style.

Increasingly ascetical ideals eventually led Jerome to abandon his quest for employment at court and move to the eastern part of the empire. At Antioch in Syria, he lived for a time as a guest of the priest Evagrius. Wealthy and influential, Evagrius entertained Jerome at his country estate; the host exercised his priestly ministry in a way that his visitor found attractive and yet unsettling. The time as a guest of Evagrius triggered a psychological crisis for Jerome. He found himself facing what seemed an irreconcilable conflict of values. This time, however, the conflict between pagan culture and Christian renunciation triggered a dream of terrifying reality. The famous dream probably occurred during Lent in 374, when, due to fasting and illness, Jerome found that his flesh could hardly cling to his bones.<sup>5</sup> In a delirious state, he felt himself led before the judgment seat of Christ, where he was interrogated about his ultimate loyalties. Although Jerome declared himself a Christian, he found himself condemned and flogged for being a Ciceronian. The painful nature of his punishment led him to cry out for mercy. Once the flogging had ceased, he solemnly promised never again to read or possess the literature of the pagans.

Jerome's account of the dream has captivated readers ever since because he skillfully used the rhetorical techniques that he had learned in the schools of Rome. Paradoxically, he embellished his narrative with

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<sup>5</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.30 (CSEL 54:190), citing P. Virgilius Maro *Ecl.* 3.102 ("vix ossibus haerent"). Kelly, *Jerome*, 43: "<Jerome's> pangs of conscience found an outlet in the fantastic shapes of his nightmare."

phrases and imagery that he drew from the pagan poet Virgil.<sup>6</sup> Over the course of his lengthy career, Jerome ultimately determined that any wholesale rejection of the culture of Greece and Rome would be self-defeating. He found justification for consulting the writings of the pagans in the biblical account of the captive Gentile woman, who could be taken as a Jewish wife once her head was shaven. Following the allegorical interpretation of Origen, Jerome determined that God allowed believers to appropriate the best of pagan culture, once they had trimmed away anything inappropriate.<sup>7</sup> Immediately after the dream, however, Jerome decided to realize the most radical of his ascetical ideals. He withdrew from Antioch and took up the life of a hermit in the Syrian desert near Calchis.

For two years, from 374 to 376, Jerome battled the heat and isolation of the desert. Those few years, which hardly typified his career, taught Jerome about the weaknesses of the flesh and bred his militant desire to tame those weaknesses. The graphic description that Jerome wrote of his life near Calchis forcefully juxtaposes body and soul in a way that eventually acquired canonical status among Western ascetics. Jerome highlighted the sweltering body of a hermit under the desert's relentless sun; the exterior heat mirrored an inner struggle to master one's lustfulness, which Jerome found aroused by memories of his adolescent carousing in

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<sup>6</sup> Jean Jacques Thierry, "The Date of the Dream of Jerome," *Vigiliae Christianae* 17 (1963): 32-35, documents the language reminiscent of Virgil and suggests that the scene may be modeled on the descent of Aeneas into the underworld (cf. *Aen.* 6:566-72). Paul Antin, "Autour du songe de saint Jérôme," in *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), 71-75, argues that the judge of the scene is the Christ of Paul's letters (cf. Rom. 14:10, 2 Cor. 5:10). Pierre de Labriolle, "Le songe de saint Jérôme," in *Miscellanea Geronimiana: Scritti varii pubblicati nel XV centenario della morte di San Girolamo* (Rome, 1920), 230-35, finds such close parallels in literary examples that he feels that Jerome never had the dream and that its subsequent importance in cultural debates is highly ironic.

<sup>7</sup> Deut. 21:10-13, cited in Hieronymus *Ep.* 21.13 (CSEL 54:122-23). In general, see Arthur Stanley Pease, "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 50 (1919): 150-67; Edwin A. Quain, "St. Jerome as a Humanist," in Francis X. Murphy, ed., *A Monument to Saint Jerome: Essays on Some Aspects of His Life, Works, and Influence* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1952), 201-32; Paul Antin, "Touches classiques et chrétiennes juxtaposées chez saint Jérôme," in *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), 47-56; Kelly, *Jerome*, 41-44; Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 3-7; and David Rutherford, "Timoteo Maffei's Attack on Holy Simplicity: Educational Thought in Gratian's *Decretum* and Jerome's Letters," in Leif Grane, Alfred Schindler, and Markus Wriedt, eds., *Auctoritas Patrum: Zur Rezeption der Kirchenväter im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert (Contributions on the Reception of the Church Fathers in the 15th and 16th Century)*. Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte: Beiheft 37 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 163-64.

Rome. When alone in the desert, Jerome became acutely aware of his sexual powers. Unfortunately, Jerome's persuasive prose abetted the "sexualization" of Saint Paul's teaching about the flesh, which Paul himself had used with wider application.<sup>8</sup> Devout Christians felt that they must reject the body, especially the sensual pleasure it could produce. You could best achieve that radical renunciation by abandoning a pagan society that goaded you to gratify your lust. Jerome actually wondered whether Christians could profess the faith and continue to reside in cities.<sup>9</sup> Not uncharacteristically, he seemed more intent on removing the speck from another's eye than attending to the log in his own, for he himself never practiced the ascetical extremes of other hermits in that desert community. In his rather comfortable lodging, ample enough for his large library, he greeted a steady stream of visitors. From that hermitage, moreover, Jerome continued to correspond with his many acquaintances and to improve his knowledge of languages, focusing especially on Hebrew.<sup>10</sup>

Jerome left his cave when he could no longer tolerate what he perceived to be the hypocrisy of his fellow hermits. To the ascetics around Calchis, he had always seemed a Latin outsider who was far too proud of his erudition and powerful friends. When those ascetics began to criticize him, he lashed back in characteristically pungent prose. Despite their flamboyant asceticism, those hermits had experienced no true conversion of heart and arrogantly questioned the pronouncements of church councils and the bishop of Rome.<sup>11</sup> Attracted once again to the cities, Jerome moved first to Antioch where he finally accepted ordination as a priest.<sup>12</sup> He genuinely revered the priestly ministry, though

<sup>8</sup> Brown coined the term "sexualization" in *Body and Society*, 368–86. I have closely followed Brown's analysis because I find it compelling.

<sup>9</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 14.6 (CSEL 54:53), where Jerome responds to the question, "Quicumque in civitate sunt, Christiani non sunt?" Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), 102–4, notes that, in later years, Jerome tended to soften his original position on this issue. In general, see Paul Antin, "Le ville chez saint Jérôme," in *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), 380–81, 386–89.

<sup>10</sup> See Hieronymus *Ep.* 5.2 (CSEL 54:22) for the abundance of manuscripts and the young assistants who worked as his scribes. In *Ep.* 125.12 (CSEL 56:131), Jerome commented on the difficulties of learning Hebrew, which he used to discipline himself when he was distracted by thoughts of Rome's pleasures. In general, see Kelly, *Jerome*, 46–52; and Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 99–106.

<sup>11</sup> See Hieronymus *Ep.* 17.2 (CSEL 54:70–71); and Kelly, *Jerome*, 55–56.

<sup>12</sup> See Hieronymus *Contra Ioan. Hierosolymitanum* 41 (PL 23:410–11); and Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 106–7, 125–32.

he was never reticent when it came to reprimanding its dissolute members. Still, the decision to be ordained had again stirred deep-seated misgivings. Jerome salved his conscience by continuing to espouse a life of asceticism and by describing himself as an ascetic. He would never allow the learned prestige of the clerical state to water down his renunciatory ideals. Although Jerome was ordained in the church of Antioch, he insisted on freedom from that church and selectively exercised the sacramental ministries. From Antioch, he continued his pilgrimage to Constantinople, where he studied with Gregory of Nazianzus. In 382, he moved to Rome, where he assisted Pope Damasus and counseled aristocratic women.

With typical bravado, Jerome later claimed that, had jealous clerics not driven him from Rome, he would have been elected to succeed Damasus as pope.<sup>13</sup> By drafting important papal correspondence, Jerome created the historical basis for his legendary status as a cardinal. He worked hard to fulfill the pope's commission to revise the Latin translation of the Gospels. Jerome's thorough scrutiny of the sources taught him the complexities of textual scholarship: there were "as many forms of the text as there were manuscripts."<sup>14</sup> He checked the Latin versions of the Gospels against the Greek original, and he consistently consulted manuscripts that were older than any we possess today. Because Jerome began to change translations that had long been used in the liturgy, he added to the controversy swirling around him. His opponents insinuated that he had no right to tamper with the sacred text.

While taking the first steps toward the Vulgate translation, Jerome also advised an intimate circle of aristocratic women. His counsels help us understand the character of a Christian spirituality that took root in Rome in the second half of the fourth century. The letter that he wrote to Julia Eustochium, daughter of his confidante Paula, became a classic presentation on the ideal of consecrated virginity. With purposeful irony, Jerome praised a virgin's potential fecundity, and he encouraged Roman women to study the Scripture. He actually taught some of them Greek so well that they were more fluent in the language than church leaders like Ambrose. Virginity, therefore, might help to propagate learning. There was also an undeniably radical streak in Jerome's advocacy of

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<sup>13</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 45.3 (CSEL 54:325). In general, see Kelly, *Jerome*, 80–115.

<sup>14</sup> Hieronymus *Praef. in quatuor evangelia* 2 (PL 29:526), cited by Kelly, *Jerome*, 86, and by Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 11.

virginity, as he came to see sexual activity as “intrinsically defiling.”<sup>15</sup> His lifelong ascetic ideals emerged in their unbending rigor when he encouraged his female devotees to fast, to wear coarse garments, to neglect their personal appearance, and to avoid luxuries like bathing.

By meddling in the life of Paula’s eldest daughter, Blesilla, Jerome piqued the anger of the Roman elite. Unlike her sister Eustochium, Blesilla had thrown herself into the spirited life of aristocratic society. Even after her husband’s sudden death, she continued to attend closely to matters of fashion and style. Some time thereafter, the young woman found herself bedridden with fever; while recuperating, she underwent a conversion along the lines that Jerome had long recommended. Abandoning her dedication to life’s pleasures, Blesilla plunged into a rigorous regime of mortification and the study of Hebrew. Within four months, however, her body gave out under the strain of her new lifestyle. When Blesilla’s mother Paula collapsed in grief at her daughter’s funeral, Jerome decided that he had to rebuke her for such indecorous behavior.<sup>16</sup>

The episode fortified the convictions of those in Rome who saw Jerome as a dangerous fanatic. Meanwhile, he did little to moderate his truculent outbursts. When Jerome attacked Helvidius for questioning the perpetual virginity of Mary, he belittled the state of marriage. When he addressed his fellow clerics, he caricatured them as effeminate gluttons bent only on enriching themselves. When he lectured Roman society in general, he challenged some of their most cherished values, especially *pietas*. “Too great a loyalty to one’s own,” Jerome decreed, “is a betrayal of God.”<sup>17</sup> It is little wonder, then, that, after the death of Damasus, he was soon forced to leave the city.

In August of 385, Jerome set out on a new pilgrimage to the eastern Mediterranean. In the company of Paula and Eustochium, he toured the various monastic communities of Egypt and the Middle East. Eventually, the little band of exiles settled at Bethlehem, founding separate monastic communities of men and women. Jerome found the years that immediately followed among the most fulfilling of his entire life. He had few worries because Paula assumed the considerable expenses involved in his scholarly activities: she set up his library, hired his copy-

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<sup>15</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 102. For the significance of the letter (*Ep.* 22), see *ibid.*, 99–103; and Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 108–10.

<sup>16</sup> See Hieronymus *Ep.* 39.6–8 (*CSEL* 54:305–8); Kelly, *Jerome*, 98–99; and Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 110.

<sup>17</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 39.6 (*CSEL* 54:306), cited by Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 109.

ists, and paid a Jew named Baraninas to tutor him in Hebrew. Jerome was free to concentrate on his pastoral and scholarly tasks. To care for his flock, he preached in local congregations, gave spiritual direction to the female members of the monastic community, and taught in the school he had established. To assist believers through his learning, he produced scholarly writings at a pace that Eugene Rice has justly characterized as “stupefying.”<sup>18</sup> He retranslated the Old Testament from the original Hebrew texts and thereby demonstrated that translators needed philological expertise, historical erudition, and rhetorical competence.

Early in 393, after eight years of relative tranquillity, Jerome immersed himself anew in controversies regarding the definition of Christian doctrine. Regrettably, he gave those disputes a personal edge. One disagreement pitted him against his boyhood friend, Rufinus. From Hippo in North Africa, Augustine wrote Jerome to express his dismay that so great a rift now divided church leaders once joined by the deepest bonds of affection. Ostensibly, Jerome and Rufinus fought over the legacy of Origen and matters of episcopal jurisdiction. In a scornful apology, however, Jerome did not conceal his jealousy of Rufinus who had become intimate friends with a holy woman named Melania. Worse still, the controversy led him to underline the inescapable risk of temptation whenever men and women gathered in the same place. A lifelong spiritual advisor to pious women, Jerome now claimed that such association must perforce be seen as extremely dangerous.<sup>19</sup>

The controversy with Rufinus was the most grievous of those years. Jerome also took umbrage when Augustine wrote to him and questioned his translation and exegesis of specific biblical passages. Sarcastically, he conceded that a mere ascetic like himself should never presume to disagree with so exalted a bishop.<sup>20</sup> Eventually, Jerome and Augustine made common cause against the positions of the British monk Pelagius, who arrived in the Holy Land sometime after 413. Jerome condemned the misplaced optimism of Pelagius and his naive belief that Christians might achieve moral perfection here on earth. To refute Pelagius, he felt it sufficient to point toward the overwhelming power of lust. Theological controversies touched a broader mainstream in the

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<sup>18</sup> Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 15. See further Kelly, *Jerome*, 129–78.

<sup>19</sup> See Kelly, *Jerome*, 195–209, 227–58; and Brown, *Body and Society*, 379–85.

<sup>20</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 217–20, 263–72.



fifth century. A disgruntled mob, spearheaded by followers of Pelagius, attacked and burned Jerome's monastery. Their pillaging probably destroyed the library of books that he had painstakingly collected from his youngest days in Rome. Grief for the loss of his precious volumes was compounded by the deaths of Paula in 404 and Eustochium late in 418 or early in 419. Jerome had also learned that Visigothic warriors had breached Rome's seemingly impenetrable walls in 410. Deprived of his intimate female associates and his books and convinced that Alaric's sack presaged the end of the world, he died in Bethlehem around 420.<sup>21</sup>

Even a brief summary of Jerome's life reveals why he left such a complex legacy to fellow believers. Despite his forceful description of life as a hermit in the desert, Jerome found more happiness in the palaces of aristocratic ladies and powerful priests, including the pope himself. During his long years in the monastery at Bethlehem, he rarely separated himself from his most trusted associates. He preached to local congregations, supervised arriving pilgrims, and dictated to scribes as he advanced his scholarly activities. And he never ceased to minister to pious women. In the final analysis, therefore, Jerome's learning overshadowed his eremitic ideals: he excelled as a translator and expositor of Scripture and as a spokesman for ascetic piety. Despite his lingering unease at combining the practice of asceticism and the study of secular writings, Jerome made himself the best textual scholar of his era, and it would be centuries before Christendom produced exegetes of comparable ability. His primary genius lay in the instinct to scrutinize the books of Scripture in their original languages. In the assessment of J. N. D. Kelly, Jerome made himself "one of the greatest of Latin stylists," even as the Roman Empire collapsed around him.<sup>22</sup>

All of those scholarly achievements, however, engendered a troubling question for later Christians: should one so learned in secular culture and so torn by that allegiance be numbered among the saints? In many ways, Jerome seemed deficient in the qualities that might make him the object of a popular cult. Only his female advisees had been consistently privy to the kindness of his heart. The extreme ascetical ideals that he had sanctioned mirrored the fury of his temperament. Subsequent generations of Christians, therefore, found it advisable to domesti-

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<sup>21</sup> See Kelly, *Jerome*, 309-32; and Rousseau, *Ascetics*, 116-19, 122-24.

<sup>22</sup> Kelly, *Jerome*, 335.

cate the legacy of Jerome in much the same manner that he was supposed to have tamed a lion. By extracting the thorns from his polemics and underlining his submissive obedience to church authority, he might safely become the object of Christian devotion. Much of the history of his cult from his death in 420 to the dawn of the revival of classical studies in 1350 reveals how devotees created the legend of a domesticated Jerome.<sup>23</sup>

In constructing that legend, Jerome's admirers could draw upon the wealth of personal data that he himself had supplied in his letters and prologues. The earliest biographers of Jerome, working from the fifth to the twelfth century, rearranged the chronology of his life in an effort to highlight the events that best served their own purposes.<sup>24</sup> They actually inverted the historical order, claiming that Jerome started in Rome where he served Pope Damasus, then moved to Constantinople where he studied with Gregory of Nazianzus, and finally settled in Syria where he experienced his agony in the desert. Jerome's movements declared his ascetical ideals, culminating in a grueling stay in the wilderness near Calchis. Similarly, the biographers made Jerome an exemplar of the virginity he had so vigorously advocated, even though he himself had admitted that he had lost his virginity as an adolescent in Rome. Anachronistically, they assigned him the rank of a cardinal-priest, thereby endowing him with a status to rival the other great intellectual saints of the Latin Church. Ambrose and Augustine had served the community as bishops, while Gregory the Great was elected to the supreme office of bishop of Rome. Jerome's biographers refused to allow him to remain on the lower rung of mere presbyter. The fiction that he attained a cardinal's red hat gave added luster to that office as it emerged to special prominence

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<sup>23</sup> See Francesco Lanzoni, "La leggenda di San Girolamo," in *Miscellanea Geronimiana: Scritti vari pubblicati nel XV centenario della morte di San Girolamo* (Rome, 1920), 19-36; Millard Meiss, "Scholarship and Penitence in the Early Renaissance: The Image of St. Jerome," in *The Painter's Choice: Problems in the Interpretation of Renaissance Art* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 189-97; Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 23-83; Daniel Russo, *Saint Jérôme en Italie: Étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité*, Images à l'Appui 2 (Paris: Découverte, and Rome: Ecole française, 1987), 37-148; and Anna Morisi Guerra, "La leggenda di San Girolamo: Temi e problemi tra umanesimo e controriforma," *Clio* 23 (1987): 5-12.

<sup>24</sup> Alberto Vaccari, "Le antiche vite di S. Girolamo," in *Miscellanea Geronimiana: Scritti vari pubblicati nel XV centenario della morte di San Girolamo* (Rome, 1920), 4-18, who identified Nicolò Maniacoria as the author of the twelfth-century biography of Jerome. The three principal biographies are 1) Anon., *Vita Sancti Hieronymi* (inc: Hieronymus noster), ca. 800-856, *BHL* no. 3869; 2) Anon., *Vita Divi Hieronymi* (inc: Plerosque nimirum), ca. 875-900, *BHL* no. 3870-71; 3) N. Maniacoria, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi vita*, ca. 1150, *BHL* no. 3873. See also Russo, *Saint Jérôme*, 20-26.

during the period of the Gregorian Reform in the eleventh century.<sup>25</sup>

Most challenging of all, the biographers sought to enhance Jerome's status as a spiritual patron; he needed miracles to prove his efficacy in petitioning favors from a gracious Divine Lord. He first achieved the status of a wonder-worker through the aforementioned taming of a lion. Jerome's biographers almost certainly borrowed the story from the legend of Saint Gerasimus, a revered Palestinian anchorite of the fifth century. The legend can ultimately be traced to an anecdote preserved by Aulus Gellius. Because an escaped Roman slave by the name of Androcles had extracted a thorn from the paw of a lion, he thereby gained a friend who would not devour him when he was thrown to the wild animals in a Roman circus. After Androcles, the story of the lion then passed from Gerasimus to Jerome, facilitated by the colloquial pronunciation of their Latin names (Gerasimo-Geronimo). However, as narrated by Jerome's biographers, the miracle also helped to magnify his standing as an advocate of cenobitic monasticism. Once subdued, the lion was told by Jerome to guard the ass who carried water to the monastery for the use of the monks. After initially proving less than vigilant, the remorseful lion eventually fulfilled Jerome's command with exemplary religious obedience. Although he had successfully tamed a lion, he still had to wait several centuries for his first confirmed *ex voto*. In a twelfth-century biography, a biblical scholar by the name of Nicolò Maniacoria claimed that Jerome had saved his mother from death during childbirth. As Anna Morisi Guerra aptly observed, Jerome went centuries without such an attribution because no one probably thought to pray to him.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> The anonymous Carolingian biography (inc: Hieronymus noster) first inverted the chronology; see Vaccari, "Le antiche vite," 8. The legend of Jerome's virginity ultimately derived from a remark of Marcellinus Comes (d. ca. 534); Iacopo da Varazze called attention to the error in the *Legenda aurea*. See *ibid.*, 2, and Lanzoni, "La leggenda," 19, 32. A second Carolingian biography (inc: Plerosque nimirum) claimed that Jerome was raised to the office of cardinal; the anonymous biographer thereby compounded the error of a predecessor who had asserted that Jerome was ordained in Rome. After the Gregorian Reform, Nicolò Maniacoria assigned Jerome the prestigious title of cardinal of S. Anastasia. See Vaccari, "Le antiche vite," 14, 18; and Lanzoni, "La leggenda," 35. In the twelfth century, Ioannes Beleth attributed liturgical standardizations of the Carolingian era to Jerome and then inflated their importance; see Lanzoni, 26–29.

<sup>26</sup> Maniacoria, "Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi . . . vita," *PL* 22:185; and Morisi Guerra, "La leggenda," 6–7. Maniacoria served as a deacon in Rome under Pope Lucius II (1144–45) and later became a Cistercian monk. For the story of the lion, see Vaccari, "Le antiche vite," 12–13; Lanzoni, "La leggenda," 33–34; and Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 37–45. Vaccari argued that the story passed from Gerasimus to Jerome through the literary mediation of the *Pratum spirituale* of Ioannes Moschus, who died in Rome in 619. The fable of Androcles is found in Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 5.14.

Early in the fourteenth century, however, an enterprising forger, perhaps a Dominican associated with the canons of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, decided to fill the final gap in the legend of Jerome. In letters attributed to distinguished ecclesiastical contemporaries of Jerome, the forger narrated the holiness of the saint's death in heroic defense of the faith and the miracles that he had performed before and after that exemplary death.<sup>27</sup> Freed from the technical language of the Scholastic theology of the day, those letters stirred admiration for Jerome as a wonder-worker and taught principles of Catholic doctrine as it was then being defined. He emerged in that context as a champion of orthodox faith, lending his prestige to the inquisitorial activities that engaged many Dominican friars. This apologetic approach to theology not only bolstered the efforts of inquisitors who saw themselves defending Latin Christianity from internal subversion but also those of crusaders who sought to vanquish Christendom's formidable external enemy, the infidels of the Moslem religion. Conveniently, Jerome was said to have arranged the transfer of his own relics from Bethlehem to Rome in 1291, after the last stronghold of the Latin kingdom had fallen to the Mamluks. Just a few years later, Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) gave official endorsement to Jerome's teaching authority by naming him one of the four doctors of the Latin Church.

By the early fourteenth century, sufficient data had now been added to the record of Jerome's activity in order to make his sanctity heroic for a much broader range of Christians. The rest of that century saw the consolidation and institutionalization of his cult in the Latin West, especially in Italy and Spain. In the second half of that century, five new congregations of religious men were established, all of them proud to place their monastic observance under the patronage of Jerome. Though distinct groups, the Hieronymites shared a common spirituality, which focused largely upon penitential exercises. The members of Hieronymite congregations lived a life of rigorous poverty and often chose not to be ordained. In keeping with their ascetic ideals, they looked with hostility on education in secular matters. In keeping with their image of Jerome as a champion of orthodoxy, they used his status as a doctor of the church to ingratiate themselves to church authorities. In that respect, the Hieronymites set themselves apart from groups like the Spiritual Franciscans, with whom they shared an emphasis on strict poverty. The asce-

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<sup>27</sup> The letters were attributed to Eusebius of Cremona (*BHL* no. 3866), Augustine of Hippo (*BHL* no. 3867), and Cyril of Jerusalem (*BHL* no. 3868).

tic emphasis of the Hieronymite cult of Jerome took visual form as well. Portraits of Jerome as an emaciated penitent in the wilderness adorned their churches and monasteries, even though that sojourn in the desert proved less defining than the popularity of such depictions would lead one to believe.<sup>28</sup>

By the middle of the fourteenth century, Giovanni d'Andrea (Ioannes Andreae, d. 1348), a professor of canon law at the University of Bologna, made it easier to become familiar with the recent additions to the legend of Jerome. Dismayed by the lack of reverence for Jerome in Italy and inspired by the success of the forged letters, Giovanni d'Andrea assembled a compendium that he appropriately entitled *Hieronymianus*. The volume included a biography of the saint, extensive excerpts from his works, and recommendations for fostering his cult in Italy. Giovanni hoped that devoted adherents of Jerome would further exploit the materials he had put together. Much like the great compendia that then served university instruction, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the *Decretum* of Gratian, Giovanni's tribute to Jerome gathered a vast amount of information. However, Giovanni himself tended to treat the information rather indiscriminately. Despite admitting his fascination with Jerome's linguistic abilities, Giovanni did not see the study of classical languages as a way to improve education and expand cultural horizons. And even though Giovanni recommended that artists portray Jerome as a cardinal in his study, the image of a penitent Jerome, who meditated upon the cross and his sins in a wilderness far removed from his books, remained much more popular.

Only with the flowering of the humanist movement in Italy would Jerome become the inspiration once again for serious philological study of the Bible. Even so, the first two generations of humanists treated Jerome as an opponent whom they had to answer rather than a scholar whom they wished to emulate.<sup>29</sup> Censorious ecclesiastics, who opposed

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<sup>28</sup> Rice, *Jerome in the Renaissance*, 104, offers a statistical comparison for paintings of Jerome from ca. 1400 to 1600. There are 558 examples of Jerome in penitence as contrasted to only 133 examples of Jerome in his study. See further Russo, *Saint Jérôme*, 201–73.

<sup>29</sup> See Giuseppe Maugeri, *Il Petrarca e San Girolamo* (Catania, 1920), 27–29, 80–88; Berthold Louis Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 4 (Padua: Antenore, 1963), 54, 61; Manlio Dazzi, *Il Mussato preumanista (1261–1329): L'ambiente e l'opera* (Vicenza: Pozza, 1964), 108–23; Pietro Paolo Gerosa, *Umanesimo cristiano del Petrarca: Influenza agostiniana, attinenze medievali* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1966), 156–79; Ronald G. Witt, "Coluccio Salutati and the Conception of the *Poeta Theologus* in the Fourteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 540–41; and John M. McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio (the Elder) and the Beginnings of the Humanist Cult of Jerome," *The Catholic Historical Review* 71 (1985): 363–68.

the growing interest in classical literature, adduced Jerome's dream and his statement that "the verses of poets are the food of demons" (*Ep.* 21.13) as clear evidence that it was wrong for Christians to study the literature of antiquity. Already in 1315, the Dominican Giovannino da Mantova cited Jerome's remark about the poets to reprimand Albertino Mussato of Padua (ca. 1261–1329) for writing verse. As public recognition of his ability, Mussato had recently won a laurel crowning. Beginning with Francesco Petrarca (1304–1374), humanists also wrestled with the issue of Jerome's dream and his condemnation as a Ciceronian. They spent much time interpreting Jerome in a way that, if it did not make him quite favorable to the cause of the humanities, would at least blunt the effect of his negative attitude toward pagan literature.

Petrarch himself emphasized that Jerome continued to study Cicero even after his oath not to do so. Consequently, Jerome's writings betrayed an inherently Ciceronian style. However, Petrarch preferred the interiority of Augustine to Jerome's more activist spirituality. Petrarch wrote to Giovanni d'Andrea and expressly disagreed with Giovanni's ranking Jerome a better scholar than Augustine. Petrarch and his early disciples preferred to look to Augustine as the primary Christian model for their literary and scholarly efforts. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) saw Jerome's stated opposition to the poets as selective and felt that Jerome really objected to the obscenity of comedy. Moreover, Boccaccio upbraided critics of humanism for quoting Jerome's remark about the "verses of poets" without any reference to his further comments. In that same letter, Jerome had appealed to the book of Deuteronomy to indicate the ways in which Christians might appropriate the most worthy elements of classical culture. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) likewise contended that those who presented Jerome as a doctrinaire critic of classical poetry badly distorted the saint's thinking. Jerome had paraphrased Virgil in the very same letter in which he cautioned against the dangers of poetry. Salutati felt that the dream simply reiterated Jerome's fundamental conviction that one should not engage in excessive study of classical works. Thus, the first two generations of humanists were compelled to deal with the figure of Jerome primarily because opponents of humanism pointed to Jerome as a religious authority hostile to pagan learning. Those humanists showed no special reverence toward the saint and often found him a problem.

## CHAPTER 2

# Vergerio's Perspective:

## A Path to Sanctity through Humanism

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In keeping with his personal experience and his humanist studies, Pierpaolo Vergerio the elder (ca. 1369–1444) offered his era a richer picture of Jerome. Vergerio closely associated the saint with the formative experiences of his childhood. To render homage to its blessed patron, Vergerio's family offered a banquet on his feast for the local poor and the domestic servants of their household. Vergerio's family was convinced that Jerome had rewarded their loyalty by protecting their flight from Capodistria to Cividale del Friuli during the War of Chioggia (1378–1381).<sup>1</sup> Nourished in an environment that saw the family as honored clients of a powerful heavenly patron, Vergerio committed himself to a public act of devotion to Jerome for the rest of his life. His sermons and letters, written to extol Jerome on his feast-day (30 September), represent the concrete fruit of that commitment.<sup>2</sup>

In discussing Vergerio's originality in the sermons, it is only fair to

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<sup>1</sup> See *Epist.*, 186–87; and, in the present volume, *Sermo 5*.

<sup>2</sup> See John M. McManamon, "Innovation in Early Humanist Rhetoric: The Oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder," *Rinascimento*, n.s., 22 (1982): 24–27; and McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio and the Beginnings," 356–63. Three of the sermons are dated: 5 (Padua, 1392), 8 (to the papal court in Rome, 1406), and 9 (to the papal court in Siena, 1408). From internal evidence, it is clear that three sermons were delivered to monks who followed the rule of Benedict (1, 5, and 10 at a rural monastery). Two of the sermons were given in the region of Istria (3 and 6). Evidence in eight of the sermons (1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10) establishes that none of them was the first that Vergerio delivered.

acknowledge that he was not unaffected by recent accretions to the legend. Yet, in more than one instance, the content and form of Vergerio's sermons demonstrate that he evaluated the tradition with the critical eye he generally brought to historical research. In fact, he shaped the material to his broader goal of fostering a cult of Jerome that would make him the patron saint of humanist studies. Though Vergerio discussed Jerome's envious rivals in several sermons, he alluded only once to the farcical story that some of them attempted to destroy his reputation by leaving a woman's dress near his bed.<sup>3</sup> After Vergerio had used the account publicly, he seemed to have lost faith in it. Vergerio also praised Jerome for his ascetic withdrawal into the desert, and he admitted that he liked to quote the famous passage in which Jerome had described his sufferings. Vergerio's surviving sermons bear him out: that passage is cited in eight of the ten panegyrics. In keeping with recent traditions, then, Vergerio's Jerome exemplified the value of asceticism, but that asceticism did not spring from a rejection of secular culture and all of the dangers associated with it. Rather, it sprang from Vergerio's concern for interior freedom, which acquired authentic expression when one controlled selfish and libidinous desires. Nor did Vergerio concentrate exclusively on monastic piety: though he alluded more than once to the story of the lion, he never mentioned the lengthy account of the lion's obedient service in Jerome's monastery. Moreover, Vergerio stressed that Jerome tamed the lion not only by removing the thorn but by instilling a sense of his trustworthiness.

Similarly, Vergerio accepted the legend that Jerome was a cardinal, though he winnowed away the details surrounding the appointment that he found in previous sources. He actually claimed that Jerome deserved to be ranked higher than his fellow Latin doctors, but he did not use the criterion of hierarchical office to defend that claim. Rather, he used a criterion of useful scholarship, according to which he felt that Jerome had proved himself superior to Augustine, Ambrose, and Gregory the Great. Vergerio's first attempt to derive the etymology of *Hieronymus* was based upon information in the *Legenda aurea*, a passage that Giovanni d'Andrea likewise cited in the *Hieronymianus*. After Vergerio had studied Greek under Manuel Chrysoloras, however, he succeeded for the

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<sup>3</sup> PPV, *Sermo 3*: "Nam muliebri veste per fraudem contactum de incontinentia calumniati sunt." The story originated in the biography of Nicolò Maniacoria; see Lanzoni, "La leggenda," 36.



first time in determining the correct etymology of "sacred name." In both instances, he emphasized a fitting tie between the meaning of the name and the learned activities of the one who bore it. No enemy of learning, Vergerio's Jerome instead testified to the value of humanist scholarship for biblical exegesis and for an authentically catholic piety. Vergerio explicitly drew a parallel between the Christian doctors who aided the *res publica Christiana* through their preaching and writing and the humanist orators of antiquity who aided the *res publica Romana* through their public speeches and their historical writings.

Vergerio used his portrait of Jerome to promote rhetorical education based upon classical standards and to advance certain proposals for church reform. He praised Jerome for his knowledge of letters (*peritia litterarum*) because Vergerio felt that an education in letters made it possible for Jerome to be successful in his various ministries. By letters, Vergerio meant proficiency first of all in the Latin language, and then in Greek and Hebrew. These linguistic abilities helped Jerome to become an expert philologist. By letters, Vergerio also meant eloquence, in which Jerome attained the standard of excellence set centuries earlier by Cicero.<sup>4</sup> Nor did Vergerio evade the controversial character of Jerome's humanist learning. On one occasion prior to his permanent move to the papal court in 1405 and repeatedly thereafter, Vergerio discussed Jerome's dream. Vergerio interpreted the dream as a warning to Jerome that he shift his scholarly priorities. Humanist learning should provide the skills necessary to undertake serious philological study of sacred letters. Vergerio suggested that virtually all of Jerome's exegetical works came after that frightening experience. He could never have accomplished his scriptural studies, however, without thorough grounding in the three relevant languages, nor had he ever ceased to study pagan literature.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> PPV, *Sermo 5*: "... ipsum medius fidius Ciceronem mihi legere videor cum libros Hieronymi lego." In *Sermo 3*, Vergerio claims that Jerome had equaled the accomplishments of Cicero in the field of eloquence.

<sup>5</sup> PPV, *Sermo 3*: "Posthac autem, ut ipse asserit, codices gentilium legit, sed tanto studio divina tractavit quanto illa ante non legerat, unde aut totum aut certe partem maximam suorum librorum postquam id evenit edidit. In quibus tamen tantum est peregrinae historiae, tantum gentilium fabularum externaeque disciplinae, omnia ad fidei usum accommodata ut nihil aliud dies ac noctes egisse quam ut illa conquirit videri possit. Sed et de fide tot tantaque praescipit ut nusquam ei vacasse libros gentilium legere facile credi queat." If Vergerio's sermon is correctly transmitted, he revised Jerome's account in order to favor humanist studies. In the *Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas* (PL 26:427), Jerome claimed that he had *not* read any of the secular writers for fifteen years after the dream. To embellish the

Ciceronian eloquence also supplied Jerome with a set of values worthy of his scholarly vocation. According to Vergerio, Jerome had consistently questioned himself about the relevance (*utilitas*) of his intellectual pursuits. Jerome was never satisfied merely with the personal enjoyment (*otium, voluptas*) that his studies engendered. He had undertaken vast projects like the revision of the Vulgate translation in order to provide vital assistance to a variety of ecclesiastical activities. Vergerio attempted to characterize the supreme value of the scholarship of Jerome by claiming that no one had ever written anything more essential to the life of the believing community. Secondly, Jerome proved to be a scholar in the Ciceronian mold because he had safeguarded the persuasive power of his ethos. Vergerio fused the title of Christian *doctor* with the ideal Roman *orator*, an upright man skilled in public persuasion. "He was a doctor not only in word but in deed and was no less distinguished by his life than he was by his language. That is the best type of learning, in which one confirms by the example of his life what he has publicly advocated that all should do."<sup>6</sup>

Jerome proved to be victorious in the greatest of life's conflicts, the subjection of oneself to reason and the dictates of an informed conscience. Three times, Jerome gave dramatic proof of the degree of interior freedom that he had achieved. First, when all thought that Jerome would be chosen as the next pope, he left the city of Rome. He overcame the temptation to grasp supreme power in the church and offered a noble example of indifference. By leaving Rome altogether, he also stymied those jealous Roman clerics who had intrigued to undermine his influence at the papal court. Secondly, Jerome went to study under Gregory of Nazianzus at a moment in his career when he was considered one of the most learned scholars of the day. Consistent with the ideals of Socratic philosophy, Jerome remained constantly aware of the limits of his knowledge. Finally, during his time as a hermit in the Syrian desert, Jerome suffered intense temptations to abandon his asceticism and return to the carousing of his adolescence. Vergerio accurately

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legend of Jerome, the fourteenth-century authors had even assigned him competence in several other languages. Vergerio returned to Jerome's description of himself as "trilinguis"; see Lanzoni, "La leggenda," 36–41.

<sup>6</sup> *Epist.*, 184–85: "Doctor non solum verbo sed exemplo, nec minus vita clarus quam sermone. Illud enim est optimum doctrinae genus, ut, quod ore quis faciendum monet, vita exemploque suo comprobet." See also PPV, *Sermo 5*: "Non solum enim verbo et scriptis sed re et exemplo docuit . . ."; and Jerome's comments on Lea in *Ep.* 23.2 (CSEL 54:212): "... et comites suas plus exemplo docuisse quam verbo."

noted that Jerome's spiritual struggles intensified after he had abandoned the civilized world of the city. Those who simplistically saw such withdrawal as a flight from life's challenges did not understand the movements of the spiritual life.

Above all, Jerome concerned himself with fidelity to the values that he advocated and usefulness to others. Employing a healthy dose of the pragmatism that Vergerio admired, Jerome had adapted his actions to the needs of his day. Vergerio likewise adapted his message to the needs of his audience. When speaking before monks, Vergerio emphasized the importance of reform through observance of the rule. Too many monks, in Vergerio's estimation, had surrendered to the temptation to relax the zeal of their commitment. They should be inspired to reform by the example of Jerome's integrity. Jerome's biographies of the desert fathers, replete with vivid descriptions of their austere lives, reinforced that message. Though monks in Vergerio's day might not reach the heroic levels of sanctity of those early hermits, they could certainly imitate the desert fathers by practicing charity. Once they renewed themselves, they might help monastic life to flourish once again.

Vergerio also used his praise of Jerome to indicate other areas where the church had need of reform. He suggested that preaching had lost vigor because preachers were solely concerned with achieving popularity. Their appeal to moral values suffered because they themselves led such dissolute lives. Jerome had once reminded preachers that the faithful frequently ask themselves why a given preacher did not do the things he urged them to do.<sup>7</sup> The spiritual life of the church had lost intensity as the faithful observed the moral shortcomings of the clergy. Unlike the ascetic Jerome, contemporary clerics were wealthy and well-fed. Worse yet, they openly sought advancement in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Jerome had left Rome when his election as pope seemed guaranteed. In Vergerio's day, two rivals claimed to be pope and refused to consider any resolution of the schism that might endanger their own standing. Vergerio wondered how anyone could be surprised to see

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<sup>7</sup> *Epist.*, 184–85: “In qua re parum curiosi mihi praedicatores nostri temporis videntur, quibus omne in bene dicendo studium est, in bene faciendo nullum; quasi vero in fide de eloquentia, non de ratione vitae contendatur, aut orationibus, non bonis / atque sanctis viris, caelum pateat. Qui ergo recte docet et ita vivit ut docet, vere ille doctor est; qui aliter, mendax et se ipsum sententia sua condemnans.” See also Hieronymus *Ep.* 52.7 (*CSEL* 54:426–27): “Non confundant opera sermonem tuum, ne, cum in ecclesia loqueris, tacitus quilibet respondeat: ‘cur ergo haec ipse non facis?’”

utterly unworthy candidates occupying the throne of Peter. Ambitious men longed for the comforts of life at Rome or Avignon.<sup>8</sup>

It was finally characteristic of Vergerio's sermons to place little or no emphasis on the miracles that Jerome had performed. By "passing over those miracles in silence," a use of the rhetorical figure of *paralepsis*, Vergerio implicitly censured the tales of wonder-working in the forged letters. The letters improperly pandered to the credulous instincts of the common people. Vergerio offered a spirituality that emphasized the importance of learning for an elite group of educators and scholars. Nevertheless, in one of the sermons, he did describe a miracle that Jerome performed on behalf of two pagan travelers, whose curiosity had led them to set out for Bethlehem in order to see the grave of Jerome. The two young men lost their way and wandered into a forest where they were spotted by a band of thieves. Jerome intervened to protect the two travelers by making them appear to be a much larger group. The robbers immediately retreated when they felt they were outnumbered. Once the protagonists had grasped the nature of Jerome's miraculous intervention, they were moved to action. The pagans accepted baptism while the thieves entered a monastery.

The miracle reflected Vergerio's convictions in three important ways. First, Vergerio had not forgotten the protection that Jerome offered to his family on the road to Cividale del Friuli. Secondly, Vergerio consistently saw vision as the most significant and powerful of the human senses; he would easily recall an instance when Jerome accomplished his miraculous purpose by creating an optical illusion. Finally, of all of the miracles attributed to Jerome, Vergerio chose one worked on behalf of two non-believers. Having demonstrated that Jerome assisted pagans and criminals, Vergerio assured his audience that Jerome would be generous toward all Christians and Catholics in particular, if they venerated his name.<sup>9</sup> As a matter of fact, Vergerio had dedicated himself to promoting Jerome as a protector of the pagans in his own day. He did not hesitate to advance his argument from worthy pagans to pious Christians because, in his estimation, both deserved to benefit

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<sup>8</sup> PPV, *Sermo 1*: "Ex quibus factum est ut non tam summo pontificatu, ad quem etiam indigni pervenire possunt, quam regno caelorum, quo nullus pertingit indignus, se dignissimum redderet. . . ."

<sup>9</sup> PPV, *Sermo 7*: "Sic igitur hic gloriosus sanctus in gentiles et nefarios homines tam pronus tamque beneficus extitit; quanto magis in Christianos et vere Catholicos, si nomen suum venerabuntur, existet?"

from Jerome's patronage. Vergerio thereby transformed Jerome from the enemy of humanist learning to a proof of the value of those studies for the believing community, especially for its "sacred philology."<sup>10</sup>

To communicate that portrait of Jerome as an exponent of humanist learning, Vergerio appropriately chose a humanist medium. He consciously changed the manner of preaching common in his day. In the introduction to a sermon that Vergerio delivered in 1392, he told his audience that he was omitting a thematic verse from Scripture as the basis for his remarks. Once he did that, he no longer had to structure the sermon as an explanation for the relevance of the scriptural theme. He could rather concentrate on the life of Jerome. Vergerio therefore used the rhetorical topics of a panegyric oration as specified in the classical handbooks. He had become conversant with those topics in those same years as he wrote epideictic speeches for the Carrara court in Padua. Vergerio claimed that he was doing what the most up-to-date preachers (*apud modernos*) commonly did. As a matter of fact, scholars who have investigated Renaissance preaching have not found any earlier examples of sermons based upon classical norms. Even Vergerio acknowledged on one occasion that his avant-garde methods were causing controversy.<sup>11</sup> He eventually brought his innovative medium and reforming message to the papal court.

Vergerio moved from Padua to Rome in 1405, and he served in the court of Innocent VII (1404–1406) and Gregory XII (1406–1415). In September of 1406, he prepared to deliver a panegyric for Jerome during a moment of unusual happiness. Just a few weeks earlier, Vergerio had written a poem to describe his idyllic life at the court of a generous patron. Reunited there with his close friend, Leonardo Bruni, Vergerio commended Innocent VII for offering support to the humanist move-

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<sup>10</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1979), 72.

<sup>11</sup> For the controversy, see *Epist.*, 93 ("... plurimi qui dicendi tantum genus adverterent arguerentque si quid ineptius excidisset..."). On the originality of Vergerio's approach, see Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, 248–49; John W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, ca. 1450–1521*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 3 (Durham, N.C.: Duke Univ. Press, 1979), 85–86; and McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio and the Beginnings," 369–71. The outline for a thematic sermon on Jerome prepared by Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419) demonstrates the traditional methods that Vergerio rejected. For the outline, see *Les Sermons Panégyriques*, edited by H. D. Fages, O.P., vol. 2 of *Oeuvres de Saint Vincent Ferrer* (Paris, 1909), 734. On Vincent's career as a preacher beginning in 1399, see Alvaro Huerga, "Vincent Ferrer," *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1994), 16:815–16.

ment at a critical moment.<sup>12</sup> For several years, learned clerics like Giovanni Dominici had mounted a sustained attack on the humanist program. In sermons and tracts, Dominici claimed that humanist studies in no way assisted a believer and at times proved positively harmful. Dominici specifically censured the manipulative power of orators trained in classical principles. The Florentine Dominican seemed to be the one opponent of humanism who understood the importance of rhetoric to ancient culture. Dominici used that importance to emphasize the dangers of a humanist education.<sup>13</sup>

The attack on humanism figured prominently in Vergerio's mind as he composed his annual panegyric for Jerome in 1406. Vergerio also became increasingly concerned when Innocent did not fulfill his promise to call a council which would address the problem of the Western Schism. A rebellion in Rome the previous year had threatened Innocent's position, but with his authority restored, Vergerio saw no excuse for further delay. Vergerio's panegyric on 30 September 1406 addressed both of those concerns. In response to the criticisms of Giovanni Dominici, Vergerio presented Jerome as epitomizing the humanist ideal of education that Vergerio had already traced in a treatise entitled *De ingenuis moribus* (ca. 1402-1403). Jerome was learned (*doctus*) and upright (*rectus*). He had mastered a variety of disciplines that included the three biblical languages, Ciceronian oratory, history, and literary criticism. Vergerio also claimed that Jerome had approached theology from dependable perspectives, utilizing his linguistic skills to interpret the text of Scripture.

That learning constituted *prima facie* evidence for Jerome's sanctity, and the Roman Church had publicly acknowledged that fact by naming

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<sup>12</sup> On the poem and its context, see PPV, *Poetica narratio*, in *Epist.*, 453; George Holmes, *The Florentine Enlightenment 1400-50* (New York: Pegasus, 1969), 60; and Germano Gualdo, "Antonio Loschi, segretario apostolico (1406-1436)," *Archivio storico italiano* 147, no. 4 (1989): 750-57. For Bruni's activity at the court, including his drafting of a bull announcing the reestablishment of the University (dated 1 September 1406), see Gordon Griffiths, "Leonardo Bruni and the Restoration of the University of Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 26 (1973): 1-10.

<sup>13</sup> Ullman, *Humanism of Salutari*, 63-65; Giorgio Cracco, "Banchini, Giovanni di Domenico," *DBI*, 5:657-64; Holmes, *Florentine Enlightenment*, 32-35; Peter Denley, "Giovanni Dominici's Opposition to Humanism," in Keith Robbins, ed., *Religion and Humanism*, Studies in Church History 17 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 109-14; and Daniel R. Lesnick, "Civic Preaching in the Early Renaissance: Giovanni Dominici's Florentine Sermons," in Timothy Verdon and John Henderson, eds., *Christianity and the Renaissance: Image and Religious Imagination in the Quattrocento* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1990), 214-22.

him one of its doctors. Speaking before a distinguished audience of Roman clerics, Vergerio again confronted the problem of Jerome's dream. He claimed that the dream had only censured excessive enthusiasm for humanist studies, and not their pursuit. As a matter of fact, Jerome's entire career demonstrated that he had enriched the church's theology by interpreting Scripture with sound training in the biblical languages and history. Furthermore, Jerome exemplified the sort of ethical cleric that the church needed in every era. Jerome had more in common with the virtuous pagans of antiquity than he did with many clerics of the fifteenth century. Though Jerome almost certainly would have won election as pope, he preferred to leave Rome for a life of asceticism. In Vergerio's day, two popes clung to their authority, thereby causing a prolonged schism. God had endowed Jerome with holiness sufficient to tame a lion in order to demonstrate that patience and kindness best served the cause of overcoming hatred. Innocent VII should approach the rival camp in Avignon with the same patient kindness.<sup>14</sup>

In September of 1408, Vergerio again spoke on Jerome before the papal court, which was momentarily resident in Siena. Support for Gregory XII had begun to hemorrhage because Gregory had repudiated a promise to meet with his rival, Benedict XIII. Instead, Gregory had taken refuge at Lucca, where he compounded the problem by violating his oath not to appoint new cardinals. When several of his cardinals protested by leaving, Gregory sent a papal army into Florentine territory to arrest them.<sup>15</sup> Vergerio stayed with the pope and attempted to convince him to abide by the plan for face-to-face negotiations. In his panegyric for Jerome, therefore, Vergerio once again hammered away at favorite themes. Jerome exemplified the appropriateness of secular learning and the importance of interior detachment, which he had proven by ceding to his enemies and withdrawing from Rome. Gregory should mirror the image of that dedicated saint, who never wavered in his courageous convic-

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<sup>14</sup> PPV, *Sermo 8*: "Cum mundo quippe gessit et vicit, quando sacerdos iam factus et summo sacerdotio dignus habitus ab urbe cessit pompisque saeculi et omni ambitioni mundanorum honorum renuntiavit. . . maledicos beneficiendo vincere et eorum in nos odium virtute patientiae mansuetudinisque superare."

<sup>15</sup> Leonardo Bruni, *Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Laurentius Mehus (Florence, 1741), 59–65 (*Ep.* 2.21). An English translation of the letter by Gordon Griffiths is published in *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni: Selected Texts*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 46, in conjunction with *The Renaissance Society of America: Renaissance Texts Series 10* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1987), 328–32.

tion that ecclesiastical rank does not make one a Christian.<sup>16</sup>

Through a special devotion, Vergerio transformed Jerome from an enemy of humanist learning to an advocate of its benefit for committed Christians. The portrayal of Jerome as a Christian scholar who endorsed the value of humanist studies galvanized subsequent exponents of the movement. A half century later, Timoteo Maffei argued that eloquence gave philosophy and theology their persuasive force, while Lorenzo Valla claimed that Jerome's dream had really condemned the study of philosophy, not the humanities. In Valla's estimation, the humanist disciplines actually provided an ideal preparation for authentic theology. Radical in word and deed, Valla undertook an incisive philological study of the New Testament based upon his knowledge of Greek. As humanists, Vergerio, Maffei, and Valla restored Jerome to his study where he engaged in scholarship useful for believers.<sup>17</sup> They insisted that humanist studies made a saint like Jerome more catholic than his zealously ascetic instincts might have led him to be. And humanist panegyric of Jerome helped to inspire Renaissance artists, who depicted him as a scholar in the service of the church.

That seems apparent in Antonello da Messina's famous portrait of "Saint Jerome in His Study" (Plate 1).<sup>18</sup> A beardless Jerome, dressed in cardinal's robes, works at his desk on an elevated platform in rather unusual surroundings. The beardless face suggests that the artist has portrayed Jerome as a contemporary scholar-cardinal, perhaps Nicholas of Cusa. More importantly, Antonello has stripped Jerome's study of the symbols of mortality—the skull and the hourglass—that traditionally guided the saint's meditations. Now Jerome is surrounded by symbols that suggest the lasting value of his endeavors: the peacock and the partridge. The artist has invested Jerome's humanist activities with a lasting quality of value for believers. And he has followed the lines of thought traced by humanists like Vergerio because he placed Jerome's study within a church.

When Antonello da Messina devised the setting for Jerome at work,

<sup>16</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 14.9 (CSEL 54:58): "Non facit ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum."

<sup>17</sup> For humanist attempts to deal with the dream's legacy, see Rice, *Jerome in the Renaissance*, 85–87; McManamon, "Pier Paolo Vergerio and the Beginnings," 363–71; Morisi Guerra, "La leggenda," 12–17; and Rutherford, "Timoteo Maffei's Attack," 165–70.

<sup>18</sup> In my comments on the painting, I am indebted to the analysis of Herbert Friedmann, *A Bestiary for Saint Jerome: Animal Symbolism in European Religious Art* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), 157–63.



he revealed a special genius. Humanist studies here appear as an "elevated activity" for a leading churchman. There is an openness and mutuality between the scholar's activity and the believing community for whom he labors: the study consists of an open alcove without walls to separate humanists from the church. Jerome works calmly there; the environment is so serene that a cat falls asleep as the faithful lion saunters down a side aisle. Antonello implied that the church enriches itself when its learned members offer sanctuary to cultural traditions that go beyond the official boundaries of belief. And the raging lion within is thereby tamed. At their best, humanist studies foster a sense that truth has no value unless it impinges upon the way a believer lives. A dialogue with broader cultural traditions, in Vergerio's estimation, made Jerome the great servant of the church's needs in the late fourth and early fifth century and prevented him from blundering wholly into the radical asceticism that guided his severe admonitions about human sexuality. Vergerio suggested to his contemporaries that they should imagine for a moment the character of Jerome's piety without the tempering influence of his humanism; he had a point.



## PART II

### Manuscripts and Editions



## CHAPTER 3

# Manuscripts

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### A Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 1890, 1891

Not seen; description based upon bibliography. Membr. in folio. 13 October 1483 and 17 November 1484, Florence. 420 X 280 mm. 439 and 536 folios. Quinternions with signatures in the lower right-hand corner. Vertical catchwords within right-hand margins below last line. 42 lines per page on 267 X 152 mm., bounded by double vertical and horizontal lines; space between verticals measures 7 mm. Writing above the top line. Single column throughout. Illuminated initials and Italian decoration. The first leaves were replaced in the early sixteenth century with substitutes on which a French artist painted the arms of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise (in one case over those of Cardinal Guillaume Briçonnet). Written in *antiqua* by scribe who signed both volumes in his characteristic way: "Omnium rerum vicissitudo est" (Lat. 1890, fol. 439; Lat. 1891, fol. 536). Scholars have identified the scribe as Neri Rinuccini (1435–1506).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Albert Derolez, "Observations on the Colophons of the Humanistic Scribes in Fifteenth-Century Italy," in Gabriel Silagi, ed., *Paläographie 1981 (Colloquium des Comité International de Paléographie München, 15–18 September 1981, Referate)*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 32 (Munich: Arbo-Gesellschaft e.V., 1982), 253, 256–57; Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin*, *Bibliothologia* 5–6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 1:154; Albinia de la Mare, "The Florentine Scribes of Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon," in Cesare Questa and Renato Raffaelli, eds., *Il libro e il testo* (Urbino: Quattroventi, 1984), 247, 262–64; and De la Mare, "New Research on Humanistic Scribes in Florence," in Annarosa Garzelli, *Miniatura fiorentina del Rinascimento 1440–1525: Un primo censimento*, *Inventari e cataloghi toscani* 18 (Scandicci [Florence]: La Nuova Italia, 1985), 1:471–72, 521–23.

*History:* De la Mare believes that Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon (d. 1485) originally commissioned the codices for the Royal Library at Naples. They are listed in the inventory of the French Royal Library prepared by Nicolas Rigault in 1622 (no. 173, 186) and in the inventory of 1682 by Nicolas Clément (Reg. 3628, 3629).

*Contents:* Hieronymus, *Epistolae et opuscula*. The scribe copied the works from the edition in two volumes printed at Parma, 1480.

118 (Lat. 1890, fols. 437v–39) Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae).

*Bibliography:* Léopold-Victor Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale ...* (1868–81; repr. Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969), 1:252; Philippe Lauer, ed., *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins (Bibliothèque National)* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939ff.), 2:222–25; Derolez, *Codicologie*, 2:97 (no. 629); De la Mare, “Florentine Scribes,” 279 (no. 42); and De la Mare, “New Research,” 1:466–67, 522–23.

**Ar London, British Library, cod. Arundel 304**

Not seen; description based upon bibliography. Cart. in octavo. s. XV (ex.). 92 fols. Humanist cursive hand of high quality.

*History:* Formerly owned by Jakob Spiegel von Schlettstadt (Sélestat).

From a donation of Thomas Marshall (1621–85).<sup>2</sup>

*Contents:* Hieronymus, *Epistolae et opuscula*

1 (fols. 3–77v) <Hieronymus, *Epistolae*>: 1 (fols. 3ff) Hieronymus, *Ep. ... ad Heliodorum ... de vita solitaria* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:5, 400); 2 (fols. 13ff.) *Ep. ... ad Rusticum monachum* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:62–64, 975); 3 (fols. 30vff.) *Ep. ad Paulinum de institutione clericorum et monachorum* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:26–28, 668); 4 (fols. 41ff.) *Ep. de morte Nepotiani* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:28–30, 682); 5 (fols. 41vff., cf. fol. 71v) *Ep. ad Nepotianum de vita clericorum et monachorum* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:21–22, 602);

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<sup>2</sup> In a letter dated 24 November 1516, Erasmus Strenberger wrote that Jakob Spiegel “comparavit opera S. Hieronymi, quae et pulcherrime fecit illigari . . .”; see Karl Heinz Burmeister, “Die Bibliothek des Jakob Spiegel,” in Fritz Krafft and Dieter Wuttke, eds., *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, Kommission für Humanismusforschung, Mitteilung 4 (Boppard: H. Boldt, 1977), 177 n. 86. According to *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 12:1132–33, Thomas Marshall was made “chaplain in ordinary to the king” shortly after he became master of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1672.

- 6 (fols. 59ff.) *Ep. consolatoria ... de morte ... Nepotiani* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:28–30, 682)
- 2 (fols. 78ff.) Anon., *Sermo de morte et de die iudicii* (inc: In hac vita positi fratres)
- 3 (fols. 85v–86v) <Hieronymus, *Epistola et tractatus*>: 1 (fols. 85vff.) Hieronymus, *Ep. ad Demetriadem* (inc: Feruentissimi in terrenis, fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 1:66, 998); 2 (fols. 86vff.) *Adversus Iovinianum* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:386)
- 4 (fols. 87–92v) <Pierpaolo Vergerio>, *Sermo in laudem Sancti Hieronymi* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) (copied from volume one of the *editio princeps* printed at Rome, 1468).<sup>3</sup>

*Bibliography*: Josiah Forshall, *The Arundel Manuscripts*, vol. 1, n.s., of *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1834–40), 89; Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta: La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de saint Jérôme*, *Instrumenta patristica* 4 (Steenbrugge, Belg.: in abbatia S. Petri, 1969–72), 1:200, 2:386, 3:687; and *Iter* 4:125a.

**B Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827)**

Cart. in folio. Composite codex. s. XV (2)–XVI (in.), Italy. ca. 325 X 220 mm. I + 97 + II (missing fol. 70). Late numeration in ink in upper right-hand corner. Unnumbered single folios after fols. 77v, 88v, 90v.

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fols. 1–73v, 97r–v. Watermarks: fols. 1, 5, *Balance*, sim. Briquet 2591, att. Venice, 1496; fols. 3, 15, 21, *Balance*, sim. Briquet 2512, att. Venice, 1494, 1496, Naples, 1504, Salò, 1506; fols. 10, 19, 20, 31–45, *Balance*; fols. 11, 12, 17, *Tête de boeuf* (with serpent and cross); fols. 22–26, *Tête de boeuf*, sim. Briquet 14522, att. Venice, 1492, 1495; fols. 48–73, 97, *Balance*. Collation uncertain due to poor state of codex: 1–2<sup>6</sup>, 3<sup>8</sup>, 4<sup>10</sup>, 5–8<sup>8</sup>, 9<sup>8(-1)</sup>, + 3 fols. Signatures: a(i–ii), b–i (letters only). Plain horizontal catchwords that correspond to quires (catchword also on fol. 65v that corresponds to fol. 66). Average of 33 lines on ca. 240 X 160 mm. without ruling. Single column except for poetry in double column (fol. 97r–v). Humanist cursive hands; Smith identified those of the notary Paolo

<sup>3</sup> The microfilm that I received from the library shows that the folio numeration for the sermon has been changed to fols. 86–91v. The older foliation is still visible immediately above the new numbers.

Vergerio and his father Pierpaolo di Vergerio, who married in 1475.

- 1 < Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae et opuscula* >: 1 (fol. 1) PPV, *Ep.* 99 (*Epist.*, 251–53); 2 (fol. 1r–v) *Ep.* 104 (*Epist.*, 269–73); 3 (fols. 1v–2) *Ep.* 128 (*Epist.*, 339–43); 4 (fol. 2) *Ep.* 54 (*Epist.*, 121–22); 5 (fol. 2r–v) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19); 6 (fol. 2v) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4); 7 (fol. 2v) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319–21); 8 (fols. 2v–3) *Ep.* 48 (*Epist.*, 109–12); 9 (fol. 3) *Ep.* 51 (*Epist.*, 115–18); 10 (fol. 3r–v) *Ep.* 52 (*Epist.*, 118–19); 11 (fol. 3v) *Ep.* 53 (*Epist.*, 119–20); 12 (fols. 3v–4) *Ep.* 55 (*Epist.*, 123–24); 13 (fol. 4) *Ep.* 57 (*Epist.*, 126); 14 (fol. 4r–v) *Ep.* 58 (*Epist.*, 127–31); 15 (fol. 4v) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141–42); 16 (fols. 4v–5) *Ep.* 64 (*Epist.*, 154–56); 17 (fol. 5) *Ep.* 65 (*Epist.*, 156–57); 18 (fol. 5r–v) *Ep.* 68 (*Epist.*, 160–61); 19 (fols. 5v–6) *Ep.* 69 (*Epist.*, 162–65); 20 (fol. 6) *Ep.* 77 (*Epist.*, 182–83); 21 (fol. 6r–v) *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47); 22 (fol. 6v) *Ep.* 73 (*Epist.*, 172–73); 23 (fols. 6v–7v) *Ep.* 75 (*Epist.*, 176–79); 24 (fol. 7v) *Ep.* 131 (*Epist.*, 347–48); 25 (fols. 7v–8) *Ep.* 16 (*Epist.*, 31–32); 26 (fol. 8) *Ep.* 6 (*Epist.*, 15–17); 27 (fol. 8v) *Ep.* 11 (*Epist.*, 22–24); 28 (fol. 8v) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33–34); 29 (fol. 8v) *Ep.* 12 (*Epist.*, 24–25); 30 (fol. 9) *Ep.* 21 (*Epist.*, 38–39); 31 (fol. 9v) *Ep.* 132 (*Epist.*, 349–50); 32 (fols. 9v–10) *Ep.* 137 (*Epist.*, 360–62); 33 (fol. 10) *Ep.* 98 (*Epist.*, 249–51); 34 (fols. 10v–11) *Ep.* 140 (*Epist.*, 384–87); 35 (fols. 11v–12v) *Ep.* 141 (*Epist.*, 388–95); 36 (fols. 13–15v) *Ep.* 138 (*Epist.*, 362–78); 37 (fol. 16r–v) *Ep.* 45 (*Epist.*, 102–6); 38 (fol. 17) *Ep.* 91 (*Epist.*, 232–34); 39 (fols. 17v–18) *Ep.* 76 (*Epist.*, 180–82); 40 (fol. 18) *Ep.* 72 (*Epist.*, 171); 41 (fol. 18r–v) *Ep.* 78 (*Epist.*, 184–85); 42 (fols. 18v–20) *Ep.* 88 (*Epist.*, 224–27); 43 (fol. 20r–v) *Ep.* 90 (*Epist.*, 230–32); 44 (fols. 20v–21) *Ep.* 87 (*Epist.*, 220–23); 45 (fol. 21) *Ep.* 92 (*Epist.*, 235–36); 46 (fol. 21v) *Ep.* 80 (*Epist.*, 187–88); 47 (fol. 21v) *Ep.* 66 (*Epist.*, 157–59); 48 (fol. 22r–v) *Ep.* 139 (*Epist.*, 379–84); 49 (fol. 22v) *Ep.* 146 (*Epist.*, 424–25); 50 (fols. 22v–23) *Ep.* 147 (*Epist.*, 425–26); 51 (fol. 23r–v) *Ep.* 115 (*Epist.*, 304–6); 52 (fols. 23v–24) *Ep.* 46 (*Epist.*, 106–8); 53 (fols. 24–25) *Ep.* 15 (*Epist.*, 28–30); 54 (fol. 25r–v) *Ep.* 3 (*Epist.*, 6–11); 55 (fols. 25v–26) *Ep.* 23 (*Epist.*, 41–42); 56 (fol. 26r–v) *Ep.* 1 (*Epist.*, 3–5); 57 (fol. 26v) *Ep.* 13 (*Epist.*, 25–26); 58 (fol. 27) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52); 59 (fol. 27r–v) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54); 60 (fol. 28) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56); 61 (fol. 28r–v) *Ep.* 24 (*Epist.*, 42–43); 62 (fol. 28v) *Ep.* 17 (*Epist.*, 32–33); 63 (fol. 29r–v) *Ep.* 40 (*Epist.*, 87–89); 64 (fols. 29v–30) *Ep.* 4 (*Epist.*, 12–14); 65 (fol. 30) *Ep.* 47 (*Epist.*, 108–9); 66 (fol. 30r–v) *Ep.* 38 (*Epist.*, 84–86); 67 (fols. 30v–31) *Ep.* 39 (*Epist.*, 86–87); 68 (fol. 31) *Ep.* 49 (*Epist.*, 113–14); 69 (fol. 31v)



*Ep.* 50 (*Epist.*, 114–15); 70 (fol. 31v) *Ep.* 63 (*Epist.*, 152–54); 71 (fols. 32–33) *Ep.* 70 (*Epist.*, 165–69); 72 (fol. 33r–v) *Ep.* 71 (*Epist.*, 170–71); 73 (fol. 33v) *Ep.* 2 (*Epist.*, 5–6); 74 (fols. 33v–34) *Ep.* 67 (*Epist.*, 159–60); 75 (fol. 34r–v) *Ep.* 82 (*Epist.*, 202–5); 76 (fols. 34v–35) *Ep.* 9 (*Epist.*, 19–20); 77 (fol. 35) *Ep.* 22 (*Epist.*, 39–41); 78 (fols. 35v–37) *Ep.* 27 (*Epist.*, 46–53); 79 (fols. 37–40v) *Ep.* 34 (*Epist.*, 66–78); 80 (fol. 41) *Ep.* 103 (*Epist.*, 267–69); 81 (fols. 41v–44) *Ep.* 81 (*Epist.*, 189–202); 82 (fols. 44–45) *Ep.* 44 (*Epist.*, 97–101); 83 (fol. 45r–v) *Ep.* 96 (*Epist.*, 243–46); 84 (fol. 46r–v) *Ep.* 125 (*Epist.*, 332–35); 85 (fol. 46v) *Ep.* 126 (*Epist.*, 335–36); 86 (fols. 46v–47) <*Ep.*?> (inc: Plutarchus in describenda) (*Epist.*, 451–52); 87 (fols. 47–48) *Ep.* 123 (*Epist.*, 323–29); 88 (fol. 48) *Ep.* 145 (*Epist.*, 423); 89 (fols. 48v–49) *Ep.* 124 (*Epist.*, 330–32); 90 (fol. 49r–v) *Ep.* 127 (*Epist.*, 337–39); 91 (fols. 49v–50) *Ep.* 119 (*Epist.*, 313–15); 92 (fol. 50r–v) *Ep.* 97 (*Epist.*, 246–48); 93 (fols. 50v–51) *Ep.* 112 (*Epist.*, 299–300); 94 (fol. 51r–v) *Ep.* 102 (*Epist.*, 263–67); 95 (fols. 51v–52) *Ep.* 20 (*Epist.*, 36–37); 96 (fol. 52r–v) *Ep.* 118 (*Epist.*, 311–12); 97 (fols. 52v–53v) *Ep.* 89 (*Epist.*, 228–30); 98 (fols. 53v–56) *Ep.* 59 (*Epist.*, 131–37); 99 (fols. 56–57) PPV, *De monarchia* (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 447–50); 100 (fol. 57r–v) *Ep.* 93 (*Epist.*, 237–39); 101 (fol. 57v) *Ep.* 94 (*Epist.*, 239); 102 (fols. 57v–58) *Ep.* 95 (*Epist.*, 240–42); 103 (fols. 58–59) *Ep.* 60 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 138–40); 104 (fols. 59–61v) *Ep.* 62 (*Epist.*, 143–52); 105 (fols. 61v–62) *Ep.* 41 (*Epist.*, 89–91); 106 (fols. 62v–63) *Ep.* 30 (*Epist.*, 58–61); 107 (fol. 63r–v) *Ep.* 28 (*Epist.*, 53–56); 108 (fol. 63v) *Ep.* 32 (Col. Salutati to PPV) (*Epist.*, 64); 109 (fols. 63v–64v) *Ep.* 33 (*Epist.*, 64–66); 110 (fols. 64v–65) *Ep.* 29 (*Epist.*, 56–58); 111 (fol. 65r–v) *Ep.* 31 (*Epist.*, 62–63); 112 (fols. 65v–66) *Ep.* 36 (*Epist.*, 81); 113 (fol. 66r–v) *Ep.* 35 (*Epist.*, 79–80); 114 (fols. 66v–67) *Ep.* 37 (*Epist.*, 82–84); 115 (fols. 67–68) *Ep.* 109 (*Epist.*, 283–92); 116 (fol. 68v) PPV, <*Facetia*?> (inc: M. . . q. Cauchius primi apud Venetos) (*Epist.*, 452–53); 117 (fols. 68v–69) *Ep.* 105 (*Epist.*, 273–76); 118 (fol. 69r–v) *Ep.* 42 (*Epist.*, 91–93); 119 (fol. 69v) *Ep.* 143 (*Epist.*, 399–400); 120 (fol. 69v) *Ep.* 43 (*Epist.*, 94–97); 121 (fol. 71) *Ep.* 106 (*Epist.*, 276–77); 122 (fol. 71r–v) *Ep.* 116 (*Epist.*, 307–8); 123 (fols. 71v–72) *Ep.* 117 (*Epist.*, 308–10); 124 (fol. 72r–v) PPV, <*Oratio pro Cermisone*> (*Epist.*, 431–36); 125 (fol. 73) *Ep.* 79 (*Epist.*, 186–87); 126 (fol. 73) *Ep.* 144 (*Epist.*, 422); 127 (fol. 73v) *Ep.* 56 (*Epist.*, 124–26); 128 (fol. 97) PPV?, <*Proverbia et sententiae*> (inc: Non sinit obscurum facinus); 129 (fol. 97r–v) PPV, *Poetica narratio* (*Epist.*, 453–58).

## II

fols. 74–77v. Watermark: fol. 77, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11761, att. Innsbruck, 1466, Würzburg, 1468–69. Collation: 10<sup>6(-1)</sup> (unnumbered single folio after fol. 77v). No signatures. Average of 34 lines on ca. 182 X 135 mm. without ruling. Humanist cursive hand.

- 2 <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae*>: 1 (fol. 74r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 48 (*Epist.*, 109–12); 2 (fols. 74v–75) *Ep.* 51 (*Epist.*, 115–18); 3 (fol. 75r–v) *Ep.* 52 (*Epist.*, 118–19); 4 (fol. 75v) *Ep.* 53 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 119–20); 5 (fol. 76) *Ep.* 57 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 126); 6 (fol. 76r–v) *Ep.* 58 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 127–30); 7 (fol. 77) *Ep.* 69 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 164–65); 8 (fol. 77r–v) *Ep.* 77 (*Epist.*, 182–83).

## III

fols. 78–88v. Watermarks: fols. 78–79, 83, *Oiseau*, sim. Briquet 12127, att. Verona 1467, var. ident. Verona, 1476–79; fol. 85, *Monts*. Collation: 11<sup>12(-1)</sup> (folio missing after fol. 86). No signatures. Average of 34 lines on ca. 220 X 150 mm. without ruling. Humanist cursive hand.

- 3 <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae et opuscula*>: 1 (fol. 78r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 103 (*Epist.*, 267–69); 2 (fols. 78v–79v) *Ep.* 44 (*Epist.*, 97–101); 3 (fols. 79v, 83r–v) *Ep.* 96 (*Epist.*, 243–46); 4 (fol. 80r–v) *Ep.* 125 (*Epist.*, 332–35); 5 (fol. 80v) *Ep.* 126 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 335–36); 6 (fol. 81) *Ep.* 124 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 331–32); 7 (fols. 81–82) *Ep.* 127 (*Epist.*, 337–39); 8 (fol. 82r–v) *Ep.* 97 (*Epist.*, 246–48); 9 (fols. 84r–v, 87), *De monarchia* (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 447–50); 10 (fol. 85) *Ep.* 112 (*Epist.*, 299–300); 11 (fol. 85r–v) *Ep.* 102 (*Epist.*, 263–67); 12 (fol. 86) *Ep.* 20 (*Epist.*, 36–37); 13 (fol. 86v) *Ep.* 118 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 311–12); 14 (fol. 87v) *Ep.* 93 (*Epist.*, 237–39); 15 (fols. 87v–88) *Ep.* 94; 16 (fol. 88) *Ep.* 95 (*Epist.*, 240–42); 17 (fol. 88v), <*Dialogus de morte*, fragm.> (*Epist.*, 445–46).

## IV

fols. 89–96v. Watermarks: fol. 90, *Croix grecque*, sim. Briquet 5539, att. Rome, 1505; fols. 92, 96, *Balance*, sim. Briquet 2584, att. Salò, 1501. Collation: 12<sup>4</sup>, 13<sup>6(+1)</sup> (unnumbered single folios after fols. 88v, 90v). Average of 38 lines on ca. 240 X 170 mm. without ruling. Humanist cursive hand with marked chancery characteristics.

- 4 <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Sermones, orationes, et epistola*>: 1 (fol. 89) PPV, <*Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi*> (inc: Gloriosi doctoris, fragm. at beginning); 2 (fol. 89r–v) <*Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi*> (inc: Hodie

mihi fratres carissimi); 3 (fol. 89v) < *Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi* > (inc: *Sermo hodie mihi ad vos*, fragm.); 4 (fol. 90) < *Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi* > (inc: *Praestantissimi patres*, fragm. at beginning); 5 (fol. 91) < *Oratio* > (inc: *O altitudo divitiarum*, fragm. at beginning) (ed. Smith, "Note cronologiche vergeriane, III-V," 132-33); 6 (fols. 91-95v) ... *Pro redintegranda uniendaque ecclesia ad Romanos cardinales oratio* ... (ed. Combi, "Un discorso inedito," 360-74); 7 (fols. 95v-96) *Ep. 107 (Epist., 278-82)*.

*History*: origins of part I at Capodistria among direct descendants of Vergerio. Girolamo Vergerio possessed that part of the codex in the first half of the seventeenth century. The four parts were bound together by the time Abbot Giovanni Brunacci (1711-72) acquired the codex. Brunacci's heirs sold the manuscript to Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti (cod. 98), and Farsetti bequeathed his collection to the Marciana in 1792. Half-parchment binding covered by brown marbled paper (330 X 225 mm.). New library shelfmark pasted onto fifth panel of spine.

*Bibliography*: Iacopo Morelli, *Della biblioteca manoscritta di Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti patrizio veneto e balì del Sagr'Ordine Gerosolimitano* (Venice, 1771-80), 2:38-44; Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia (non compresi nel catalogo di G. Valentinelli)* (Trezzano [Milan]: Etimar, 1980-85), 1:484-85; *Epist.*, xxxi, xxxiii-xxxvi; and *Iter* 2:239a.

#### *Bp* Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1223

Cart. in folio. Watermarks: fols. 29-169, 179-83, *Croix grecque*; fols. 177, 187, 197, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11754, att. Padua, 1479, Venice, 1473. s. XV (ex.), Padua. 306 X 208 mm. II + 200 + I (modern pagination with two pages skipped in the numbering after 151). Late signatures A-K (all majuscules; "F primo" and "F secundo"). Collation: 1-6<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>14</sup>, 8<sup>12</sup>, 9<sup>4</sup>, 10<sup>8</sup>, 11<sup>6(-3)</sup>. Plain vertical catchwords against right-hand margin; they correspond to quires (no catchwords on 100, 170, 178, 194). 36 lines per page on 187 X 117 mm., ruled in ink and bounded by single vertical lines. Single column with writing above the first line. Certain titles, initials, and marginal cross-references in red ink. Humanist cursive hand of high quality that also wrote marginal corrections, emphases, and notes on text.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> In at least one instance, the scribe gave an alternative reading (198). There are marginal notes from Matteo Palmieri's *Liber de temporibus* (27, 128) and from a *Liber de origine pro-*

*History:* from the collection of Antonio Piazza (ex libris on inside pastedown) to the library. Half-leather binding covered by marbled paper in blue, white, and black tones (314 X 217 mm.). Spine has lattice decoration and hexagons. Title on spine reads: "Miscell. Opu-scol. Padovan. MSS." The library shelfmark is pasted below.

*Contents:* < *Miscellanea humanistica* >

- 1 (1–4) *Laureationis Petrarcae privilegium* (inc: Ad perpetuam rei memoriam) (Petrarca, *Opera*, 3:6–7)
- 2 (4) *Philippus rex Aristoteli salutem* (inc: Filium mihi genitum scito) (cf. Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:247–48)
- 3 (5–16) PPV, *De vita, moribus, et doctrina illustris poetae Francisci Petrarcae et eius poemate quod "Africa" inscribitur* (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 294–302)
- 4 (16–18) *Legati Scytarum ad Alexandrum regem oratio* (inc: Si Dii habitum corporis tui)
- 5 (18–20) Pius II, *Ep. to Doge Cristoforo Moro* (inc: Quod iam pridem occulto concepimus, dated Rome, 25 October 1463)<sup>5</sup>
- 6 (20–22) Pietro Bravo da Verona, *Invectiva . . . in quendam graeculum Andronicum . . .* (inc: Cum tuas nuper Andronice) (ed. James Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 [1995]: 203–4)<sup>6</sup>
- 7 (23–35) < Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae* >: 1 (23–26) PPV, *Ep. 27* (*Epist.*, 46–53); 2 (26–35) PPV, *Ep. 34* (*Epist.*, 66–78)
- 8 (35) Franc. Petrarca, . . . *Haec ad perpetuam ipsius memoriam in cellula ubi continuo morabatur descripsit* (inc: Laura propriis virtutibus illustris) (ed. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2:286–87)
- 9 (36–56) < Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Opuscula* >: 1 (36–38) PPV, *Ad illustrem principem Franciscum Iunio-rem de Carraria super reditu natorum . . . carmen* (inc: Carriger nobis pater) (*RIS* 16:242); 2 (38–45) *Ep. 81* (*Epist.*, 189–202); 3 (45–48) *Ep. 140* (*Epist.*, 384–87); 4 (48–53) *Ep. 141* (*Epist.*, 388–95); 5 (53–56) . . . *De situ et conditione urbis Iustinopoli-*

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*vinciarum* attributed to Lorenzo Valla (54–56). The text of Vergerio's *Vita Petrarcae* has for a colophon, "P. P. Vergerius manu propria" (16), suggesting that the scribe copied Vergerio's autograph.

<sup>5</sup> The letter is also found in Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Campori 54, fols. 57v–58 (*Iter* 6:89a).

<sup>6</sup> Because of the rarity of this text, Pietro Bravo may have been the original owner of the codex. Bravo served as chancellor of Verona from 1483 to 1499.

- tanae* (RIS 16:240A–41D). 6 (56) M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus, < *excerpt. de Histria* > (*Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum* 32.3.13–15)
- 10 (56–57) Lactantius, < *excerpt.* > *de orbis calamitatibus angustiisque . . .* (inc: Propinquante igitur huius saeculi) (*Div. Inst.* 7.15; *PL* 6:786–88)
- 11 (57–58) Ippolita Sforza, *Oratio . . . publice habita coram summo pontifice et dominis cardinalibus Mantuae 28 Maii 1459* (inc: Tantam esse huius sanctissimi sedis)
- 12 (58–59) < Pius II >, *Responsum . . .* (inc: Habuisti dilecta filia coram nobis) (oration and response in *Pii II Orationes*, ed. Mansi, 2:192–93; ed. De Tummullis, *Notabilia temporum*, 231–33)
- 13 (59–92) < Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Opuscula* >: 1 (59–66) PPV, . . . *De dignissimo funebri apparatu in exequiis . . . Francisci Senioris de Carraria* (RIS 16:189A–94A); 2 (69–73) < *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria* > (RIS 16:194B–98C) (followed by epitaph) (RIS 16:198C); 3 (74–92) . . . *Pro Francisco Iuniore de Carraria ad populum* (RIS 16:204–15)
- 14 (92–94) Franc. Barbaro, *Ep. to Enrico Lusignano* (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 29–31 [no. 18]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 11)
- 15 (94–97) Giovanni da Spilimbergo, . . . *Ad Marcum Lipomano . . . praetorem civitati Belluni de congratulatione suae praeturae oratio . . .* (inc: Cum viderem praetor magnifice) (cf. Sabbadini, “Giovanni da Spilimbergo,” 64)
- 16 < Guarino da Verona, *Epistola et orationes* >: 1 (97–99) Guarino, *Ep. to Mazo de’ Mazi* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:340–42 [no. 213]); 2 (99–100) *Oratio . . . in principio rhetoricae* (inc: Antequam ad hunc locum) (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:342–44); 3 (101–3) *Laudatio c. v. Francisci Pisani Veronensis praetoris . . . acta* (inc: Animadverti saepe numero magnifici viri) (cf. Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 349 [*I codici del Petrarca*, 201])
- 17 (104–22) < Leonardo Giustiniani, *Orationes funebres* >: 1 (104–12) < Leon. Giustiniani >, *Ad c. v. Georgium Lauredanum funebri oratio* (Molin, ed., *Orazioni*, 1:12–20); 2 (112–22) . . . *Oratio habita in funere . . . Caroli Zeni . . .* (RIS, n.s., 19.6:141–46)
- 18 (122–31) Andr. Giuliano, . . . *Oratio in funere . . . Manuelis Chrysolorae habita . . .* (ed. Boerner, *De doctis hominibus Graecis*, 16–35)
- 19 (131–33) Girolamo Dalle Valli, *Ad . . . Pasqualem Maripetrum . . . oratio pro universitate sua* (inc: Qui celsitudinem tuam his temporibus adeunt) (cf. Ronconi, “Lauro Palazzolo,” 47–51)
- 20 (133–36) Bern. Giustiniani, *Oratio . . . habita ad . . . Pium secundum . . .* (inc: Sanctissime ac piissime pater cum devotissimi) (Bern. Giusti-

- niani, *Orationes*, sig. D, 2-D, 3; Piccolomini, *Opera inedita*, ed. Cugnoni, 156-58)
- 21 (136-50) <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae et sermones*>: 1 (136-37) PPV, *Ep.* 16 (*Epist.*, 31-32); 2 (137-38) *Ep.* 98 (*Epist.*, 249-51); 3 (138-43) *Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo* ... (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae); 4 (143-46) *Eiusdem Pro Sancto Hieronymo elegantissima oratio* (inc: Hodie mihi fratres carissimi); 5 (146-47) *Ep.* 129 (Almerico da Serravalle to PPV) (*Epist.*, 343-44); 6 (148-49) *Ep.* 131 (*Epist.*, 347-48); 7 (149) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319-21); 8 (149-50) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322-23)
- 22 (150-52) Lombardo della Seta, *Ad ... Franciscum Petrarcam ... epistola et de dispositione vitae dialogus* (ed. Ferrante, "Lombardo della Seta," 480-87)
- 23 (153-54) Anon., *Ep.* to "virgo nobilissima" (inc: Legimus Tullium Ciceronem Romanae virtutis) (cf. Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 2.1:583 [no. 10598])
- 24 (155-58) Col. Salutati, *Declamatio Lucretiae* (Menestò, ed., *Coluccio Salutati editi e inediti*, 35-43)
- 25 (158-59) Ps. Pontius Pilatus, *Ep.* to Claudius (inc: Nuper accidit quod et ipse probavi) (cf. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum*, 1:155 [no. 183.1])
- 26 (159) Ps. Pontius Pilatus, *Ep.* to Tiberius (inc: De Iesu Christo quem tibi) (cf. Stegmüller, *ibid.*, 1:158-59 [no. 187]; Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:263)
- 27 (160) PPV, *Disticha* to Franc. Zabarella (*RIS* 16:241D-E)
- 28 (160) Ps. Avicenna, *Ep.* to Aurelius Augustinus (inc: Apparuiستي compatriota noster)
- 29 (161-63) Pietro del Monte?, ... *Facetia* (inc: <S>olveramus e Patavio urbe) (ed. Tournay, "Un nuovo testo," 67-72)
- 30 (164-68) Ant. Panormita, *Ep.* to Poggio Bracciolini (*L'epistolario*, ed. Resta, 151 [no. 91])
- 31 (168) Anon., <*excerpt. de vita Cromatii*> (inc: In sede postmodum patriarchali)
- 32 (169-70) Ps. Hieronymus, <*Ep.* 11, fragm.> ... *De amandis colendisque parentibus sermo elegans et litteris aureis describendis* (inc: Parentum meritis subiugans filios) (*PL* 30:150-51C)
- 33 (171-73) <Sicco Polenton, *Epistolae*>: 1 (171) S. Polenton, *Ep.* to Ant. da Bergamo (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 109 [no. 15], the continuation of letter on 200); 2 (171-72) *Ep.* to Andr. Biglia (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 97-99

- [no. 8]); 3 (173) *Ep.* to Andr. Biglia (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 99–100 [no. 9])
- 34 (173) Anon., <*Ep.*> *ad Iacobum Magnaguadagno notarium in Montesilice* (inc: *Labat animus quo se primum*)
- 35 (173) Anon., <*Ep.*> *eidem* (inc: *Nescio praesumptuosus frater amande*)
- 36 (174) Laelius, <*Ep. Marco*> (inc: *Diebus istis quibus apud te*)
- 37 (174) Marcus, <*Ep. Laelio*> (inc: *Posteaquam Laeli tu pro humanitate*)
- 38 (174) Anon., *Ep.* to Fantinus (inc: *Delapsus sum nescio quo fato*)
- 39 (175–77) *De sacerdotio domini Iesu* translatio Latina <Laurus Quirinus> (inc: *Tempore Iustiniani imperatoris Christianissimi*)<sup>7</sup>
- 40 (178) Raffaele Reggio, *Ep.* to Bartolomeo Girardini (inc: *Terentii Comoedias sex*, dated Venice, 1474) (publ. in P. Terentius Afer, *Comoediae* <Venice: tip. dell'Ausonius Hain 2176, after 5 May 1473>, Hain 15374, IGI 9413)
- 41 (178) *Cippicus ad lectorem* (inc: *Quem petis o lector studiosissime*) (cf. Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 1:218 [no. 4768])
- 42 (179–80) <Sicco Polenton, *Epistolae*>: 1 (179) S. Polenton, *Ep.* to Ant. da Bergamo (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 86–87 [no. 3]); 2 (180) *Ep.* to Giac. Scriba (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 85–86 [no. 2])
- 43 (180) Anon., <*Ep.*> *Domino Condeo Drudonis in insula Patras* (inc: *Dedit litteram tuam utriusque*)
- 44 (181) Anon., <*Ep.*> *amico nomine alterius qui frater eius erat* (inc: *Reminiscenti mihi alias ad te*)
- 45 (181–200) <Sicco Polenton, *Epistolae et orationes*>: 1 (181–82) S. Polenton, *Ep.* to Ant. da Bergamo (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 127–28 [no. 22]); 2 (182–83) <*Ep.*> to Ant. da Lucca (inc: *Epistolam tuam quae ad me*); 3 (183–84) *Ep.* to Andr. Biglia (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 90–91 [no. 5]); 4 (184–85) *Ep.* to Giovanni Francesco Capodilista (*La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 100–1 [no. 11]). 5 (185–86) Anon., *Ep.* to Ant. da Bergamo (inc: *Nulla res venire in humanis*). 6 (186) Sicco

<sup>7</sup> On the text and its various translators, see Giovanni Mercati, *Traversariana*, fasc. 1 of *Ultimi contributi alla storia degli umanisti*, Studi e testi 90 (Vatican City: BAV, 1939), 70–85. The recipient of the following letter, Bartolomeo Girardini, translated the work. However, the incipit given in *Iter* 1:14b for that translation differs (“Temporibus Iustiniani imperatoris pientissimi”).

Polenton, *Ep. to Andr. Biglia (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 92 [no. 6]); 7 (187–88) *Ep. to Raph. Fulgosius (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 88–89 [no. 4]); 8 (188–89) *Ep. to Iac. Badoer (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 102–3 [no. 12]); 9 (189–90) *Oratio pro Nicolao de Campolongo ad introitum vicariatus Tridenti <ni> anno 1418 (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 65–67); 10 (190–93) *Oratio facta pro domino Nicolao vicario Tridentino congratulatoria ad duces Austriae pro creatione novi episcopi Tridentini 1419 (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 67–71); 11 (193) *Ep. to Nic. Campolongo (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 100 [no. 10]); 12 (193–95) *Ep. to Venturinus “philosophus” (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 125–27 [no. 21]); 13 (195–96) *Ep. to Fantino Dandolo (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 114–16 [no. 17]); 14 (196–98) *Ep. to Fantino Dandolo (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 106–9 [no. 14]); 15 (199–200) *Ep. to Leon. Bruni (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 104–6 [no. 13]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 166); 16 (200, cont. on 177) *Ep. to Ant. da Bergamo (La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole*, ed. Segarizzi, 109 [no. 15], where Segarizzi only published the segment on 200).

*Bibliography: La Catinia, le orazioni, e le epistole di Sicco Polenton*, ed. Arnaldo Segarizzi (Bergamo, 1899), lxvi; Giuseppina Ferrante, “Lombardo della Seta umanista padovano (?–1390),” *Atti del R. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere, ed arti* 93, no. 2 (1933–34): 479; *Epist.*, xxxii–xxxiii; Marcello Zicàri, “Il più antico codice di lettere di P. Paolo Vergerio il vecchio,” *Studia Oliveriana* 2 (1954): 55–56; and *Iter* 2:23a–b.

*Br* Brescia, Bibl. Civica Queriniana, cod. L.III.30

Cart. in quarto. Composite codex. s. XV, Italy. 197 X 142 mm. II + 134. Modern foliation in black ink in upper right-hand corner. Late fifteenth-century monastic binding of woodboards with half-leather covering in poor condition. Leather portion decorated with interweaving design of circles and diamonds; towards spine there are large rectangles cut by double lines. Traces of single closing centered along right edge (apparently thong with metal clasp). Five nerves on spine.

I

fols. 1–54v. Watermarks: fols. 2–13, 29–42, *Tête de boeuf*, sim. Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*, 6.279, att. Brescia, 1429–36; fols. 16–27, 45–



53, *Cloche*, Briquet 4054?, att. Bergamo, 1438–42. Collation: 1–3<sup>14</sup>, 4<sup>14(-2)</sup>. No signatures. Horizontal catchwords within pyramidal decoration to right of center. 39 lines on ca. 140 X 88 mm., ruling in ink and plummet bounded by single vertical lines. Writing above the first line. Single and double columns. 8–10 line initials for books of Boethius in red and black with decoration; further 2–4 line initials in red (some against a yellow background). Three hands: (fols. 1–53) an Italian Gothic hand for text (colophon, fol. 53: “Postquam finimus omnes Christum laudemus”); (fol. 54) a Semigothic hand; and marginalia in Humanist cursive.

- 1 (fols. 1–45) Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (fols. 45v–46v) blank
- 2 (fols. 47–53) *Egloga Theoduli*<sup>8</sup> (fol. 53v) blank
- 3 (fol. 54) <Anon., *Prosodia Latina*, fragm.> (inc: <O> dor? fragrans levia? pira saltant) (fol. 54v) blank.

## II

fols. 55–134. Watermarks: fols. 55–86, 88–101, *Balance*, sim. Briquet 2454, att. Brescia, 1481, Udine, 1495; fols. 87, 102, 104–34, *Arbalète*, sim. Briquet 746, var. simil. Venice, 1470, 1471–73, 1475. Collation: 5–9<sup>16</sup>. Plain horizontal catchwords across right margin. 40 lines per page on ca. 146 X 87 mm., ruling in ink bounded by single vertical lines. Writing above the first line. Single column. Various 2–3 line initials (red, red and blue with decoration, solid blue); titles generally in red ink (guides occasionally present). Semigothic cursive hand of mediocre quality.

- 4 (fols. 55v–129) Ioan. Chrysostomus, *Sermones XXV praedicabiles* (with dedicatory letter to Marco Barbo) (*Sermones XXV magis morales; Epistola ad monachum Theodorum*, translatio Latina Christoforus Persona <Rome: Georg Lauer, ca. 1471>, Hain 5039; *BMC* 4:36; *IGI* 5209)
- 5 (fols. 129–31) Hieronymus et Augustinus, <*Epistolae*> (*CSEL* 34:237–43, 279, 350–51)
- 6 (fols. 131–33v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *Sermo de laudibus Beati Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) (copied from volume one of the *editio princeps* printed at Rome, 1468) (fol. 134r–v) blank.

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<sup>8</sup> According to Ennio Sandal, this text was probably used as the model for the first edition printed in Italy: Brescia, Bernardino Misinta and Cesare da Parma, 13 May 1492.

*History:* Dr. Ennio Sandal suggests probable origins of part I in the Benedictine scriptorium of San Faustino in Brescia early in the fifteenth century. Part II has a terminus post quem of ca. 1471, the period when Chrysostom's sermons and Vergerio's panegyric of Jerome were published in Rome. Since the binding originates from the second half of the fifteenth century, the codex had assumed its present form by then. From Paolo Guerrini to the library in 1923 (table of contents on second flyleaf and foliation apparently by Guerrini). Stamp of Bibl. Civica on first flyleaf ("Anno 1923 / Ro. No. 268"). Inside pastedown has "Chi 72" in pencil.

*Bibliography:* *Iter* 1:36b.

C Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Canonici misc. 166

Cart. in quarto; a membr. flyleaf (front and rear). Watermarks caught in binding: flyleaf, *Lettres assemblées (F and P)*, not in Briquet; fascicles 1, 17–18, 21–25, 31–33, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11882, att. Venice 1457; fascicles 2–3, *Brunissoir*, sim. Briquet 2878, att. Udine 1456; fascicles 4–5, 15, 26, *Lettre N?*; fascicles 6–10, 19–20, 30, 34, *Enclume*, sim. Briquet 5961, att. Udine 1457; fascicles 10–14, 16, 27–29, a single unidentified watermark. s. XV (ex.), Venetian Empire (the principal scribe used autographs of Vergerio in three instances; see fols. 218, 235v, 256v). 212 X 140 mm. XI + 331. Modern foliation in pencil; there are errors in calculating the front flyleaves and in numbering fols. 140 (treble), 160 (treble), and 170 (double). Correct composition: II + 342 + II. Old numeration of first five folios of a quinternion visible in fascicles 10–16, 25, 27–31 in the upper right-hand corner. Collation: 1–30<sup>10</sup>, 31<sup>12</sup>, 32–34<sup>10</sup>. No signatures. Catchwords centered between margins and correspond. Ruling of lines irregular, at times through pricking and drypoint (27 lines) and at times in ink (average of 29 lines). Ruled surface averages 130 X 70 mm. and is bounded by single vertical and horizontal lines. Written in ink in a single column. One initial decorated in black ink (fol. 248) to mark the beginning of the collection of *epistolae*. Space left for 2–6 line initials to fol. 114 (presence of guides erratic). The principal scribe wrote fols. IV–XI, 1–310v, 313–31. A second hand added the letters of Vergerio on fols. 311–12v. Marginalia and emphases in later hands. The principal scribe wrote in a Humanist cursive of high quality. The parchment flyleaf may be the original binding.

*History:* Italian hands. Iacopo Soranzo. Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–

1805/6).<sup>9</sup> Giuseppe Canonici. Giovanni Perissinotti. Purchased by the Bodleian Library in 1817 (library stamp on fols. 30, 71, 97, 135, 168, 198, 218, 240, 269, 300, 330v). Late binding in brown leather (220 X 145 mm.). The spine has four nerves framed by gold fillets and shows damage from woodworms and moisture. The first panel has the impression "166" and the second a maroon tag with gold lettering: "P. VERGERII / DE CARRARIEN. / HIST. ET PLURA / ALIA OPUSC. / M.S." Both covers are framed by double fillets and rolled with a plant motif (papyrus?). A second set of fillets encloses a mandorla.

*Contents:* <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Opera*> (late, summary table of contents pasted onto first flyleaf, fol. I)

1 (fol. IV) PPV, *Ep.* 138 (fragm., cf. fol. 208) (fols. IVv–XI, 1–2v) blank

2 (fols. 3–104) <PPV, *De gestis principum Carrariensium liber*> (Gnesotto, ed., ... *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber*) (fol. 104v) blank

3 (fols. 105–13) <PPV, *Francisci Petrarcae vita*> (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 294–302) (fol. 113v) blank

4 (fols. 114–39v) PPV, ... *De ingenuis moribus liber incipit* (Gnesotto, ed., "... *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adolescentiae*," 95–146) (fols. 140a–c) blank

5 (fols. 140cv–60av) PPV, <*De laudibus Hieronymi orationes sex, praeuia praefatione*>: 1 (fol. 140cv) PPV, <*Praefatio*> (*Epist.*, 91–93 [*Ep.* 42]); 2 (fols. 141–44) *Sermo de Sancto Hieronymo eiusdem* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae); 3 (fols. 144–46v) *Eiusdem Pro eodem* (inc: Gloriosi doctoris ac patris nostri); 4 (fols. 146v–49) *Oratio pro eodem* (inc: Hodie mihi fratres carissimi); 5 (fols. 149–52v) <*Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo*> (inc: Quotiens reverendi patres fratresque

<sup>9</sup> See Vittorio Rossi, "La biblioteca manoscritta del senatore veneziano Iacopo Soranzo," *Il libro e la stampa: Bollettino ufficiale della Società bibliografica italiana*, n.s., 1 (1907): 3–8, 122–33, repr. in *Dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento*, vol. 3 of *Scritti di critica letteraria* (Florence, 1930), 251–71; and Rossi, review of *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, edited by Leonardo Smith, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 108 (1936): 313–17. When Iacopo Soranzo died in 1761, his library was divided between Marin Zorzi and Cà Corner. Canonici later bought most of the codices from the Cà Corner. See further Iacopo Morelli, *Della biblioteca manoscritta di Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti patrizio veneto e bali del Sagr'Ordine Gerosolimitano* (Venice, 1771–80), 2:44; Irma Merolle Tondi, *L'abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua biblioteca: I manoscritti Canonici e Canonici-Soranzo delle biblioteche fiorentine* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1958), 32–37; and J. B. Mitchell, "Trevisan and Soranzo: Some Canonici Manuscripts from Two Eighteenth-Century Venetian Collections," *Bodleian Library Record* 8, no. 3 (1969): 125–35.

- carissimi, dated Siena, 1408); 6 (fols. 152v–57v, fol. 154 and portions of fols. 153v, 154v blank) < *Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo* > (inc: *Sermo mihi hodie ad vos*, dated Padua, 1392); 7 (fols. 157v–58v) < *Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo*, fragm. > (inc: *Veni ad vos*) (fols. 159–60av) blank
- 6 (fols. 160b–64) PPV, *In apparatu funebri in exequiis Francisci Senioris de Carraria* (RIS 16:189A–94A)
- 7 (fols. 164–68v) PPV, < *Oratio in funere eiusdem Francisci* > (RIS 16:194B–98C)
- 8 (fols. 169–80) < PPV >, *Oratio habita pro populo Patavino ad Franciscum de Carraria Iuniorem* (RIS 16:204–15) (fols. 180v–87v) blank
- 9 (fols. 188–89) PPV, *Ad illustrissimum principem Franciscum Iuniorem de Carraria super reditu natorum eius Francisci et Iacobi ex hostili captivitate congratulantis multitudinis carmen ...* (RIS 16:242) (fols. 189v–97v) blank
- 10 (fols. 198–203) *Eiusdem Contra Carolum de Malatestis* (*Epist.*, 189–202 [Ep. 81]) (fols. 203v–7v) blank
- 11 (fols. 208–13v) PPV, *De morte cardinalis Florentini* (*Epist.*, 362–78 [Ep. 138]) (fols. 214–17v) blank
- 12 (fols. 218–20v) *Ep. 27* (*Epist.*, 46–53)
- 13 (fols. 220v–27) *Ep. 34* (*Epist.*, 66–78) (fol. 227v) blank
- 14 (fols. 228–29v) PPV, *In foeneratores facetissima exprobatio* (*Epist.*, 384–87 [Ep. 140])
- 15 (fols. 230–33v) PPV, *Ad ... Ioannem Segnensem ... facetissima narratio* (*Epist.*, 388–95 [Ep. 141])
- 16 (fols. 234–35v) PPV, *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* (RIS 16:240A–41D)
- 17 (fol. 235v) *Textus Iustini* (*Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum* 32.3.13–15)
- 18 (fols. 235v–37) *Eiusdem De situ et conditione et republica urbis Venetiarum* (ed. Robey and Law, “The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta*,” 38–40, lines 1–52) (fol. 237v) blank
- 19 (fols. 238–39) Franc. Petrarca, < *Ep.* > *Ciceroni* (*Familiares* 24.3)
- 20 (fols. 239–43v) *Responsio domini P. P. Vergerii pro Cicerone facta* (*Epist.*, 436–45) (fols. 244–47v) blank
- 21 < PPV, *Epistolae* >: 1 (fols. 248–50) PPV, *Ep. 75* (*Epist.*, 176–79); 2 (fol. 250r–v) *Ep. 73* (*Epist.*, 172–73); 3 (fols. 250v–53) *Ep. 74* (*Epist.*, 174–75) (fol. 252r–v) blank; 4 (fol. 253r–v) *Ep. 137* (*Epist.*, 360–62); 5 (fols. 253v–54) *Ep. 46* (*Epist.*, 106–8); 6 (fols. 254–55) *Ep. 54* (*Epist.*, 121–22); 7 (fols. 255–56) *Ep. 16* (*Epist.*, 31–32); 8 (fol. 256r–v) *Ep. 98* (*Epist.*, 249–51); 9 (fols. 256v–58v) *Ep. 43* (*Epist.*, 94–97); 10 (fols. 258v–60) *Ep. 109* (*Epist.*, 283–92) (fol. 260v) blank; 11 (fols. 261–62)

- Ep.* 100 (Col. Salutati to PPV) (*Epist.*, 253–57); 12 (fols. 262–65v) *Ep.* 101 (*Epist.*, 257–62); 13 (fols. 265v–66) *Ep.* 131 (*Epist.*, 347–48); 14 (fol. 266r–v) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4); 15 (fols. 266v–67) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319–21); 16 (fols. 267–68) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19); 17 (fols. 268–70) *Ep.* 128 (*Epist.*, 339–43); 18 (fols. 270–71) *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47); 19 (fol. 271) *Ep.* 131 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 347–48); 20 (fol. 271r–v) *Ep.* 99 (*Epist.*, 251–53); 21 (fols. 271v–73) *Ep.* 104 (*Epist.*, 269–73); 22 (fols. 273–74) *Ep.* 48 (*Epist.*, 109–12); 23 (fols. 274–75) *Ep.* 51 (*Epist.*, 115–18); 24 (fol. 275r–v) *Ep.* 52 (*Epist.*, 118–19); 25 (fols. 275v–76v) *Ep.* 53 (*Epist.*, 119–20); 26 (fols. 276v–77) *Ep.* 55 (*Epist.*, 123–24); 27 (fol. 277r–v) *Ep.* 57 (*Epist.*, 126); 28 (fols. 277v–79v) *Ep.* 58 (*Epist.*, 127–31); 29 (fols. 279v–81) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141–42); 30 (fols. 281–82) *Ep.* 64 (*Epist.*, 154–56); 31 (fol. 282r–v) *Ep.* 65 (*Epist.*, 156–57); 32 (fols. 282v–83v) *Ep.* 68 (*Epist.*, 160–61); 33 (fols. 283v–85v) *Ep.* 69 (*Epist.*, 162–65); 34 (fols. 285v–86) *Ep.* 77 (*Epist.*, 182–83); 35 (fols. 286–87) *Ep.* 3 (*Epist.*, 6–11) (fol. 287v blank); 36 (fol. 288r–v) *Ep.* 79 (*Epist.*, 186–87) (fol. 289r–v blank); 37 (fol. 290) *Ep.* 2 (*Epist.*, 5–6); 38 (fol. 290r–v) *Ep.* 9 (*Epist.*, 19–20); 39 (fols. 290v–91) *Ep.* 22 (*Epist.*, 39–41); 40 (fol. 291r–v) *Ep.* 6 (*Epist.*, 15–17); 41 (fol. 292) *Ep.* 11 (*Epist.*, 22–24); 42 (fol. 292r–v, repeated on fol. 310) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33–34); 43 (fols. 292v–93) *Ep.* 12 (*Epist.*, 24–25); 44 (fols. 293–94) *Ep.* 21 (*Epist.*, 38–39); 45 (fol. 294r–v) *Ep.* 4 (*Epist.*, 12–14); 46 (fols. 294v–95v) *Ep.* 40 (*Epist.*, 87–89); 47 (fols. 295v–97) *Ep.* 15 (*Epist.*, 28–30); 48 (fol. 297r–v) *Ep.* 17 (*Epist.*, 32–33); 49 (fols. 297v–98) *Ep.* 1 (*Epist.*, 3–5); 50 (fols. 298–99) *Ep.* 23 (*Epist.*, 41–42); 51 (fol. 299r–v) *Ep.* 13 (*Epist.*, 25–26); 52 (fols. 299–300v) *Ep.* 24 (*Epist.*, 42–43); 53 (fols. 300v–1) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52); 54 (fols. 301v–2) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54); 55 (fols. 302–3) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56); 56 (fol. 303) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322–23); 57 (fols. 303–4) *Ep.* 129 (Almerico da Serravalle to PPV) (*Epist.*, 343–44) (fols. 304–9v blank); 58 (fol. 310) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33–34); 59 (fol. 310r–v) *Ep.* 7 (*Epist.*, 17–18); 60 (fol. 311) *Ep.* 148 (Unknown to PPV) (*Epist.*, 426–27); 61 (fol. 311r–v) *Ep.* 5 (Franc. da Faenza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 14–15); 62 (fols. 311v–12v) *Ep.* 14 (Santo de' Pellegrini to PPV) (*Epist.*, 26–28); 63 (fols. 312v–13) *Ep.* 8 (Ant. Baruffaldi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 18–19) (fols. 313v–19v) blank
- 22 (fols. 320–22) *Eiusdem Poetica narratio spectaculi Apollonis et Musarum* (*Epist.*, 453–58) (fols. 322v–31v) blank.

*Bibliography:* Henry O. Coxe, *Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos*

*Complectens*, part 3 of *Catologi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxford, 1854), 536–41; Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* ... (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953), 4:313 (no. 19642); *Epist.*, xxxi, xxxvi–xxxvii; and Vittorio Rossi, review of Leonardo Smith, ed., *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 108 (1936): 315 n. 2.

**E Modena, Biblioteca Nazionale Estense, cod. Est. lat. 186  
(Alpha O.6, 22, formerly V.C.33)**

Cart. in quarto. Composite codex. s. XV–XVI (part II written at Venice in 1542). I + 92 + I. Modern foliation in lower left-hand corner in pencil. Older foliations: in faded ink in upper right-hand corner to fol. 48 (single unnumbered folios after fol. 18 and 38); in black ink in upper right-hand corner from fols. 48a–80. Binding in brown leather (232 X 166 mm.). Front and rear covers framed by double vertical and double horizontal black lines. The upper spine reads in gold lettering: “VERGE- / RIUS / VITA / FRANC. / PETRAR- / CHAE / ETC.” The library shelfmark is pasted onto the lower spine.

I

fols. 1–58v. Watermark: *Ancre dans un cercle*, sim. Briquet 484, att. Salzburg, 1530; sim. Piccard, *Wasserzeichen Anker*, 5.259, att. Verona 1516; sim. Mošin, *Anchor Watermarks*, 789, att. ca. 1550. 222 X 156 mm. Collocation apparently 1<sup>8</sup>, 2–6<sup>10</sup>. No signatures. Vertical catchwords placed outside and below the right-hand margin (fols. 13v, 18v, 28v, 38v, 48v), which correspond. An average of 22 lines on ca. 170 X 105 mm. without ruling. Written in a single column. Humanist cursive hand that also added marginal corrections.

1 (fols. 1–57v) <Pierpaolo Vergerio and Francesco Petrarca, *Opera*>: 1 (fols. 1–20v) PPV, *Vita Francisci Petrarcae* ..., <*Argumenta in Africam, Materiae omnium librorum Africae*>, late title on fol. 1 and fols. 1v–8v blank (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 294–302). 2 (fols. 20v–21) <Franc. Petrarca, *Nota de Laura*> (inc: *Laura propriis virtutibus illustris*) (ed. De Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2:286–87). 3 (fols. 21v–23) PPV, ... *Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio elegantissima* (fragm.) (inc: *Sermo mihi hodie habendus ad vos est*); 4 (fols. 23–29, 37–51v) ... *Pro Francisco de Carraria ad populum*

*Patavinensem* (RIS 16:204–15)<sup>10</sup>; 5 (fols. 29–36v) ... *De dignissimo funebri apparatu in exequiis ... Francisci Senioris de Carraria* (RIS 16:189A–94A); 6 (fols. 37, 51v–57) ... *Oratio <in funere Francisci Senioris>* (RIS 16:194B–98C) (fols. 57v–58v) blank.

## II

fols. 59–72v. 214 X 152 mm. Collation: 7<sup>14</sup>. An average of 19 lines on ca. 185 X 130 mm. without ruling. Written in a single column. Antonio Maria Crivelli copied the work in a clear Italic script (fol. 71: “Ego Antonius Maria de Cribellis hoc exemplum conscripsi”).

2 (fols. 59v–71) Bernardino d’Este, *Reverendi sacerdotis Antonii Estensis civis Patavini humanarum litterarum professoris ... vita* (to Marco d’Este, inc: *Christi spiritus quem secutus absum*, dated Venice, 1542) (fols. 59, 71v–72v) blank.

## III

fols. 73–76v. 206 X 150 mm. Collation: 8<sup>4</sup>. An average of 25 lines on ca. 160 X 132 mm. without ruling. Written in a single column. Clear Humanist cursive hand.

3 (fols. 73–76, title at the end) Franc. Gratiadeus, *Oratio ad ... Antonium Caputvaccae de laudibus et eius triumpho* (inc: *Vellem profecto Antoni eques splendidissime*)<sup>11</sup> (fol. 76v) blank.

## IV

fols. 77–84v. 213 x 148 mm. Collation: 9<sup>8</sup>. 28 lines on 152 X 100 mm., bounded by single vertical lines. Writing above the first line and at times below the last line. Numerical table in six columns.

4 (fols. 77–83) <Anon., *Tabulae duodecim astronomicae ad novilunia invenienda*> (fols. 83v–84v) blank.

## V

fols. 85–92v. Watermark: *Tête de boeuf*, rem. sim. Briquet 14800, att. Augsburg, 1472; sim. Piccard, *Die Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*, 13.184–85, att. Rattenberg, 1492. 220 X 152 mm. Collation: 10<sup>8</sup>. An average of 32

<sup>10</sup> The scribe interpolated into the funeral oration for Francesco il Vecchio those portions of Vergerio’s oration to Francesco Novello, which focused primarily upon the father.

<sup>11</sup> The same oration is preserved in Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.108 (4363), fols. 224–37 (*Iter* 2:256b). The article on Capodivacca by Roberto Zapperi, *DBI* 18:641–43, notes that the Doge made him a *cavaliere* in 1508.

lines on a maximum of 168 X 90 mm. without ruling. Written in a single column. Humanist cursive hand.

5 (fols. 85–92v) < *Miscellanea astronomica* >: 1 (fol. 85r–v) < *Tabulae planetariae* > translatio Latina Ioan. Hispalensis (inc: Dominus? domus virtutes habet). 2 (fols. 86–88) Anon., *De diversitate durationum omnium rerum* (inc: Duratio est misera qua res). 3 (fol. 88) Anon., *De differentia inter stellam, astrum, sidus, imaginem, et planetam* (inc: Licet unumquodque corpus caeleste). 4 (fols. 88v–90) Anon., . . . *Tractatus de diebus creticis* (inc: Circulus eccentricus? angelorum distebit). 5 (fols. 90–91) < Leopoldus Austriae >, *Tractatus de imaginibus* (inc: Cum vis facere imaginem) (*Compilatio . . . de astrorum scientia decem continens tractatus*. Venice and Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1489. Hain 10042, sig. n, 4r–v)<sup>12</sup> (fols. 91v–92) blank. 6 (fol. 92v) < Anon., *Tabula astrologica* >.

*Bibliography*: *Codices Mss. Latini*, vol. 1, part 3 of *Manuscriptorum codicum Bibl. Atestinae catalogus in quinque partes tributus . . . secundum pluteorum et ipsorum codicem ordinem* (typewritten), 54; and *Iter* 1:370a.

(G) Capodistria, Archivio Gravisi-Barbabanca,  
unnumbered codex

Cart. s. XVII. 300 X 210 mm. 165 folios of which some were blank. Written and annotated apparently by a single hand, probably at Capodistria.

*History*: probably belonged at one time to the Petronio family in Capodistria. Obtained by Count Anteo Gravisi-Barbabanca. The codex was seen by Smith in the 1920s and 1930s, but it has been missing since the Second World War. It had seven of Vergerio's sermons on Jerome (fols. 53ff.).

*Bibliography*: *Epist.*, xxxiii, xlvi–xlvii, 92–93n.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Jean-Charles Houzeau and Albert Lancaster, *Bibliographie générale de l'astronomie (ou Catalogue méthodique des ouvrages, des mémoires, et des observations astronomiques)* (Brussels, 1882–89), 1:396 (no. 773); and Francis J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1956), 170–71.



*Gn* Cambridge, University Library, cod. Dd.VII.1-2

Not seen; description based upon bibliography. Membr. in folio. 1490 (printed catalog mistakenly gives 1390), England. 320 and 394 folios. Several folios missing: vol. 1 has two folios missing after fol. 18 and a single folio after fols. 29, 54, 70, 88, 92, 120, 149, 161, 172, 180, 224, 257, 260; vol. 2 is incomplete at the beginning and the end, is missing a single folio after fols. 67, 77, 100, 109, 116, 118, 137, 166, 180, 234, 301, 308, 310, 311, 347, 376, and preserves fols. 104 and 194 in a mutilated state. 2 columns. 44 lines per column. Rich illuminations that have suffered damage. Written in a Late Gothic hand of lower grade (*semi-quadrata*) and medium quality. Space left for insertion of matter in Greek.

*History*: vol. 1 has a colophon indicating a date of 1490 (fol. 320v): "Divi Hieronymi Epistolarum partis primae volumen feliciter finit die IX Iulii MCCCCLXXX." A note in a later hand on the same folio indicates that John Gunthorpe (d. 1498) donated the manuscript to the library: "Ex dono Magistri Ioannis Gunthorpi domini Decani Wellensis ac quondam Magistri Aulae Regiae."<sup>13</sup>

*Contents*: Hieronymus, *Epistolae et opuscula*

Vol. I

- 1 (fols. 1-3v) *Index* (beginning with *Ep.* 21)<sup>14</sup>
- 2 (fols. 3v-7v) Anon., *Divi Hieronymi vita* (inc: *Plerosque nimirum*) ("Vita Divi Hieronymi," ed. Mombritus, 2:31-36)
- 3 (fols. 8-16v) Rufinus, *Expositio in symbolum apostolorum* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:427)
- 4 (fols. 17-22) Ps. Hieronymus?, *Contra quinque haereses* (fragm.)
- 5 (fols. 22-24v) Ps. Hieronymus, *Expositio fidei Nicaeni concilii* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:90)
- 6 (fols. 25-32v) Ps. Hieronymus?, *De fidei credulitate*
- 7 (fols. 33-70v) Hieronymus, *Adversus Iovinianum* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:382)
- 8 (fols. 71-76v) Hieronymus, *Adversus Hebridium* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:369)

<sup>13</sup> For information on Gunthorpe (Gundorp), see *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 8:794-95. In 1460, he studied at Ferrara with Guarino, and he gave some of his manuscripts to Jesus College, Cambridge.

<sup>14</sup> The index ends with a promise of a similar list of contents for the second volume. Those folios are now missing at the beginning of volume 2.

- 9 (fols. 76v–80v) Hieronymus, *In Vigilantium haereticum* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:397)
- 10 (fols. 81v–88v) Hieronymus, *Altercatio Luciferii et Orthodoxi* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:362)
- 11 (fols. 93–120v) Hieronymus, *Dialogus contra Pelagianos* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:417–22, who does not include this manuscript)
- 12 (fols. 128–40v) Hieronymus, *Liber ad Pammachium contra Ioannem Hierosolymitanum* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 2:403–5, who does not include this manuscript)
- 13 (fols. 148v–49) Rufinus, *Apologia <ad Anastasium>* (CCL 20:19–28)
- 14 (fol. 149) Anastasius, <Ep.> ad Ioan. Hierosolymitanum (fragm.) (cf. *Clavis*, 358 [no. 1640])
- 15 (fols. 150–72) Rufinus, *Apologiae contra Hieronymum libri II* (fragm.) (CCL 20:29–123)
- 16 (fols. 172–92) Hieronymus, *Epistolae?*
- 17 (fols. 192–210) Hieronymus, *Apologia adversus libros Rufini* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 4:215)
- 18 (fols. 210–21v) Hieronymus, *Liber tertius adversus libros Rufini* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 4:224)
- 19 (fols. 222–23) Ps. Hieronymus et Ps. Augustinus, *Dialogus de origine animarum* (fragm.) (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:145)
- 20 (fols. 223v–316) Hieronymus, *Epistolae?*
- 21 (fol. 316v) Augustinus, *Retractationes (cap. xlv)* (ed. Knöll, CSEL, 36:154)
- 22 (fols. 317–18) Ps. Hieronymus, *De corpore et sanguine Christi* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:151)
- 23 (fols. 318v–19) Ps. Hieronymus, *Homilia super evangelium Sancti Matthaei* (cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:155)
- 24 (fols. 319–20v, old foliation 343–44v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) (copied from the edition printed at Parma, 1480).

*Bibliography:* Charles Hardwick and H. Luard, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1856–67), 1:319–20; and Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 4:56 (*ad indicem*).

*MB* Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, cod. AC.XII.22  
(formerly Phillipps 984)

Cart. in folio. Watermarks: fols. 1–99, *Chapeau*, sim. Briquet 3456, att. Venice, 1499; var. simil. Venice, 1501; fols. 102–59, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11912, att. Padua, 1515; var. simil. Padua, 1527–46. s. XVI (2 June 1507), Padua. 307 X 206 mm. III + 159 + III. Modern foliation in lower right-hand corner in pencil; earlier pencil foliation in upper right-hand corner that does not correspond. Collation apparently 1–15<sup>10</sup>, 16<sup>10(-1)</sup>. No signatures. Horizontal catchwords against right margin on first four and last two folios of the first ten fascicles; pattern breaks down in fascicle 11 where catchwords present only on first two folios (fols. 101v, 102v). An average of 26 lines on ca. 190 X 105 mm. bounded by single vertical and horizontal lines (fols. 1–102). The rest of the codex (fols. 103–59) has a double vertical fold. Written in a single column. Chapters in the Carrara biographies (fols. 1–84) have 8–11 line initials and entire first line in majuscules. Orations and letters (fols. 90–159) have late titles and marginalia in red. Slash marks in that portion of the codex suggest that the codex was copied. Evidence of at least three different hands. The bulk of the codex (fols. 1–109v, 123–59) was written and corrected by Marsilio Papafava in a late Humanist cursive (fol. 84: “Haec sumpsit ego Marsilius Papafava a quadam chronica veteri, in qua non erant alia huius familiae nec aliorum dominorum Paduae, et ei imposui finem die Mercurii, 2 Iunii 1507, in Vigilia Eucharistiae”).<sup>15</sup> A second scribe copied the oration on fols. 110–22v. Subsequently, titles, dates, and marginal emphases, often in red, were added by a third hand.

*History:* purchased by Phillipps at sale of manuscripts by Sotheby’s on 14 March 1825. These manuscripts had been collected by Abbot Luigi Celotti from Santa Giustina (Padua), San Giorgio Maggiore (Venice), the Jesuit library (Tours), and private collections of Giacomo Nani, Giovanni Salviati, Scipione Maffei, and a Mocenigo. The Braidense obtained the manuscript from the Libreria Antiquaria Hoepli on 13 June 1911 (fol. 1). Late binding in parchment (319 X 217 mm.). Spine reads in black lettering: “PIER PAOLO / VERGERIO / - / DE / CARRARIENSU. / FAMILIA / - / ORATIONES / ET EPISTOLAE / MS. CART. / 1507.”

<sup>15</sup> Papafava’s writing (Plate 2) is distinguished by: an uncial *a* in two distinct strokes, minuscule *g* with a triangular lower bowl, elongated minuscule *f* and *s* with a hook on top, a dotted *y*, and a majuscule *D* with a preparatory stroke from the line upwards.

Contents: Pierpaolo Vergerio, <Opera>

- 1 (fols. 1–84) <Petri> *Pauli Vergerii Iustino Politani De Carrariensium familia*, late title, perhaps by Roberto Papafava<sup>16</sup> (Gnesotto, ed., ... *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber*) (fols. 84v–89v)  
blank
- 2 (fols. 90–97) <PPV, *De dignissimo funebri apparatu in exequiis ... Francisci Senioris de Carraria*> (RIS 16:189A–94A)
- 3 (fols. 97v–103) PPV, *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris* (RIS 16:194B–98C)
- 4 (fols. 103v–9v) *Ep.* 138 (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- 5 (fols. 110–22v) PPV, <*Oratio ad Franciscum Iunioem de Carraria*>  
*Oratio congratulatoria* (RIS 16:204–15)
- 6 (fols. 123–29) *Ep.* 81 (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- 7 (fols. 129–32) *Ep.* 27 (*Epist.*, 46–53)
- 8 (fols. 132v–40) *Ep.* 34 (*Epist.*, 66–78)
- 9 (fols. 140–41) *Ep.* 16 (*Epist.*, 31–32)
- 10 (fols. 141–42v) *Ep.* 98 (*Epist.*, 249–51)
- 11 (fols. 142v–44) *Ep.* 100 (Col. Salutati to PPV) (*Epist.*, 253–57)
- 12 (fols. 144v–48) *Ep.* 101 (*Epist.*, 257–62)
- 13 (fol. 148r–v) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4)
- 14 (fols. 148v–50) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 15 (fols. 150–51) *Ep.* 99 (*Epist.*, 251–53)
- 16 (fols. 151–53) *Ep.* 104 (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- 17 (fols. 153–57) PPV, *Oratio de laudibus Divi Hieronymi*, late title in red (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)
- 18 (fols. 157v–59v) *Ep.* 140 (*Epist.*, 384–87).

*Bibliography:* *The Phillipps Manuscripts: Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bt.* (1837–71; repr. London: Holland Press, 1968), 12 (no. 984); A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library Up to the Year 1840*, *Phillipps Studies* 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1954), 50–51, 147; and *Iter* 1:353a.

#### N Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, cod. IX.F.62

Cart. in quarto. Watermark: *Tête de boeuf* (with stem and five-petaled flower), rem. sim. Briquet 14872, att. Brescia, 1457–70; sim. Piccard,

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<sup>16</sup> On fol. 19v, Marsilio Papafava inserted a note regarding the tomb of “Nicolaus grandis Carrariensis.”

*Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen*, 12.856, att. 1466–69, 12:857, att. 1455–70. s. XV (1462), Italy. 210 X 150 mm. I + 29. Foliation in ink in upper right corner (some numbers cut off in rebinding). Collation: 1–2<sup>10</sup>, 3<sup>10(-1)</sup> (rear pastedown may be the last folio of the third quinternion). No signatures. Catchwords below last line against right margin; they are enclosed within four pairs of curvilinears. 51 lines on 160 X 98 mm., bounded by single vertical margins and upper horizontal margin in pencil. Single column. 3 line initial R and 10 line initial E on fol. 1; the E was cut out of a printed text and pasted into the manuscript. Space for a 13 line initial (fol. 18). Autograph of Francesco Gonzaga in Semigothic script (colophon on fol. 27: “Scripsi hanc epistolam ego Franciscus de Gonzaga ob devotionem tanti patris et conplevi die Mercurii de mane, XVII Novembris 1462”).<sup>17</sup> Gonzaga added marginal emphases and corrections, while a second hand added the title on fol. 1.<sup>18</sup>

*History*: Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–83). Possessor’s note in lower margin of fol. 1 erased. Lender’s note (fol. 15): “Io Zuane Zuehavel de Masarada dichiara? aver dato Signor Durigo Robabeli per averli? in prestado valore? ducati 4.10?” Provenance from the library of the Capuchin convent of S. Ephrem Novus in Naples (fol. 1: “Bibl. Novae Capuc. Neap.” and library stamp on fol. 28v: “Bib. Nov. / Bibliothec. Capuccinorum Conceptionis Neapolis”). Binding of parchment over pasteboards (216 X 155 mm.) typical of Capuchin Library. Front cover has “21,” and spine reads in black ink: “Victoriae mirabilis divinitus de Turcis habitae duce S. Ioanne de <Capistrano>.” The codex entered the Bibl. Nazionale in 1865 (stamp of the Nazionale on fol. 1).

*Contents*:

1 (fols. 1–18) Fr. Ioan. de Talglacotio, O.M., <Ep. > to Giacomo della Marca, dated Udine, 22 July (“in festo Sanctissimae Magdalenae”)

<sup>17</sup> Gonzaga’s writing (Plate 3) is clear despite the small corpus. Gothic features include the overlapping of reverse curves and the use of *r* in the form of 2. Gonzaga used an *et* nexus, and his minuscule *g* at times resembles an 8, with the lower bowl below the line. His majuscule *Q* occasionally has a bowl raised well above the line, and his majuscule *N* and *P* are formed in two distinct strokes. The inventory of his possessions, published by D. S. Chambers, *A Renaissance Cardinal and His Worldly Goods: The Will and Inventory of Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483)*, Survey and Texts 20 (London: Warburg Institute, 1992), 169, lists among the books (no. 728) “La vita de fra Zoanne da Capistrano in papiro.” On Gonzaga’s learning and patronage, see *ibid.*, 50–74.

<sup>18</sup> The hand may be that of the Capuchin librarian who placed the possessor’s note at the bottom of the same folio. A loose piece of paper inserted in the codex reads: “IX.F.62 / P. Elpidio Bocchetti, O.F.M.”

- 1460 (inc: *Etsi non ignorem*) (ed. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 12:394–419 [no. 42], 750–96; *BHL* 1:646 [no. 4])
- 2 (fols. 18–27) Fr. Ioan. de Talglacotio, O.M., < *Ep.* > to Giacomo della Marca, dated Florence, 10 February 1461 (inc: *Admirabilem ac stupendam de Turcis victoriam*) (ed. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 12:444–66; *BHL* 1:646 [no. 5])
- 3 (fols. 27v–28) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *Sermo de laudibus Beati Hieronymi* (inc: *Praestantissimi viri, fragm.*)<sup>19</sup> (fol. 29) blank.

*Bibliography:* Albert Poncelet, “Catalogus Codicum Hagiographicorum Latinorum Bibliothecarum Neapolitanarum,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 30 (1911): 195–96; Aniceto Chiappini, O.F.M., “Fr. Nicolai de Fara Epistolae Duae ad S. Ioannem de Capistrano,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 15 (1922): 387; Chiappini, *Reliquie letterarie capestranesi: Storia, codici, carte, documenti* (L’Aquila, 1927), 281; *Iter* 1:405b, 6:115b; and Cesare Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, *Spicilegium bonaventurianum* 7–8 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, and Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), 2:867–68 (no. 516).

*Pa Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203*

Cart. in folio. s. XVIII (ex.), Padua. 278 X 195 mm. I + 475 + I. Original pagination in two parts: 1–324, 1–150; numeration in black ink in upper right-hand corner (errors in numbers corrected by the copyist). Running heads. Collation: 1–6<sup>24</sup>, 7<sup>18</sup>, 8–9<sup>24</sup>, 10<sup>4</sup>, 11<sup>24(-1)</sup>. Plain horizontal catchwords on every other page, which correspond. Pages folded twice (outside of four columns on each page used for notes and collations). Single column throughout. 38 lines per page except for the *Petrarcae vita* where only 28 lines utilized (perhaps an effort to fill out part 1). Text area measures ca. 245 X 130 mm. Titles centered and works numbered progressively within each genre (decorative pattern used to mark beginning and end of specific works). Italic autograph of Gian Roberto Papafava.

*History:* an effort by Gian Roberto Papafava (b. 1722) to make a complete collection of Vergerio’s works. A draft of the same work is preserved in B.P. 129.<sup>20</sup> From the collection of Antonio Piazza (ex

<sup>19</sup> Fol. 28 is constructed of three pieces of paper glued together. Fragments of a document in Italian are legible underneath one of the sheets (perhaps by the same hand that wrote the lender’s note on fol. 15).

<sup>20</sup> Paper. Bundles a–u of various length and size (representing the materials collected for

libris on front pastedown) to the library. Half-parchment binding covered by tan paper (285 X 203 mm.). Title on spine reads: "Vergerii / Epistolae" (gold lettering stamped on brown leather), "Cod. / MSS." (gold lettering on green leather). The library shelfmark is pasted below.

Contents: Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Opera*

### Part I

- 1 (1-203) PPV, ... *Epistolae*<sup>21</sup>
- 2 (204-60) PPV, ... *Orationes*<sup>22</sup>
- 3 (260-63) PPV, *In foeneratores facetissima exprobatio* (*Epist.*, 384-87 [*Ep.* 140])
- 4 (263-69) PPV, *In exequiis principis Francisci Senioris de Carraria* (*RIS* 16:189A-94A)
- 5 (270-71) PPV, *In traductione Arriani ... ad Sigismundum* (*Epist.*, 379-84 [*Ep.* 139])
- 6 (271-303) PPV, ... *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus disciplinis* (Gnesotto, ed., "... *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adulescentiae*," 95-146)
- 7 (304-6) PPV, <*Oratio*> (inc: *O altitudo divitiarum*) (ed. Smith, "Note cronologiche vergeriane, III-V," 132-33)
- 8 (307-17) PPV, *Petrarcae vita ...* (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 294-302) (318-24) blank.

### Part II

- 9 (1-103) PPV, ... *De Carrariensium familia et de illustrium eius principum rebus magnifice gestis HISTORIA* (Gnesotto, ed., ... *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber*) (104) blank

Vergerio's *Opera omnia*). Draft of the text itself in bundle u: 298 X 202 mm. Pages 1-409. Pages folded once vertically, yielding text area of ca. 210 X 202 mm. in two columns of 106 and 96 mm. respectively. Left-hand column for text and right-hand for notes. 36 lines per page. Italic hand of Papafava. Half-leather binding. The draft copies of the sermons on Jerome are found on 325-53 (in the same order as *Pa*). Bundle j contains a letter of Agostino Carran? to Papafava, which indicates the existence of an eighth panegyric of Jerome printed in a "vol. in fol." However, Papafava never found this oration.

<sup>21</sup> The sylloge includes the following letters (using the numeration in Smith's edition): *Ep.* 18, 6, 2, 12, 1, 13, 4, 21-22, 24, 27-30, 32-35, 31, 36-38, 40, 44, 3, 47-48, 56, 49-50, 57, 51-55, 58, 60-66, 120, 59, 46, 67-73, 148, 75-78, 80, 43, 81-82, 87-88, 90, 99, 41, 91-92, 23, 97, 17, 98, 15, 11, 102-5, 128, 109, 111, 115 (fragm.), 123, 116-17, 124-27, 130, 20, 131-32, 45, 133-35, 138, 118, 121, 114, 146-47, 115 (fragm.), *Ep.*? (inc: Plutarchus in describenda, *Epist.*, 451-52), 145, 119, 112, *De monarchia* (fragm.), 93-95, *Facetia* (inc: M. ... q. ... , *Epist.*, 452-50), 143, 106, *Dialogus de morte* (fragm., *Epist.*, 445-46), 137, 107-8, 96, 42, 8, 10.

<sup>22</sup> The sylloge includes the seven sermons for Jerome as found in *R*.

10 (105–17) PPV, ... *Carmina*<sup>23</sup>

11 (117–39) PPV, ... *Fragmenta*<sup>24</sup> (140–50) blank.

*Bibliography*: Carlo A. Combi, “Un discorso inedito di Pier Paolo Vergerio il Seniore da Capodistria,” *Archivio storico per Trieste, l’Istria, e il Trentino* 1 (1882): 359; *Epist.*, lxiv–lxviii; and *Iter* 2:23a.

*PM* Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955) Cart. in folio. s. XVII (m.), Padua. 440 X 290 mm. I + 172 + III. Foliation in black ink in upper right-hand corner. Blank folios: 1v–4v, 39–52v, 54r–v, 74v, 87r–v, 132v, 163v–64v. Collation: 1–9<sup>4</sup>, 10<sup>10</sup>, 11<sup>6</sup>, 12<sup>2</sup>, 13–16<sup>4</sup>, 17<sup>6</sup>, 18–19<sup>4</sup>, 20<sup>6</sup>, 21–30<sup>4</sup>, 31<sup>2</sup>, 32<sup>4</sup>, 33<sup>2</sup>, 34–37<sup>4</sup>, 38<sup>6</sup>, 39–41<sup>4</sup>. Errors in order of texts noted in marginalia by Roberto Papafava (see fols. 72v–75, 85v–86, 130v–33). No signatures. Horizontal catchwords on every folio verso. 35 lines per page on ca. 330 X 210 mm. with faint ruling. Single column. Frontispiece: “PETRI PAULI / VERGERII / ANANTA.” Titles of individual works centered. Elaborate cursive initials. Three Italic hands: the amanuense, Roberto Papafava (corrections, collations, and additions), and Andrea Baretta of the Marciana (bibliographical marginalia).<sup>25</sup>

*History*: commissioned by Abbot Roberto Papafava, who completed his own additions to the codex in 1651; see the colophon on fol. 172v and his letters to Alfonso Loschi in cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fols. 33–35, where Papafava spoke of his “fatiche incredibili.”<sup>26</sup> Iacopo

<sup>23</sup> The sylloge includes: *Poetica narratio* (*Epist.*, 453–58), ... *Super reditu natorum eius Francisci et Iacobi* ... (*RIS* 16:242), *Omnia Petrarcae opera* ... , ... *Epitomata in Africam* (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 301–2), *Paulus* ... *prologus* (ed. Perosa, “Per una nuova edizione,” 321–22), *De Francisco Seniore de Carraria* ... *epitaphium* (*RIS* 16:198C), <*Proverbia et sententiae*>, incorrectly entitled *Alegabilia dicta ex Timaeo Platonis*.

<sup>24</sup> The sylloge includes: <Sicco Polenton>, *De vita Senecae* (*Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae*, ed. Ullmann, 493–94); PPV, *De republica Venetorum*, *De republica Venetiarum fragmentum* (ed. Robey and Law, “The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta*,” 38–49), *Romae descriptio* (*Epist.*, 211–20 [*Ep.* 86]); M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus <*excerpt.*> (*Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum* 32.3.13–15); Flavio Biondo <*excerpt.*> (*Italia illustrata*, Basel, 1531, 386–88); and PPV, *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* (*RIS* 16:240A–241D).

<sup>25</sup> Baretta served as assistant librarian (*vicebibliotecario*) of the Marciana from 1847 until his death in 1852. See Carlo Frati, *Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani dal sec. XIV al XIX*, edited by Albano Sorbelli, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 13 (Florence, 1933), 52; and Marino Parenti, *Aggiunte al Dizionario bio-bibliografico dei bibliotecari e bibliofili italiani di Carlo Frati* (Florence: Sansoni Antiquariato, 1952–60), 1:80.

<sup>26</sup> The colophon of *PM* is cited by Smith, *Epist.*, 282 n. 1. Marc. ital. VI.431 is described by Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170–71. The codex has the following works of Vergerio: *De principibus Carrariensibus* (fols. 59–91v); *Carmen ad Franciscum Iunioem* (fol. 94); *Epistolae* (fols. 96–137v, 146); *Oratio pro populo Patavino* (fols. 148–55); *De dignissimo funebri apparatu*



Morelli left the codex to the Marciana in 1819. Half-parchment binding covered by brown marbled paper (445 X 290 mm.). Old and new Marciana shelfmarks on the spine.

*Contents:* Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Opera*

- 1 (fol. 1) frontispiece (fols. 1v–4v) blank
- 2 (fols. 5–38v) PPV, ... *Liber de principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum* ... (Gnesotto, ed., ... *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber*) (fols. 39–52v) blank
- 3 (fol. 53r–v) PPV, ... *carmen* (inc: *Carriger nobis pater*) (*RIS* 16:242) (fol. 54r–v) blank
- 4 (fols. 55–137) PPV, *Epistolae* (same order as B<sup>1</sup>)<sup>27</sup> (fols. 74v, 87r–v, 132v) blank
- 5 (fols. 137–38) PPV, *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* (*RIS* 16:240A–41D), followed by inscription (*CIL* 5.1:4 [no. 12])
- 6 (fol. 138r–v) *Ep.* 52 (also on fols. 59v–60) (*Epist.*, 118–19)
- 7 (fol. 138v) <*Dialogus de morte*, fragm.> *P. P. Vergerii Testamentum* ... (*Epist.*, 445–46)
- 8 (fols. 139–44) PPV, *De vita, moribus, et doctrina illustris poetae Francisci Petrarcae ... et eius poemate quod "Africa" inscribitur* (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 294–302)
- 9 (fol. 144) *Ep.* 66 (also on fol. 84v) (*Epist.*, 157–59)
- 10 (fols. 144v–46v) Franc. Petrarca, ... *Testamentum* (*Petrarch's Testament*, ed. Mommsen, 68–92)
- 11 (fol. 147r–v) PPV?, <*Proverbia et sententiae*> (inc: *Non sinit obscurum facinus*)
- 12 (fols. 147v–49v) PPV, *Poetica narratio* (*Epist.*, 453–58)
- 13 (fol. 150) PPV, <*Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo*> (inc: *Gloriosi doctoris*, fragm. at beginning)
- 14 (fols. 150–51) PPV, <*Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo*> (inc: *Hodie mihi*)
- 15 (fol. 151) PPV, <*Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo*> (inc: *Sermo hodie*, fragm.)
- 16 (fols. 151–52) PPV, <*Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo*> (inc: *Praestantissimi patres*, fragm. at beginning)

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(fols. 156–59); and *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris* (fols. 160–62). The last three are not included in *PM*.

<sup>27</sup> Papafava added (fol. 86r–v): Bartolomeo Facio, ... *Ad Alfonsosum regem epistola*.

- 17 (fols. 152–63) PPV, *Paulus* (ed. Perosa, “Per una nuova edizione,” 321–56) (fols. 163v–64v) blank
- 18 (fol. 165) PPV, *Fragmentum orationis . . . ex ms. Vergeriano* (inc: O altitudo divitiarum, fragm. at beginning) (ed. Smith, “Note cronologiche vergeriane, III–V,” 132–33)
- 19 (fols. 165–71) PPV, *Pro redintegranda uniendaque ecclesia . . .* (ed. Combi, “Un discorso inedito,” 360–74)
- 20 (fols. 171–72v) *Ep.* 107 (*Epist.*, 278–82).

*Bibliography:* Zorzanello, *Catalogo*, 3:289–91; *Epist.*, xxxiii, xlv–xlvii; Theodor E. Mommsen, ed. and trans., *Petrarch's Testament* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1957), 54; *Iter* 2:248a; and Alessandro Perosa, “Per una nuova edizione del *Paulus* del Vergerio,” in Vittore Branca and Sante Gracioti, eds., *L'umanesimo in Istria*, Civiltà veneziana: Studi 38 (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 281–84.

#### R Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1287

Cart. in quarto. Watermarks: fols. 12–23, 35–136, *Balance*, Briquet 2509, var. ident. Venice, 1487, Friuli, 1487; fols. 26–33, *Balance*, sim. Briquet 2454, var. diverg. Venice, 1476–80, Brescia, 1481, Udine, 1495. s. XV (ex.), Venetian Empire. 206 X 152 mm. I + 161 + I (missing fols. 2–9, 11, 108, 142–53). Foliation in upper right-hand corner in faded ink. Collation: 1<sup>4(-1)</sup>, 2<sup>12</sup>, 3–4<sup>10</sup>, 5<sup>14</sup>, 6<sup>10</sup>, 7<sup>12</sup>, 8<sup>16</sup>, 9<sup>12(-1)</sup>, 10<sup>12</sup>, 11<sup>8</sup>, 12<sup>6</sup>, 13<sup>6(-1)</sup>. No signatures or catchwords. Many blank folios. The orations of Vergerio on Jerome occupy fascicles 4–5. The final five folios contain material not directly related to Vergerio. An average of 26 lines per page on ca. 140 X 80 mm. The folios were folded twice yielding four columns of ca. 38 mm. each. Writing restricted to middle area and in single column throughout. No decoration; depiction of an inscription in rustic majuscules on a marker-stone (fol. 27) and tracing of an astrological table (fol. 98). Humanist cursive hand. Though the scribe controlled his pen well, he wrote so quickly that the hand can be difficult to decipher. The same scribe made marginal corrections, while a later Italic hand made additions and cross-references.<sup>28</sup>

*History:* Smith postulates origins in Capodistria. The codex entered the

<sup>28</sup> The scribe also used a “*tellōs*” explicit in Greek characters; see Dieter Wuttke, “Telos als explicit,” in Fritz Krafft and Dieter Wuttke, eds., *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, Kommission für Humanismusforschung, Mitteilung 4 (Boppard: H. Boldt, 1977), 47–62.

library from the suppressed convent of the Padri Riformati in Padua (San Carlo, n. 6). It was in the possession of the convent at the time that Gian Roberto Papafava collated it with the codex Brunaccianus in the late eighteenth century. Half-leather binding in brown covered by marbled paper (215 X 158 mm.). Spine has five horizontal rolls of ovals with lines traced within.

*Contents:* Pierpaolo Vergerio et al., *Opera*

- 1 (fol. 12r-v) Pietro Dolfino, *Ep.* to Enrico Petronio, dated San Michele di Murano, 23 January 1480 (*Epist.*, xxxix) (fol. 13r-v) blank
- 2 (fols. 14-19) PPV, *Ep.* 81 (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- 3 (fols. 19-21) PPV, *Ep.* 140 (*Epist.*, 384-87)
- 4 (fols. 21-24v) PPV, *Ep.* 141 (*Epist.*, 388-95)
- 5 (fols. 24v-29v) < *Histrica* >: 1 (fol. 24v) < M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus, *excerpt.* > (*Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum* 32.3.13-15). 2 (fol. 25r-v) Flavio Biondo, < *excerpt.* > (*Italia illustrata*, Basel, 1531, 386-88). 3 (fol. 25v) < *excerpt.* > *Ex chronica patriarcharum Aquileiense ecclesie* (ed. De Rubeis, *Chronicon alterum*, Appendix, 9a). 4 (fol. 25v) < *excerpt.* > *Ex chronica Sancti Nicolai* . . . (Andr. Dandolo, *Chronica*, *RIS*, n.s., 12.1:65). 5 (fol. 26r-v) C. Plinius Secundus, < *excerpt.* > (*Naturalis historia* 3.18.22 [no. 126]-3.19.23 [no. 129]). 6 (fol. 26v) Strabo, < *excerpt.* > translatio Latina (*Geograph.* 1.2.39, 7.5.3). 7 (fol. 27) *Inscriptio* (*CIL* 5.1:4 [no. 12]). 8 (fols. 28-29v) PPV, . . . *De situ urbis Iustinopolitaneae* (*RIS* 16:240A-41D)
- 6 (fols. 30-31v) PPV, *Ep.* 45 (*Epist.*, 102-6) (fols. 32-33v) blank
- 7 (fol. 34r-v) PPV, *Ep.* 4 (*Epist.*, 12-14)
- 8 (fols. 35-36) PPV, . . . *Oratio pro Sancto Hieronymo* (inc: Reverendi patres fratresque carissimi)
- 9 (fols. 36v-38v) *Eiusdem Pro eodem* (inc: Agite fratres carissimi diem)
- 10 (fols. 38v-41) *Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo eiusdem* (inc: Decet quidem omnes ubique)
- 11 (fols. 41v-42) PPV, *Ep.* 20 (*Epist.*, 36-37)
- 12 (fol. 42r-v) PPV, *Ep.* 116 (*Epist.*, 307-8)
- 13 (fols. 42v-44) PPV, *Ep.* 117 (*Epist.*, 308-10)
- 14 (fol. 44r-v) PPV, *Ep.* 132 (*Epist.*, 349-50)
- 15 (fols. 45-46v) PPV, . . . *Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio* (inc: Hodie mihi fratres carissimi)
- 16 (fols. 47-51) PPV, . . . *Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio* (inc: Sermo mihi hodie habendus ad vos)
- 17 (fols. 51-54) PPV, . . . *Oratio pro Sancto Hieronymo* (inc: Gloriosi doctoris ac patris nostri)

- 18 (fols. 54–57v) PPV, ... *Pro Divo Hieronymo oratio* (inc: Praestantissimi patres ecclesiastica nos doctrina) (fol. 58r–v) blank
- 19 (fols. 59–67) PPV, *Ep. 34* (*Epist.*, 66–78, where Smith incorrectly gives fol. 50)
- 20 (fols. 67v–68) PPV, *Ep. 35* (*Epist.*, 79–80)
- 21 (fol. 68r–v) PPV <i.e., S. Polenton>, ... *De(?) vita Senecae* (inc: Seneca longissime vixit) (*Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae*, ed. Ullmann, 493–94)
- 22 (fols. 69–70) PPV, *Ep. 74* (*Epist.*, 174–75)
- 23 (fols. 70–71) PPV, *Ep. 98* (*Epist.*, 249–51)
- 24 (fols. 71–72) PPV, *Ep. 48* (*Epist.*, 109–12)
- 25 (fols. 72v–73) PPV, *Ep. 51* (*Epist.*, 115–18)
- 26 (fols. 73–74) PPV, *Ep. 52* (*Epist.*, 118–19)
- 27 (fol. 74r–v) PPV, *Ep. 53* (*Epist.*, 119–20)
- 28 (fols. 74v–75v) PPV, *Ep. 55* (*Epist.*, 123–24)
- 29 (fols. 75v–76) PPV, *Ep. 57* (*Epist.*, 126)
- 30 (fols. 76–78) PPV, *Ep. 58* (*Epist.*, 127–31)
- 31 (fols. 78–79) PPV, *Ep. 61* (*Epist.*, 141–42)
- 32 (fols. 79v–80v) PPV, *Ep. 64* (*Epist.*, 154–56)
- 33 (fols. 80v–81) PPV, *Ep. 65* (*Epist.*, 156–57)
- 34 (fols. 81–82) PPV, *Ep. 68* (*Epist.*, 160–61)
- 35 (fols. 82–84) PPV, *Ep. 69* (*Epist.*, 162–65)
- 36 (fol. 84r–v) PPV, *Ep. 77* (*Epist.*, 182–83)
- 37 (fols. 85–90v) PPV, ... *In exequiis principis Francisci Senioris de Carraria* (RIS 16:189A–94A)
- 38 (fols. 90v–95v) <PPV, *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria*> (RIS 16:194B–98C)
- 39 (fol. 96) PPV, ... *Pro eodem epitaphia* (RIS 16:198C)
- 40 (fols. 97v–98) *Repertum in archivo Patavino ante palatii combustionem*, followed by an astrological table for 25 March 421 (cf. V. Lazzarini, “Il preteso documento,” 107–11) (fol. 98v) blank
- 42 (fols. 99–107) <PPV, *De republica Venetorum*> (ed. Robey and Law, “The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta*,” 38–49) (fol. 107v) blank
- 43 (fols. 109–10) <PPV, *De republica Venetorum*> (shorter redaction) (ed. Robey and Law, “The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta*,” 38–40, lines 1–52)
- 44 (fol. 110v) PPV, *Ep. 137* (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- 45 (fols. 111–12v) PPV, *Ep. 109* (*Epist.*, 283–92)
- 46 (fols. 113–15) PPV, *Ep. 43* (*Epist.*, 94–97)

- 47 (fols. 115–16) Franc. Petrarca, *Ep. to Cicero (Familiares 24.3)*
- 48 (fols. 116–20) PPV, < *Ep.* > *nomine Ciceronis ad Franciscum (Epist., 436–45)*
- 49 (fol. 120v) PPV, *Ep.* 148 (*Epist.*, 426–27)
- 50 (fols. 121–30) PPV, ... *Pro redintegranda uniendaque ecclesia ad cardinales Romanos oratio in concistorio habita* (ed. Combi, “Un discorso inedito,” 360–74) (fol. 130v) blank (except for “D”)
- 51 (fols. 131–35v) *Ep.* 86 (*Epist.*, 211–20)
- 52 (fols. 135v–37) Franc. Petrarca, *Ep. to Giovanni Colonna (Familiares 6.11, fragm. concerning Rome)*
- 53 (fols. 137v–39) PPV, *Ep.* 107 (*Epist.*, 278–82)
- 54 (fol. 139) *Ep.* 108 (*Epist.*, 283)
- 55 (fols. 139v–40v) PPV, < *Oratio* > (inc: *O altitudo divitiarum*) (ed. Smith, “Note cronologiche vergeriane, III–V,” 132–33) (fols. 141, 154–56v) blank
- 56 (fols. 157–59) Bern. Giustiniani, ... *Ad summum pontificem oratio dum fungeretur legatione ad serenissimum Ferdinandum Neapoli regem* (Bern. Giustiniani, *Orationes*, sig. D, 2–D, 3; Piccolomini, *Opera inedita*, ed. Cugnoni, 156–58)
- 57 (fols. 159v–60) Ippolita Sforza, ... *Oratio ad summum pontificem Pium*
- 58 (fol. 160) < Pius II >, *Responsum ex tempore* (oration and response in *Pii II Orationes*, ed. Mansi, 2:192–93; ed. De Tummullillis, *Notabilia temporum*, 231–33)
- 59 (fols. 160v–61) Galeazzo Maria Sforza, ... *Ad serenissimum principem Franciscum Fuscarum oratio (RIS 22:1160–61; cf. Sottili, IMU 12 [1969]: 397 [I codici del Petrarca, 249])* (fol. 161v) blank.

*Bibliography:* *Epist.*, xxxi, xxxviii–xl; and *Iter* 2:23b.

*Ra* Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535) Cart. in folio. Watermarks: fols. 13–24, *Arc*, sim. Briquet 814, att. Mantua, 1482; fols. 25–94, *Oiseau*, sim. Briquet 12130, att. Verona, 1475. s. XV (ex.)–XVI (in.), Venetian Empire. Vergerio material written between 1486 and 1502. 338 X 225 mm. II + 98 + II. Foliation in black ink in upper right-hand corner. Collation: 1<sup>14</sup>, 2<sup>10</sup>, 3<sup>12</sup>, 4<sup>16</sup>, 5<sup>18</sup>, 6<sup>16</sup>, 7<sup>14(-2)</sup>. No signatures. Catchwords only on fol. 13v (plain horizontal that corresponds to quire that begins on fol. 15) and on fol. 24v (plain vertical corresponding to quire). An average of 40 lines on a widely varying text area. No ruling; each folio is folded twice. Frontispiece (fol. 1: “Ramusi ad virtutis / callem Arduum su- / dore vultus tui / enitere / cuncta

domat / virtus / 1486"). Titles and divisions of *Officium* in greenish-blue ink. Use of colored ink, especially red, for titles and marginalia frequent from fols. 64–86. 3 line initial in blue with red decoration (fol. 74). Autograph of Paolo Ramusio the elder in Humanist cursive script (to fol. 95v).<sup>29</sup>

*History:* copied by Paolo Ramusio the elder between 1486 (fol. 1) and 1502 (fol. 95v). Appended notes on earthquakes in Padua in 1504 and 1505 and an earthquake and consequent *acqua alta* at Venice in 1511 (fol. 95v), the latter not by Ramusio who died in 1506.<sup>30</sup> Girolamo Contarini left the manuscript to the Marciana in 1843. Bibliographical notes by G. Valentinelli (second flyleaf) and Andrea Baretta (passim). One-eighth parchment binding covered by brown marbled paper (348 X 240 mm.). Spine reads: "P. P. Vergeri / Sen. / Epistolae / et / Carmina" and has the old and new shelfmarks of the library.

*Contents:* Pierpaolo Vergerio et al., *Opera*

- 1 (fols. 2–4v) Franc. Petrarca, ... *Testamentum* (*Petrarch's Testament*, ed. Mommsen, 68–92)
- 2 (fols. 5–8) PPV, *Ep.* 81 (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- 3 (fols. 8–9) PPV, *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* (*RIS* 16:240A–41D), followed by inscription (*CIL* 5.1:4 [no. 12])
- 4 (fols. 9–10v) PPV, *Ep.* 27 (*Epist.*, 46–53)
- 5 (fols. 11–15v, fol. 14r–v blank) PPV, *Ep.* 34 (*Epist.*, 66–78)
- 6 (fols. 15v–17v) Lombardo della Seta, *Ad ... Franciscum Petrarcam ... de dispositione vitae suae* (ed. Ferrante, "Lombardo della Seta," 480–87)
- 7 (fols. 17v–21v) Franc. Petrarca, ... *Responsio facta Lombardo a Serico* (*Seniles* 15.3)
- 8 (fols. 21v–22) PPV, *Ep.* 16 (*Epist.*, 31–32)

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<sup>29</sup> The codex betrays the evolution of Ramusio's hand (Plate 4) over the twenty years that he worked on it. Stage 1 (fols. 2–4v): single example of Tironian note for *et*; uncial and cursive minuscule *a*; *ct* ligature; open *v*; tendency to close lower loop on final *s*; elegant minuscule *t*. Stage 2 (fols. 27–86): *et* written out in full, complementary use of Tironian note and nexus; *v* closed by overlap on final stroke; variation in final *s*; distinctive minuscule *r* and *-ur* abbreviation; use of cursive and block majuscules occasionally for same letter, e.g., *E* and *L*. Stage 3 (fols. 86v–95v): use of Tironian note for *et*; no overlap on initial *u* or *v*; single form of final *s*; different *-ur* abbreviation.

<sup>30</sup> The notes were transcribed by Smith, *Epist.*, xliii–xliiii n. 1. On Ramusio, see the profile in Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 423–24.

- 9 (fols. 22–23) PPV, ... *Pro fortissimo viro Cermisone Patavino ad ... Franciscum Iuniorem de Carraria acta feliciter oratio* (*Epist.*, 431–36)
- 10 (fols. 23–30) PPV, ... *Ad Franciscum Iuniorem de Carraria oratio pro populo Patavino* (*RIS* 16:204–15)
- 11 (fols. 30v–31v) PPV, *Ep.* 128 (*Epist.*, 339–43)
- 12 (fols. 31v–32) PPV, *Ep.* 99 (*Epist.*, 251–53)
- 13 (fols. 32–33) PPV, *Ep.* 104 (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- 14 (fols. 33–35) PPV, ... *Sermo ornatissimus in honorem Sancti Hieronymi* ... (inc: Quotiens reverendissimi patres fratresque carissimi)
- 15 (fol. 35r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 131 (*Epist.*, 347–48)
- 16 (fols. 35v–37) PPV, *Ep.* 75 (*Epist.*, 176–79)
- 17 (fol. 37r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47)
- 18 (fols. 38–42v) PPV, *Incipit Officium Divi Hieronymi editi < sic > per spectabilem iuris utriusque consultum dominum Petrum Paulum Vergerium Iustinopolitanum Paduae* (inc: Sancti Hieronymi clara praeconia)
- 19 (fol. 43r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 96 (*Epist.*, 243–46)
- 20 (fols. 43v–44) PPV, *Ep.* 125 (*Epist.*, 332–35)
- 21 (fol. 44) PPV, *Ep.* 126 (*Epist.*, 335–36)
- 22 (fol. 44r–v) PPV, < *Ep.*? > (inc: Plutarchus in describenda) (*Epist.*, 451–52)
- 23 (fols. 44v–45) PPV, *Ep.* 123 (*Epist.*, 323–29)
- 24 (fol. 45v) PPV, *Ep.* 145 (*Epist.*, 423)
- 25 (fols. 45v–46) PPV, *Ep.* 124 (*Epist.*, 330–32)
- 26 (fol. 46r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 127 (*Epist.*, 337–39)
- 27 (fols. 46v–47) PPV, *Ep.* 119 (*Epist.*, 313–15)
- 28 (fol. 47r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 97 (*Epist.*, 246–48)
- 29 (fols. 47v–48) PPV, *Ep.* 102 (*Epist.*, 263–67)
- 30 (fol. 48v) PPV, *Ep.* 112 (*Epist.*, 299–300)
- 31 (fol. 48v) PPV, *Ep.* 20 (*Epist.*, 36–37)
- 32 (fol. 49) PPV, *Ep.* 118 (*Epist.*, 311–12)
- 33 (fols. 49v–50) PPV, *Ep.* 89 (*Epist.*, 228–30)
- 34 (fols. 50–51v) PPV, *Ep.* 59 (*Epist.*, 131–37)
- 35 (fol. 52r–v) PPV, *De monarchia* (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 447–50)
- 36 (fols. 53–56) PPV, *Ep.* 138 (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- 37 (fols. 56–57) PPV, *Ep.* 45 (*Epist.*, 102–6)
- 38 (fol. 57r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 91 (*Epist.*, 232–34)
- 39 (fol. 58r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 76 (*Epist.*, 180–82)
- 40 (fols. 58v–59) PPV, *Ep.* 72 (*Epist.*, 171)
- 41 (fol. 59r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 78 (*Epist.*, 184–85)

- 42 (fols. 59v–60v) PPV, *Ep.* 88 (*Epist.*, 224–27)
- 43 (fols. 60v–61) PPV, *Ep.* 90 (*Epist.*, 230–32)
- 44 (fol. 61r–v) PPV, *Ep.* 87 (*Epist.*, 220–23)
- 45 (fols. 61v–62) PPV, *Ep.* 92 (*Epist.*, 235–36)
- 46 (fol. 62) PPV, *Ep.* 80 (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 187–88) (fol. 62v) blank
- 47 (fol. 63) PPV, *Ep.* 132 (*Epist.*, 349–50) (fol. 63v) blank
- 48 (fols. 64–73v) PPV, <Paulus> (ed. Perosa, “Per una nuova edizione,” 321–56)
- 49 (fols. 74–77v) <PPV, *De republica Veneta*> (ed. Robey and Law, “The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta*,” 38–49)
- 50 (fols. 78–82v) PPV, *Pro redintegranda uniendaque ecclesia . . . oratio* (ed. Combi, “Un discorso inedito,” 360–74)
- 51 (fol. 83) PPV <i.e., S. Polenton>, *De vita Senecae* (inc: Seneca longissime vixit) (*Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae*, ed. Ullmann, 493–94)
- 52 (fols. 83v–85v) PPV, . . . *De situ veteris et inclitae urbis Romae* (*Epist.*, 211–20 [*Ep.* 86])
- 53 (fols. 85v–86) <Franc. Petrarca, *Ep.*> (*Familiares* 6.11, fragm. concerning Rome)
- 54 (fol. 86v) <Giovanni Soranzo, Doge>, *Littera <e> . . . transmissa <e> domino papae pro valendo navigare cum navibus et galeis in terras ultramarinas de 1327* (to John XXII) (inc: Piissime pater sanctitati)
- 55 (fol. 87r–v) *Copia litterarum missarum a Consilio domini imperatoris <Vincelai VI> cardinalibus Gallicis petentibus quod fiat generale concilium etc.* (inc: Cum verendum est)
- 56 (fols. 87v–92v) *Litterarum copia scriptarum per Comune Florentiae ad antipapam et anticardinales et exarata a Ser Collutio . . . de anno 1335 <sic>* (actually 1378) (inc: Reverendissimi in Christo patres et domini quanta cordis amaritudine)<sup>31</sup>
- 57 (fols. 92v–93) Ant. Venier, Doge . . . <*Ep.*> *Francisco de Carraria Seniori ac Francisco Iuniori eius filio* (inc: Sicut publicum et notorium)
- 58 (fol. 93r–v) Franc. Novello da Carrara, *Responsio suprascriptarum litterarum . . .* (inc: Illustri ac magnifice domine hodie hora duodecima)
- 59 (fol. 93v) Giangaleazzo Visconti, . . . <*Ep.*> *Francisco de Carraria Seniori eidem bellum indicendo . . .* (inc: Fallimini magnifice vir) (*RIS*, n.s., 17.1:318–19)

<sup>31</sup> Ramusio indicated that he copied this text from a codex owned by Niccolò Barisone.



- 60 (fols. 93v–94v) Franc. il Vecchio da Carrara, *Responsio suprascriptarum litterarum* ... (inc: Illustris ac magnifice vir ad litteras vestras)
- 61 (fol. 94v) Giangaleazzo Visconti, *Litterae diffidantiae* ... *transmissa <e>* ... *Communitati Florentiae* (inc: Pacem Italicam omni studio)
- 62 (fols. 94v–95v) Col. Salutati, *Responsio litterarum suprascriptarum* ... (inc: E manu tabellarii cuiusdam) (letter and response in *RIS* 16:815–17)<sup>32</sup>
- 63 (fol. 95v) <Nota de inventione corporis Titi Livii> (transcribed by Ramusio on 28 November 1502 and followed by note on Livy's age)<sup>33</sup>
- 64 (fols. 96–97) Ioan. de Collionibus, and Testinus, Paulus, and Dondacius de Collionibus, <Ep. > to Giovanni Martinengo, dated Trezzo, 21 July 1411 (inc: Si litteris vestris quas heri) (Italian translation in Spino, *Istoria*, 233–42)
- 65 (fols. 97v–98) Ioan. de Collionibus, and Testinus, Paulus, and Dondacius de Collionibus, <Ep. > to Christoforus de Conradis, dated Trezzo, 13 July 1411 (inc: Si vobis amice facti veritas) (fol. 98v) blank.

*Bibliography:* Giuseppe Valentinelli, *Regesta Documentorum Germaniae Historiam Illustrantium: Regesten zur deutschen Geschichte aus den Handschriften der Marcusbibliothek in Venedig* (Munich, 1864), 116 (no. 306); Valentinelli, *Codici manoscritti d'opere di Francesco Petrarca od a lui riferentisi posseduti dalla Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia* (Venice, 1874), 47–48 (no. 52), 48 (no. 53), 73–74 (no. 77); Zorzanello, *Catalogo*, 3:444–50; Ferrante, “Lombardo della Seta,” 478; *Epist.*, xxxiii, xliii–xlvi; Mommsen, *Petrarch's Testament*, 53; *Iter* 2:249b–50a, 6:258a; and Perosa, “Per una nuova edizione,” 284–87.

S San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Civica Guarneriana, cod. 144  
Cart. in quarto (last flyleaf at beginning of volume is membr.).<sup>34</sup> Com-

<sup>32</sup> See Ludovico Frati, “La Lega dei Bolognesi e dei Fiorentini contro Gio. Galeazzo Visconti (1389–90),” *Archivio storico lombardo* 16 (1889): 23, who gives a date of 18 April 1390 for the letter of Giangaleazzo Visconti and 2 May 1390 for the Florentine response.

<sup>33</sup> On the supposed discovery of Livy's body, see Iacobus Salomonius, with Georgius Cornelius Senior, Gregorius Barbadicus, and Georgius Cornelius Iunior, *Urbis Patavinae Inscriptiones Sacrae et Prophanæ ... quibus accedunt vulgatae anno MDCXLIV a Iacobo Philippo Tomasino ...* (Padua, 1701), 480–81; and Gabriele Braggion, “Un indice cinquecentesco della biblioteca di S. Giovanni di Verdara a Padova,” *IMU* 29 (1986): 242–43.

<sup>34</sup> Laura Casarsa, *La Libreria di Guarnerio d'Artegna* (Udine: Casamassima Libri, 1991), 400, says that the parchment was used to wrap some of the fascicles sent to Guarnerio by courier.

posite codex. s. XV (1456–66), Italy. 215 X 145 mm. IV + 231 + III. Modern foliation in pencil in lower left-hand corner; old numeration in fascicle 4 in upper right-hand corner. Ruled area varies from ca. 140 X 90 mm. to ca. 185 X 110 mm.

## I

fols. 1–20v. Watermark: fols. 1–10, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11703, att. Vicenza, 1442. Collation: 1–2<sup>10</sup>. No signatures. Catchword centered below last line within periods (fol. 10v). Space left for initials with guides.

1 (fols. 1–20v) Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* (fragm.) (PL 14:44–46).

## II

fols. 21–30. Collation: 3<sup>10</sup>. No signatures. Space left for initials with guides.

2 (fols. 21–30, cf. fols. 227–28v) Homerus, *Batrachomyomachia* translatio Latina Car. Marsuppinus, with glosses on fols. 29–30 (cf. Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 1:242 [no. 5283]) (fol. 30v) blank.

## III

fols. 31–62v. Watermark: fols. 31–62, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11703, att. Vicenza, 1442. Collation: 4<sup>32</sup>. Enlarged initials.

3 (fols. 31–52v) < Franc. Barbaro, *Epistolae* >: 1 (fols. 31–32) Franc. Barbaro, *Ep.* to Bart. Facio (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 158–60 [no. 119]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 53); 2 (fols. 32v–33) *Ep.* to Federigo da Montefeltro (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, App. 110–11 [no. 111]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 56); 3 (fols. 33v–35) *Ep.* to Lud. Scarampo (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 251–53 [no. 174]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 55); 4 (fols. 35v–37v) *Ep.* to Franc. Condulmer (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 231–34 [no. 161]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 56); 5 (fols. 37v–40) *Ep.* to George of Trebizond (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 292–95 [no. 199]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 56; Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana*, 204); 6 (fols. 40–44) *Ep.* to Gentile da Leonessa (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 221–27 [no. 158]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 57); 7 (fols. 44v–46v) *Ep.* to Nic. Canali (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 239–42 [no. 167]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 57); 8 (fols. 47–49) *Ep.* to Febo Capella (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 227–30 [no. 159]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 57); 9 (fols. 49v–51v) *Ep.* to Lud. Scarampo (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 253–57 [no. 175]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 58); 10 (fols. 51v–52v) *Ep.* to Lud. Scarampo (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 258–59 [no. 177]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 58) (fols. 53–62v) blank.

## IV

fols. 63–142v. Watermarks: fols. 63–82, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11703, att. Vicenza, 1442; fols. 83–124, *Monts*, sim. Briquet 11902, att. Pistoia, 1421; fols. 127–40, *Lettre R*, Briquet 8936, att. Venice, 1443–49, Fabriano, 1448. Collation: 5<sup>20</sup>, 6<sup>24</sup>, 7–8<sup>18</sup>. No signatures. Horizontal catchwords flush with or across right-hand margin (fols. 82v, 106v, 124v).

4 (fols. 63–142) <Poggio Bracciolini, *Invectivae in Vallam*> (Bracciolini, *Opera*, 1:188–251, 2:869–85): 1 (fols. 63–84v) P. Bracciolini, *In Vallam prima < invectiva >*; 2 (fols. 84v–118) . . . *Invectiva secunda in Vallam*; 3 (fols. 118–25v) <*Invectiva tertia in Vallam*>; 4 (fols. 125v–35) *Invectiva quarta in Vallam*; 5 (fols. 135–42) *Invectiva quinta in Vallam* (fol. 142v) blank.

## V

fols. 143–67v. Collation: 9<sup>12</sup>, 10<sup>14(-1)</sup>. No signatures. Horizontal catchwords centered below last line within spirals.

5 (fols. 143–67) Sextus Pompeius Festus, <*De significatu verborum*, fragm. N–Z> (fol. 167v) blank.

## VI

fols. 168–75v. Watermark: fols. 170–73, *Tête de boeuf*, sim. Briquet group 14871–74. Collation: 11<sup>8</sup>. No signatures or catchwords. An average of 30 lines on ca. 170 X 90 mm. No decoration. Humanist cursive hand. The scribe made his own marginal corrections and apparently had difficulty in deciphering the *q* abbreviations of his source. “Raptissime” at the end of the texts (fol. 174v).

6 (fols. 168–74v) <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Sermones*>: 1 (fols. 168–71) PPV, . . . *In laudem Beati Hieronymi oratio feliciter incipit acta Senis m.cccc.viii* (inc: Quotiens reverendissimi patres fratresque carissimi); 2 (fols. 171v–74v) *Oratio . . . < pro Sancto Hieronymo >* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) (fol. 175r–v) blank.

## VII

fols. 176–81v. Collation: 12<sup>6</sup>. No signatures. Identified by Casarsa as an autograph.

7 (fols. 176–79) <Giacomo da Udine, *Oratio pro patria Foroiulii ad Venetiarum ducem*> (to Doge Pasquale Malipiero, inc: Bene ac sapienter illustrime princeps) (ed. Tilatti, “L’elezione del Doge Pasquale Malipiero,” 44–47) (fols. 180–81v) blank.

## VIII

fols. 182–87v. Watermark: fols. 183–86, *Tête de boeuf*, sim. Briquet 14752, att. Würzburg, 1429. Collation: 13<sup>6</sup>. No signatures or catchwords.

8 (fol. 182r–v) Herodianus, . . . *Severi imperatoris funus et deificatio translatio Latina Omnibonus Leonicensis* (inc: Mos est Romanis consecrare imperatores)<sup>35</sup>

9 (fols. 183–86) Augustinus, *Ep. . . . ad Optatum episcopum de origine animae* (CSEL 57:137–62 [no. 190]) (fols. 186v–87v) blank.

## IX

fols. 188–226v. Collation: 14<sup>10(-1)</sup>, 15–17<sup>10</sup>. No signatures. Horizontal catchwords centered below last line within volutes (fols. 196v, 206v, 216v). Scribal note on fol. 226v refers reader to fol. 194 (using “A” as sign). Titles, initials, and marginalia in red ink.

10 (fols. 188–226v) <Agostino Dati, . . . *Elegantiolae*>. *Laurentius e Valle elegantiolae feliciter incipiunt* (inc: Credimus iamdudum a ple-risque viris) (Reggio Emilia: F. Mezzali?, ca. 1494, IGI 3371).

## X

fols. 227–31v. Collation: 18<sup>6(-1)</sup>. No signatures or catchwords.

11 (fols. 227–28v) Homerus, *Batrachomyomachia* translatio Latina Car. Marsuppinus (with dedicatory letter to Marasius Siculus) (cf. Resta, “Giovanni Marrasio,” 271–72)

12 (fol. 229) Anon., <*excerpt.*> (inc: Existimas ut reor)

13 (fol. 229) C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus, *Ep.* to Cornelius Tacitus (inc: Ridebis et licet rideas) (*Epistolarum libri decem*, ed. Mynors, 11 [no. 1.6]) (fols. 229v–31v) blank.

*History*: the codex is not listed in the inventory of books given by Guarnerio d’Artegna (1461). It first appears in the inventory of Domenico Rangan (cod. 62, 30 June 1528). Casarsa dates the fascicles from the last years of activity of Guarnerio’s scriptorium, especially given the presence of the copyist Niccolino da Zuglio in fascicles II and IX. Half-leather binding over pasteboards from an eighteenth-century restoration (two sets of three vertical lines on front and rear

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<sup>35</sup> The same translation is preserved in Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. V.G.19. See François Fossier, *La bibliothèque Farnèse: Étude des manuscrits latins et en langue vernaculaire*, vol. 3.2 of *Le Palais Farnèse* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1982), 283–84; and *Iter* 6:111b.

of leather portion; four nerves on spine framed by three lines above and below). The fifth panel of the spine has shelfmark CLII assigned by Gian Girolamo Coluta in 1766 and below in pencil "Vita S. Ambro."

*Bibliography*: Mazzatinti, 3:134; *Iter* 2:568b; Claudio Griggio, "Note guarneriane in margine alla *recensio* dell'epistolario di Francesco Barbaro e alla Mostra di codici umanistici friulani," *Lettere italiane* 31 (1979): 217 (no. 25); and Laura Casarsa et al., *La Libreria di Guarnerio d'Artegna* (Udine: Casamassima Libri, 1991), 397-400. For information on the inventories, see Casarsa, *Gli inventari antichi della Biblioteca Guarneriana di San Daniele del Friuli*, Quaderni Guarneriani 9 (Udine: Del Bianco, 1986).

### T Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5

Cart. Watermark: fol. 80, *Monts.* s. XVII, Padua. 205 X 150 mm. 80 folios. Foliation in pencil in upper right-hand corner. Collation: 1-10<sup>8</sup>. Signatures A-K on first folio of each fascicle ("F" repeated on fol. 42). Catchwords on recto and verso of each folio. 27 lines on ca. 165 X 95 mm. without ruling. Writing in single column with use of a template. Titles centered above individual works and each work has "P. P. Vergerii" centered below last line. Italic hand of copyist, who also added marginal emphases. Smith attributes the notes in the codex to Gian Roberto Papafava, disagreeing with the catalog's attribution to Rambaldo Avogaro. Papafava also completed the titles and collated occasional readings with the codex Brunaccianus (cf. fol. 38). Binding in pasteboards (207 X 155 mm.); broken spine has been taped together.

*History*: The codex is entitled "P. P. Vergerii Orationes, Epistolae, et Opuscula ex ms. cod. Patavino pugillari apud Zabarellas, cura I. C. Z." It is therefore in all likelihood a copy of the manuscript that once belonged to Count Giacomo Zabarella in Padua. Given the similarities between this collection and the one published by Muratori, Smith posited that the manuscript used by Muratori was identical to the codex in folio of Giacomo Zabarella. From G. B. Rossi to the library (stamp: "Municipio di Treviso" on fol. 1).

*Contents*: Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Orationes, Epistolae, et Opuscula* ...

1 (fol. 1) < *Titulum* >

2 (fol. 2) *Index rerum*

3 (fols. 3-8v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Ep. de funeralibus Francisci Senioris de Carraria* ... (RIS 16:189A-94A)

- 4 (fols. 9–13v) PPV, ... *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria ...* (RIS 16:194B–98C)
- 5 (fols. 14–19v) PPV, ... *Ep. de morte Francisci Zabarellae ...* (*Epist.*, 362–78 [*Ep.* 138])
- 6 (fols. 20–32) PPV, ... *Oratio ad Franciscum Iuniorem de Carraria ... pro Communitate Patavina* (RIS 16:204–15) (fol. 32v) blank
- 7 (fols. 33–38) PPV, ... *Ep. de Virgilii statua Mantuae eversa ...* (*Epist.*, 189–202 [*Ep.* 81]) (fol. 38v) blank
- 8 (fols. 39–41v) *Ep.* 27 (*Epist.*, 46–53)
- 9 (fols. 42–48v) *Ep.* 34 (*Epist.*, 66–78)
- 10 (fol. 49r–v) *Ep.* 16 (*Epist.*, 31–32)
- 11 (fol. 50r–v) *Ep.* 98 (*Epist.*, 249–51)
- 12 (fols. 51–52) Col. Salutati, *Ep.* (*Epist.*, 253–57 [*Ep.* 100])
- 13 (fols. 52v–55) PPV, ... *Responsio ad epistolam Colutii* (*Epist.*, 257–62 [*Ep.* 101])
- 14 (fol. 55v) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4)
- 15 (fols. 56–57) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 16 (fols. 57v–58) *Ep.* 99 (*Epist.*, 251–53)
- 17 (fols. 58–59v) *Ep.* 104 (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- 18 (fols. 60–63) PPV, ... *Oratio de laudibus Divi Hieronymi* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)
- 19 (fols. 63v–65v) PPV, ... *In foeneratores facetissima exprobatio* (title added by second hand) (*Epist.*, 384–87 [*Ep.* 140])
- 20 (fols. 66–74v) PPV, < *Petrarcae vita* > (Solerti, ed., *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio*, 294–302)
- 21 (fols. 75–76v) PPV, < *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae* > (RIS 16:240A–41D)
- 22 (fol. 77) PPV, ... < *Carmen* > *Francisco Zabarellae ...* (RIS 16:241D–E) (fols. 77v–80v) blank.

*Bibliography:* Iacopo Filippo Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae quibus diversi scriptores hactenus incogniti recensentur ac illustrantur* (Udine, 1639), 93; *Biblioteca Comunale di Treviso: Catalogo numerico di manoscritti* (2 handwritten vols.), 1:1; *Epist.*, xxxii, xlvii–xlvi; and *Iter* 2:195a.

*Tp* Treviso, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. I.177

(Sala n. -1-, Scaff. Mss. 2, Lettera A.1 no. 6)

Cart. and membr. (membr. folio at beginning and end protected by paper flyleaves). Watermarks: fols. 2–27, *Monts, Huchet*; fols. 28–180,

183–87, *Monts*, Briquet 11707, att. Padua 1453; fol. 181, *Croissant?*. s. XV (2). 296 X 212 mm. I + 1 + I + 191 + I + 1 + I. Modern foliation in pencil in upper right-hand corner; fol. 180 (double). Prior foliation in black ink in same corner (several errors: 10, 10bis, 85, 85<sup>o</sup>, 103 (double), last numbered folio is 180). Oldest foliation in fascicle 13. Collation: 1<sup>1</sup>, 2–3<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>6</sup>, 5–8<sup>10</sup>, 9<sup>10(-1)</sup>, 10<sup>10</sup>, 11<sup>6</sup>, 12<sup>8(+1)</sup>, 13–15<sup>10</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>, 17<sup>14</sup>, 18–21<sup>10</sup>, 22<sup>1</sup>. Late signatures (letters only on last folio in all fascicles but 18). Use of catchwords irregular: when present, generally horizontal and centered below last line (at times enclosed on sides and bottom by scroll, e.g., fol. 57v). Number of lines and ruling varies; an average of 40 lines in the Vergerio sermons on ca. 245 X 152 mm. 2–7 line initials (fols. 2–57, 132, 143); initials and guides often missing. No decoration in the Vergerio sermons. Several hands; each of the three Vergerio sermons seems to be a distinct Humanist cursive hand. The parchment leaf may have been the original binding.

*History*: the “lost codex” of Count Onigo di Treviso mentioned by Sabbadini.<sup>36</sup> Ex libris of Cathedral Chapter on fol. 1. Codex restored at the Laboratorio di Restauro del Libro, S. Maria di Rosano (Florence). Modern binding in dark brown leather (four nerves on the spine). Thong and metal hook to pentagonal clasp on rear cover (with IHS cryptogram of Bernardino da Siena). List of contents attached to rear pastedown (perhaps same hand that added numeration in black ink).

*Contents*: < *Miscellanea humanistica* > (according to numeration in pencil)

- 1 (fols. 1v, 191) Chancery document (*membra*)
- 2 (fols. 2–26v) Franc. Barbaro, *De re uxoria* (title in late hand) (*De re uxoria liber*, ed. Gnesotto, 23–100)
- 3 (fol. 27r–v) < Guarino da Verona, *Epistolae* > : 1 (fol. 27) Guarino, *Ep.* to Martino Rizzon (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:537–38 [no. 372]); 2

<sup>36</sup> Remigio Sabbadini, in his edition of Guarino’s *Epistolario*, *Miscellanea di storia veneta* 8, 11, 14 (Venice, 1915–19), 3:xxi, summarized the contents on the basis of information in *Memorie per servire all’istoria letteraria* (Venice, 1755), 5.2:9–12, 29, 31, 32, 36, 43–44. Sabbadini learned of the existence of the codex late in his work; he notes a variant from the codex for *Ep.* 151 (*ibid.*, 3:105). However, he did not identify the codex in the Biblioteca Capitolare with that once in the possession of Count Onigo. The codex may help to resolve some problems related to Guarino’s *Epistolario*: 1) Sabbadini based his edition of *Ep.* 105 upon Vat. lat. 5197 alone and was unsure of the addressee (here given as Galesio della Nicesola); 2) *Ep.* 74 and *Ep.* 499, for which Sabbadini had only single codices, are included in this sylloge; 3) for *Ep.* 266, Sabbadini used Munich Clm 418 where the letter is addressed to Battista Zandrata (the Treviso codex gives Giannicola Salerno).

- (fol. 27v) *Ep.* to Martino Rizzon (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:565 [no. 392]); 3 (fol. 27v) *Ep.* to Martino Rizzon (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:529–30 [no. 364])
- 4 (fols. 28–45v) <Gasp. Barzizza, *Opera rhetorica*>: 1 (fols. 28–37v) Gasp. Barzizza, <*Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae*> (inc: Gaudeo plurimum) (cf. Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 2.1:433–34 [no. 7913]); 2 (fols. 38–45v) *Exordia* (inc: Exordium per ignaviam. Noli existimare quemquam hodie)<sup>37</sup>
- 5 (fols. 46–48) <Guarino da Verona, *Epistolae*>: 1 (fol. 46) Guarino, *Ep.* to Filippo Regino (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:250 [no. 152]); 2 (fol. 46r–v) *Ep.* to Filippo Regino (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:251–52 [no. 153]); 3 (fol. 47) *Ep.* to Lud. Merchenti (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:249 [no. 151]); 4 (fol. 47r–v) *Ep.* to Martino Rizzon (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:634–35 [no. 453]); 5 (fol. 47v) *Ep.* to Martino Rizzon (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:526–27 [no. 361])
- 6 (fols. 48–49) <Gasp. Barzizza, *Opuscula*>: 1 (fol. 48) <Gasp. Barzizza, *Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae*> (inc: Genus honestum. Nulla re scito iam multis annis) (*Opera*, ed. Furietti, 1:239–40); 2 (fols. 48–49) *Ep.* to Daniele Vettori and Valerio Marcello (*Opera*, ed. Furietti, 1:141–43)
- 7 (fol. 49r–v) Franc. Barbaro, *Ep.* to Enrico Lusignano (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 29–31 [no. 18]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 11)
- 8 (fols. 49v–50) <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae*>: 1 (fol. 49v) PPV, *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4); 2 (fol. 49v) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319–21); 3 (fols. 49v–50) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 9 (fol. 50r–v) <Anon. (Giovanni da Spilimbergo?), *Oratio*> (inc: Quod redimendi sint socii)
- 10 (fols. 50v–51v) Giovanni da Spilimbergo, ... *Ad Marcum Lippomano ... de congratulatione suae praeturae oratio incipit feliciter* (inc: Cum viderem praetor magnifice)
- 11 (fols. 51v–52v) <Guarino da Verona, *Opuscula*>: 1 (fols. 51v–52) Guarino, *Ep.* to Mazo de' Mazi (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:340–42)

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<sup>37</sup> The work is assigned to Barzizza on fol. 45v: “Expliciunt *Exordia* praeclarissimi oratoris, magistri Gasparini Pergamensis.” It was first published at Padua: <Matthaeus Cerdonis>, 12 December 1483. On Barzizza’s *Epistolae ad exercitationem accommodatae*, see the remarks of Gilles Gerard Meersseman, “La raccolta dell’umanista fiammingo Giovanni de Veris *De arte epistolandi*,” *IMU* 15 (1972): 235–37. The collection of 165 letters in Ciceronian Latin served to teach epistolary style and republican ideology.



- [no. 213]); 2 (fol. 52r-v) *Oratio . . . in principio rhetoricae* (*Epistola rio*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:342-44)
- 12 (fols. 52v-53v) Ant. de Cumpteis?, *Copia responsionis ad citationem domini Benedicti XIII decretam per Concilium Constantiae*, dated Peñiscola, 30 December 1416 (inc: Benedictus episcopus . . . Audiant caeli quae loquimur) (cf. Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 357 [*I codici del Petrarca*, 209])
- 13 (fols. 53v-54) Anon., *Ep. to Marchese Lud. <Gonzaga?>* (inc: Desiderio magno desideravi)<sup>38</sup>
- 14 (fol. 54r-v) Simone De Lellis da Teramo?, *Oratio vel epistola . . . in compatrem . . . Guedonem de Francia* (inc: Inopinata doloris sagitta percussus) (diagonal line through text; cf. Brandmüller, "Simon de Lellis," 259)<sup>39</sup>
- 15 (fol. 54v) Anon., *Ep.* (inc: Iocundissimae fuerunt mihi litterae tuae)<sup>40</sup>
- 16 (fol. 54v) Anon., *Ep. consolatoria* (inc: Pleni fuimus anxietatibus et maerore)<sup>41</sup>
- 17 (fols. 54v-55v) Anon., *Ep.?* regarding death and funeral of Gianga-leazzo Visconti (d. 1402) (inc: Stella cometa longe satis patula)
- 18 (fols. 55v-56v) Gasp. Barzizza, *Oratio . . . in laudem Martini summi pontificis . . .* (*Opera*, ed. Furietti, 1:76-79)
- 19 (fols. 56v-65) <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae*>: 1 (fols. 56v-57v) PPV, *Ep.* 128 (*Epist.*, 339-43); 2 (fol. 57v) *Ep.* 99 (*Epist.*, 251-53); 3 (fols. 57v-58v) *Ep.* 104 (*Epist.*, 269-73); 4 (fols. 58v-59) *Ep.* 48 (*Epist.*, 109-12); 5 (fol. 59) *Ep.* 51 (*Epist.*, 115-18); 6 (fol. 59r-v) *Ep.* 52 (*Epist.*, 118-19); 7 (fols. 59v-60) *Ep.* 53 (*Epist.*, 119-20); 8 (fol. 60) *Ep.* 55 (*Epist.*, 123-24); 9 (fol. 60r-v) *Ep.* 57 (*Epist.*, 126); 10 (fols. 60v-61) *Ep.* 58 (*Epist.*, 127-31); 11 (fol. 61r-v) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141-42); 12 (fols.

<sup>38</sup> The same work is preserved in cod. Arundel 70 (Anon., *Oratio gratulatoria in nativitate filii marchionis*).

<sup>39</sup> The same work is preserved in cod. Arundel 70, cod. Ambros. D 93 sup., and cod. Mun. UnivB. Folio 607. On the Ambrosiana codex, see Giorgio Ronconi, "Il giurista Lauro Palazzolo, la sua famiglia, e l'attività oratoria, accademica, e pubblica," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 17 (1984): 39 n. 138.

<sup>40</sup> The letter mentions an "execrabile facinus" of a Vitalianus. The *Cronaca Carrarese* of Galeazzo and Bartolomeo Gatari, *RIS*, n.s., 17.1:482 n. 6, 566, 577, mentions three possibly relevant episodes from the life of Palamino Vitaliani, scion of a wealthy Paduan family. In 1400, Vitaliani wounded Ludovico da Montecatini; in 1405, he attempted with other Paduans to surrender the city to the Venetians; and in 1411, he informed the Dieci in Venice of his willingness to murder Marsilio da Carrara or to arrange for his murder.

<sup>41</sup> The same work is preserved in cod. Arundel 70 (Anon., *Ep. consolatoria ad fratrem eius Franciscum de morte filiae*), cod. Ambros. D 93 sup., and cod. Mun. UnivB. Folio 607.

- 61v–62) *Ep.* 64 (*Epist.*, 154–56); 13 (fol. 62r–v) *Ep.* 65 (*Epist.*, 156–57); 14 (fol. 62v) *Ep.* 68 (*Epist.*, 160–61); 15 (fols. 62v–63v) *Ep.* 69 (*Epist.*, 162–65); 16 (fols. 63v–64) *Ep.* 77 (*Epist.*, 182–83); 17 (fols. 64–65) *Ep.* 101 (*Epist.*, 257–62)
- 20 (fols. 65v–69) < Guarino da Verona, *Epistolae et oratio* >: 1 (fol. 65v) Guarino, *Ep.* to Ugo Mazzolato (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:524–25 [no. 359]); 2 (fols. 65v–66v) *Ep.* to Manuel Chrysoloras (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:19–21 [no. 7]) (fol. 67r–v) blank; 3 (fols. 68–69) *Laudatio . . . Francisci Pisani Veronensis praetoris . . . acta* (inc: *Animadverti saepenumero magnifici viri*) (cf. Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 349 [*I codici del Petrarca*, 201])
- 21 (fols. 69–77) < Leon. Giustiniani, *Orationes* >: 1 (fols. 69–72) < Leon. Giustiniani >, *Ad c. v. Georgium Lauredanum funebris oratio* (Molin, ed., *Orazioni*, 1:12–20); 2 (fols. 72–77) . . . *Oratio habita in funere . . . Caroli Zeni . . .* (*RIS*, n.s., 19.6:141–46)
- 22 (fols. 77v–81) Andr. Giuliano, . . . *Oratio in funere . . . Manuelis Chrysolorae habita . . .* (ed. Boerner, *De doctis hominibus Graecis*, 16–35)
- 23 (fols. 81–88v) < Guarino da Verona, *Epistolae* >: 1 (fols. 81–85) Guarino, *Ep.* to Ioan. Chrysoloras (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:62–71 [no. 25]); 2 (fols. 85–86) *Ep.* to PPV (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:72–75 [no. 27]; *Epist.*, 356–60 [no. 136]); 3 (fols. 86–87) *Ep.* to Giacomo Fabri (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:112–14 [no. 54]); 4 (fol. 87) *Ep.* to Galesio della Nichesola (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:183–84 [no. 102]); 5 (fol. 87) *Ep.* to Galesio della Nichesola (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:193–94 [no. 110]); 6 (fol. 87r–v) *Ep.* to Galesio della Nichesola (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:86–87 [no. 105]); 7 (fol. 87v) *Ep.* to Galesio della Nichesola (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:148–49 [no. 74]); 8 (fols. 87v–88) *Ep.* to Ant. Corbinelli (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:213–15 [no. 125]); 9 (fol. 88r–v) *Ep.* to Agostino Montagna (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:690–92 [no. 499])
- 24 (fols. 88v–89) Leon. Bruni, < *Oratio in funere Othonis adolescentuli* > (ed. Santini, “Leonardo Bruni Aretino,” 142–45)
- 25 (fols. 89–90v) Ps. Paulus et Ps. Seneca, *Epistolae (L. Annaei Senecae Opera . . . supplementum*, ed. Haase, 74–79)
- 26 (fols. 90v–93) < Guarino da Verona, *Epistolae* >: 1 (fols. 90v–91v) Guarino, *Ep.* to Giannicola Salerno (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:261–64 [no. 159]) (fol. 92) blank; 2 (fol. 92v) *Ep.* to Giannicola Salerno? (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:413 [no. 266], who gives Battista Zन्द्रata as the addressee); 3 (fols. 92v–93) *Ep.* to Giannicola Salerno (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:218–19 [no. 128]); 4 (fol. 93) *Ep.* to

- Giannicola Salerno (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:153–54 [no. 79])
- 27 (fols. 93–94v) < Franc. Barbaro, *Epistolae* >: 1 (fol. 93r–v) Franc. Barbaro, *Ep. to Giannicola Salerno* (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 23–24 [no. 13]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 13); 2 (fols. 93v–94) *Ep. to Palla Strozzi* (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 22–23 [no. 12]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 13); 3 (fol. 94r–v) *Ep. to Giannicola Salerno* (*Epistolae*, ed. Quirini, 24–26 [no. 14]; Sabbadini, *Lettere*, 13)
- 28 (fols. 94v–98) < Guarino da Verona, *Epistolae et oratio* >: 1 (fols. 94v–95) Guarino, *Ep. to Fantino Zorzi* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:677–79 [no. 485]); 2 (fols. 95–96) *Ep. to Tommaso Fano and Zeno Ottobelli* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:238–41 [no. 145]); 3 (fols. 96–97) < *Oratio ad Bartholomaeum Storladum praetorem Veronae* > (inc: Superiori tempore vir magnifice);<sup>42</sup> 4 (fol. 97r–v) *Ep. to Mazo de' Mazi* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:211–12 [no. 124]); 5 (fol. 97v) *Ep. to Mazo de' Mazi* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:217–18 [no. 127]); 6 (fols. 97v–98) *Ep. to Mazo de' Mazi* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:216–17 [no. 126]); 7 (fol. 98) *Ep. to Cristoforo Sabbion* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 1:396–97 [no. 255]) (fols. 98v–101) blank
- 29 (fols. 101v–5) < Gasp. Barzizza, *Sermones et orationes* >: 1 (fols. 101v–2) Gasp. Barzizza, ... *Sermo ... quem protulit ... dominus generalis fratrum humiliatorum de domo Viscomitorum in suo publico conventu decretalium* (*Opera*, ed. Furietti, 1:64–66); 2 (fols. 102–3) *Sermo editus ... in contemplatione magistri Baptistae de Viterbio in suo principio artium* (inc: Cum saepe mecum reputarem) (cf. Sabbadini, “Lettere ed orazioni,” 826 [no. 6]); 3 (fol. 103r–v) *Sermo ... in principio rhetoricae Tullii* (inc: Etsi frequens conspectus vester) (cf. Sabbadini, *ibid.*, 827 [no. 13]); 4 (fols. 103v–4) < *Oratio de laudibus philosophiae* > (inc: Maxime vellem patres eruditissimi ea) (cf. Sabbadini, *ibid.*, 828 [no. 27]); 5 (fol. 104r–v) < *Oratio ... de laudibus philosophiae* > (inc: Si quis fructus est) (cf. Sabbadini, *ibid.*, 830 [no. 61]); 6 (fols. 104v–5) *In principio disputationis sermo factus ...* (inc: Si quid est patres doctissimi quod) (cf. Sabbadini, *ibid.*, 830 [no. 59]) (fol. 105, note in pencil: “quì il copista è incorso nell’errore di trascrivere—dopo la prima riga—il *Sermo Zachariae ad summum pont. Gregorium XII*—di cui più avanti al fol. 104,” i.e., fol. 108v according to new foliation)

<sup>42</sup> The same oration is found in cod. Arundel 70, cod. Arundel 138, cod. Ambros. D 93 sup., and cod. Mun. UnivB. Folio 607.

- 30 (fol. 107) Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *Ep. to Franc. Zabarella* (inc: Reverendissime domine karissime conviva ille) (cf. Kohl, "Works," 354)
- 31 (fols. 107–8v) <Franc. Zabarella, *Sermones*>: 1 (fols. 107–8) Franc. Zabarella, *Sermo prolatus ... cum primo promotus fuit ad dignitatem episcopatus Florentini in visitatione sanctissimi pontificis Ioannis papae ...* (inc: Ex prudentum consiliis beatissime pater) (also in Vienna lat. 5513, fols. 104–5); 2 (fol. 108r–v) *Ad summum pontificem per episcopum quendam ... sermo ...* (inc: Dedisti laetitiam in corde meo <Psal. 4> In sacris litteris) (also in Vienna lat. 5513, fols. 103v–4)
- 32 (fols. 108v–9, 105–7?) Zaccaria Trevisan, *Oratio ad summum pontificem Gregorium XII pro ecclesiae sanctae Dei unione conficienda facta ...* (ed. Gothein, "Trevisan," 34–42)
- 33 (fol. 109r–v) <Pietro Marcello?, *Declamationes*?> (short speeches attributed to Demades and Demosthenes) (ed. Sabbadini, "Pietro Marcello," 241–42; cf. Bertalot, *Studien*, 1:246–47)
- 34 (fols. 109v–11, fol. 110 blank) <Zaccaria Trevisan>, *Oratio ad dominum Avenionensem pro redintegratione ecclesiae* (ed. Gothein, "Trevisan," 43–46)
- 35 (fol. 111v) Iacopo da Forlì, *Sermo quidam ... in praesentatione cui <us>dam scholaris* (inc: Constat viri egregii apud veteres)<sup>43</sup>
- 36 (fols. 111v–12) Anon. (Gasp. Barzizza), *Sermo ... in praesentatione alterius <?>* (inc: Insigne ac amplissimum deorum immortalium munus) (cf. Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 2.1:533 [no. 9708])<sup>44</sup>
- 37 (fol. 112r–v) Anon. (Iacopo da Forlì?), *Sermo pro conventu liberalium artium editus* (inc: Etsi huius divinae rei magnitudo)
- 38 (fols. 112v–13) Anon. (Iacopo da Forlì?), *Sermo praesentationis <?> ... Iacobo Forliviensi etc.* (inc: Victrix aeternis tuos expectas labores)
- 39 (fol. 113) Anon., *Ep. consolatoria de morte* (inc: Heu triste admodum

<sup>43</sup> Tiziana Pesenti, *Professori e promotori di medicina nello Studio di Padova dal 1405 al 1509: Repertorio bio-bibliografico*, Contributi alla storia dell'Università di Padova 16 (Padua: Centro per la storia dell'Università, and Trieste: LINT, 1984), 109–10, identified this oration as the *Pro domino Lauro Bragadino in conventu eius* of 1409, which is preserved in Vat. lat. 5223, fol. 163r–v. However, the incipit of that oration (Cum varietatem aetatum nostrarum quae mihi plurima semper visa est) does not match that in the Treviso codex.

<sup>44</sup> Gasparino Barzizza had composed a model sermon (with this incipit) to celebrate the awarding of a *laurea*. Lauro Palazzolo then used the exordium verbatim (with the same incipit) in his oration to celebrate Taddeo Quirini's attainment of a *laurea in utroque iure*; see Ronconi, "Il giurista Lauro Palazzolo," 39.

- et luctuosum novum) (cf. Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 2.1:479 [no. 8715])<sup>45</sup>
- 40 (fol. 113r-v) Anon., *Ep. consolatoria* (inc: Heu dolenti animoque undantibus oculis)
- 41 (fol. 113v) Anon., <*Sermo?*> (inc: Accipite et comedite hoc est corpus meum <Matt. 26:26> Non satis possunt divina mysteria)
- 42 (fols. 113v-14) <Pietro Marcello?, *Declamatio*> Demosthenes, ... *Pro Athenis ad regem Alexandrum oratio* (inc: Nihil habet rex Alexander) (ed. Sabbadini, "Pietro Marcello," 243-44)
- 43 (fols. 114-17v) <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Epistolae et sermo*>: 1 (fol. 114r-v) PPV, *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345-47); 2 (fols. 114v-15) *Ep.* 131 (*Epist.*, 347-48); 3 (fols. 115-16) *Ep.* 75 (*Epist.*, 176-79); 4 (fols. 116-17v) ... *Sermo ornatissimus in honore Sancti Hieronymi Senis per ipsum editum 1408* (inc: Quotiens reverendissimi patres fratresque karissimi)
- 44 (fols. 118-21) <Leon. Bruni, *Epistolae*>: 1 (fol. 118r-v) Guarino, *Ep. to Leon. Bruni* (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 2:403-4 [no. 767]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 187, 203). 2 (fol. 118v) Leon. Bruni, *Ep. to Flavio Biondo* (*Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Mehus, 2:180-81 [10.10]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 138); 3 (fol. 119r-v) ... *Praefatio ad dominum Eugenium papam quartum <super translatione Politicorum Aristotelis>* (*Schriften*, ed. Baron, 70-73). 4 (fol. 120r-v) Flavio Biondo, *Ep. to Leon. Bruni* (*Scritti inediti e rari*, ed. Nogara, 93-94; ed. Luiso, *Studi*, 181-82). 5 (fol. 120v) Leon. Bruni, *Ep. to Guarino* (*Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Mehus, 2:186-87 [10.16]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 158-59; *Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 2:404 [no. 768]); 6 (fol. 120v) *Ep. to Nic. Cavitelli* (*Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Mehus, 2:190-91 [10.20]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 159); 7 (fol. 121) *Ep. to Tommaso Cambiatore* (*Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Mehus, 2:192 [10.21]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 131) (fol. 121v) blank
- 45 (fols. 122-30) <Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Orationes et sermo*>: 1 (fols. 122-27v) PPV, *Ad Franciscum Iunioem de Carraria oratio pro populo* (title at end) (*RIS* 16:204-15); 2 (fols. 128-29) ... *Oratio in honorem gloriosi Hieronymi* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae); 3 (fols. 129v-30) *Sermo editus in festo Sancti Hieronymi* ... (inc: Praestantissimi viri atque optimi patres ... Sermo mihi hodie ad vos, fragm.) (fols. 130v-31v) blank

<sup>45</sup> The same letter is preserved in cod. Arundel 70, cod. Ambros. D 93 sup., and cod. Mun. UnivB. Folio 607.

- 46 (fols. 132–34) Ps. Seneca, *Liber de moribus* (inc: Omne peccatum) (cf. Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, 306 [no. 3609]; Meersseman, “Seneca maestro,” 51–53)
- 47 (fols. 134–35v) Gregorius Magnus, *Haec sunt notabilia excerpta de libro moralium Beati Job* . . . (fol. 136r–v) blank
- 48 (fol. 137r–v) <Tobias Burgus, *Oratio nuptialis*> (inc: Non eram nescius viri magnifici et cives ornatissimi anteaquam)<sup>46</sup>
- 49 (fols. 137v–38) <Guarino da Verona, *Ep.*> to Leonello d’Este (*Epistolario*, ed. Sabbadini, 2:164–67 [no. 620], fragm.) (fols. 138v–42v) blank
- 50 (fol. 143) PPV, *Ep.* 128 (fragm.) (fol. 143v) blank
- 51 (fols. 144–45v) Anon., <*excerpt.*> (inc: Aquae furtivae? dulciores sunt)
- 52 (fol. 145r–v) Anon. (Ps. Seneca?), *De contemptu fortuitorum bonorum* (inc: Nusquam est qui non est)
- 53 (fols. 146–47) Leon. Bruni, *Ep.* to Roberto de’ Rossi (*Epistolarum libri VIII*, ed. Mehus, 1:57–59 [2.20]; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, 49)
- 54 (fol. 147v) Sapientes Vincentini, <*Ep.*> . . . *dominis ad utilia magnificae comitatis Tarvisinis de pietatis fratribus observandissimus < sic >* (inc: Spectatissimi viri ac observandissimi fratres non possumus, dated Vicenza, 31 January 1460)
- 55 (fol. 148) Ps. Plutarchus, *Ep.* to Trajan (inc: Modestiam tuam noveram) (cf. Bertalot, *Studien*, 1:17, 2:248; and Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton*, 127, 260)
- 56 (fol. 148) Antonius, <*Ep.*> *M. Cicero* (inc: Occupationibus est) (Cicero *Ad Att.* 14.13A) (fols. 148v–83v) blank
- 57 (fols. 184–85) Ps. Cicero, <*Invectiva in Catilinam*> (inc: Non est tempus otii) (cf. Sottili, *IMU* 18 [1975]: 52 [*I codici del Petrarca*, 724]) (fols. 185v–88) blank
- 58 (fol. 188v) Anon., *Tulii epitaphia a duodecim sapientibus edita* (inc: Hic iacet Arpinas manibus tumulatus amici) (cf. Schaller and Könsigen, *Initia Carminum Latinorum Saeculo Undecimo Antiquiorum*, 291 [no. 6449]) (fols. 189–90v) blank.

*Bibliography:* Remigio Sabbadini, ed., *Epistolario di Guarino*, *Miscellanea di storia veneta* 8, 11, 14 (Venice, 1915–19), 3:xxi; and *Iter* 2:194a–b.

<sup>46</sup> The same oration is preserved in cod. Arundel 70 and cod. Ambros. D 93 sup.

*Tr* Trier, Stadtbibliothek, cod. 788/1372

Not seen; description based upon bibliography. Cart. s. XV (ex.), German Empire. 141 X 106 mm. IV + 240. Folios numbered uniformly throughout. Monastic binding of woodboards covered by brown leather. The front cover is divided by a diagonal line into triangles, in which designs resembling an oak-leaf are stamped. Upper edge of front cover has the stamp "Jhesus Maria." The binding has a brass closure. The handwriting of the Vergerio oration is a Gothic script typical of the German-speaking areas of Europe.

*History:* The manuscript passed from the Eberhardsklausen to the library in 1802.

*Contents:*

- 1 (flyleaves) German poetry and excerpt. from Gulielmus Parisiensis
- 2 (fols. 1-15) <Thomas a Kempis>, *De imitatione Christi liber I*
- 3 (fols. 16-36) <Ps. Hieronymus>, *Ammonitio de laude caritatis* (inc: Tuae non immemor petitionis hanc commonitiunculam) (*PL* 134:915-98; cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:235-41, 4:253-54)
- 4 (fols. 37-46) <Ioan. de Scoenhovia>, *De contemptu mundi* (inc: Nolite diligere mundum neque ea) (cf. Gruijs, "Jean de Schoonhoven," 39)
- 5 (fols. 47-48) <Petr. Cellensis, O.S.B., *Sermo*> (inc: Cor mundum crea in me Deus) (*PL* 202:802-5; cf. Schneyer, *Repertorium*, 4:633)
- 6 (fols. 49-68) Anon., *De mysteriis missae* (inc: Missa secundum Innocentium tertium)
- 7 (fols. 68-71) Anon., <*Praecepta abbatis*>
- 8 (fols. 71v-73) <excerpt.>: *de societate mala; de partu virginis; de nativitate domini*; Hieronymus, *de clericis* (fol. 74) blank
- 9 (fols. 75-87) Anon., *Quaestiones super oratione dominica* (inc: Advertendum Thomas de Aquino dicit) (cf. Bloomfield et al., *Incipits*, 679 [no. 9199])
- 10 (fol. 88) Anon., <*Tabula monasteriorum*> (inc: Domus campi Beatae Mariae in Amsterdam)
- 11 (fols. 88v-96) <excerpt.>
- 12 (fol. 97) Anon., <*Exercitationes grammaticae?*>
- 13 (fol. 97v) *Auctoritates Tobiae de amore* (inc: Est amor iniustus iudex adversa maritans)
- 14 (fol. 98) *Auctoritates Alani de amore* (inc: Pax odio fraudique fides)
- 15 (fols. 98v-99) *Auctoritates de amore quae habentur in registro morali*

- 16 (fols. 99v–100) *Auctoritates de amore quae habentur in metro de moribus*
- 17 (fol. 100v) Hieronymus, <excerpt.>
- 18 (fol. 101) Anon., *Fratres quidam volentes venire ad Beatum Antonium*
- 19 (fols. 102–21) <Nic. Maniacoria>, *Vita Beati Hieronymi* ... (inc: Beati Hieronymi vitam diversis auctoribus) (PL 22:183–202; cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:664–65)
- 20 (fols. 121v–25) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) (copied from the edition printed at Venice on 22 January 1476)
- 21 (fols. 125–31) Ps. Hieronymus, <Ep.> *ad Eustochium de vinculis Beati Petri* (inc: Saepissimo rogatu o virgo Christi) (PL 30:233–40)
- 22 (fols. 131–38) Ps. Hieronymus, <Homilia> *de corpore et sanguine Christi* (inc: Magnitudo caelestium beneficiorum) (PL 30:280–84)
- 23 (fols. 138–40) Ps. Hieronymus, *Sermo de assumptione* (inc: Scientes fratres dilectissimi) (PL 30:147–48) (fols. 140v–41) blank
- 24 (fols. 142–69) Alcuinus, *Vita Sancti Willibrordi* (inc: Domino eximio) (PL 101:693–724) (fol. 170) blank
- 25 (fols. 171–81) Anon. <Ps. Hieronymus, Ps. Augustinus, Ps. Bernardus, etc.>, *Speculum peccatorum* (inc: Quoniam karissimi in via; colophon reads “Datum anno Domini 1420 in profesto Martini episcopi, completum per manus Ioannis Geseken”) (PL 40:983–92; cf. Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana*, 3:490–96, 4:260–62)
- 26 (fol. 182) Anon., *Nota quod septem sunt virtutes missae*
- 27 (fols. 183–203) <David ab Augusta, O.F.M.>, *Speculum monachorum* (inc: Primo considerare debes quare) (PL 184:1189–98)
- 28 (fol. 204) Augustinus, <excerpt.> (fols. 205–6) blank
- 29 (fols. 207–37) Ioannes, *Ep. missa Hemescirc <Heemskerk> suo dilectissimo cognato* (inc: Dilectissimo mihi in Christo)
- 30 (fols. 237v–38) Anon., *Nota de mulieribus*
- 31 (fol. 238v) Anon., German prayer (inc: Jesu der hemmelsche Arste gedenke) (fols. 239–40) blank
- 32 (fol. 240v) Anon., German proverbs.

*Bibliography:* M. Keufer, A. Becker, and G. Kentenich, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtbibliothek zu Trier* (Trier, 1899–1931), 6:112–14; and *Iter* 3:717b.



V Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.239 (4500)  
 Cart. in quarto. Composite codex. s. XV (m.), Italy. 193 X 147 mm. I +  
 47 + I. Late foliation in ink in upper right-hand corner (fol. 22 bound  
 out of order). Marginal cross-references in a later Italic hand and modern  
 bibliographical notes in black ink and pencil throughout the codex.  
 Table of contents on front flyleaf (s. XVIII).

## I

fols. 1–36v. Watermark: fols. 2–15, *Basilic*, sim. Briquet 2680, att.  
 Reggio-Emilia, 1448. Collation: 1–2<sup>16</sup>, 3<sup>4</sup>. No signatures. Horizontal  
 catchwords centered below last line (fols. 16v, 32v); the catchwords on  
 fol. 16v read “Non lex dei” and the text on fol. 17 begins “Num lex  
 dei.” 22 lines per page on ca. 130 X 85 mm. without ruling. Written in  
 ink in a single column. Initials enlarged and written outside left margin.  
 Humanist cursive hand of high quality. The same scribe made some  
 marginal corrections, and he used a *finis* explicit.

- 1 (fols. 1–8v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Sermo de Beato Hieronymo in modum orationis editus* ... (inc: Praestantissimi viri atque optimi patres ... Sermo mihi hodie ad vos)
- 2 (fols. 8v–14v) Ant. Loschi, <Ep.> ad ... *Nicolaum marchionem Estensem* ... de morte domini Octonis Tertii ..., dated Vicenza, 1409 (RIS 18:1066–70)<sup>47</sup>
- 3 (fol. 14v) Anon., <Carmen> (introduction and six hexameters from cathedral of Chieti) (inc: Sum caput Achillis quondam dominatus in urbe) (Ravizza, *Epigrammi antichi*, 11)
- 4 (fols. 15–18, 22) Lombardo della Seta, *Ad* ... *Franciscum Petrarcam* ... *epistola de dispositione vitae suae, dialogus* (ed. Ferrante, “Lombardo della Seta,” 480–87)
- 5 (fols. 18v–21, 23–25) Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Oratio in funere domini Francisci Senioris de Carraria de laudibus eius* (RIS 16:194B–98C)
- 6 (fols. 25v–27v) Franc. Petrarca, *Ep.* to Pandolfo Malatesta (*Familiares* 22.1)
- 7 (fols. 28–29v) Franc. Petrarca, *Ep.* to Lombardo della Seta (*Seniles* 11.11)

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<sup>47</sup> On the circumstances surrounding the letter, see Vittorio Zaccaria, *Le epistole e i carmi di Antonio Loschi durante il cancellierato visconteo (con tredici inediti)*, *Atti e Memorie: Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e filologiche*, ser. 7, vol. 18, fasc. 5 (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1975), 394–95 n. 66, 402.

8 (fols. 30–36v) < Pierpaolo Vergerio >, *Ep. seu oratio de honore, pompa, et ordine habitis in exequiis domini Francisci de Carraria* (RIS 16:189A–94A).

## II

fols. 37–43v. Watermark: fols. 38–41, *Couronne*, sim. Briquet 4764, att. Parma, 1492. Collation: 4<sup>8(-1)</sup>. No signatures or catchwords. 26 lines on 122 X 82 mm. bounded by single vertical lines. Written in ink in a single column. Humanist cursive hand that inclines noticeably to the right. The scribe used a *telos* explicit.

9 (fols. 37–43v) Enea Silvio Piccolomini, < *Ep.* > to Prokop von Rabstein, dated Vienna, 26 June 1444 (*Der Briefwechsel*, ed. Wolkan, 1:343–53 [no. 151]).

## III

fols. 44–47v. Watermark: fols. 44–45, *Huchet*, sim. Briquet 7693, att. Naples, 1459, var. ident. Naples, 1461–65, Rome, 1461–79, Mantua, 1462, Palermo, 1469. Collation: 5<sup>4</sup>. No signatures or catchwords. An average of 28 lines on ca. 158 X 90 mm. bounded by single vertical lines and an upper horizontal margin. Written in ink in a single column. Titles, initials, marginalia, and *telos* explicit in red ink. Humanist cursive hand with minimal ligatures (minuscule *d* is notable for an ascender that angles to the left and curves back toward the top).

10 (fols. 44–47) Martino Filetico, . . . *Libro quinto de noctibus Romanis* (inc: *Cenabamus apud Ioannem Mazancollum*) (with dedicatory letter to Alessandro Sforza, inc: *Diebus superioribus quam apud te*)<sup>48</sup>

11 (fol. 47v) < Anon. >, *Index textuum evangeliorum ex quibus loca moralia in promptuario dominicali eruuntur* (fragm.) (for Thomas Stapleton, *Promptuarium morale super Evangelia dominicalia totius anni*,

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<sup>48</sup> Filetico tutored the children of Alessandro beginning in 1456. On his career, see Remigio Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino*, 3:474–76; Giovanni Mercati, “Tre dettati universitari dell’umanista Martino Filetico sopra Persio, Giovenale, ed Orazio,” in Leslie Webber Jones, ed., *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Edward Kenneth Rand, Presented upon the Completion of His Fortieth Year of Teaching* (New York, 1938), 221–30; and Carlo Dionisotti, “‘Lavinia venit litorea’: Polemica virgiliana di M. Filetico,” *IMU* 1 (1958): 296–97, 307–10. Filetico expressed admiration for Vergerio in his commentary on Cicero’s *De senectute* (cited by Dionisotti, *ibid.*, 308 n. 4, from London, British Library, cod. Add. 10384: “quem <PPV> doctrina et eloquentia Ciceronem secundum audeo appellare”).

*Opera*, 4:1–542v; the same scribe who copied this fragment apparently wrote marginal comments in part I).

*History*: from Iacopo Morelli (cod. 279) to the Marciana in 1819. Binding of pasteboards covered by brown marbled paper (194 X 148 mm.). New library shelfmark pasted onto the lower part of spine.

*Bibliography*: Valentinelli, *Codici manoscritti d'opere di Francesco Petrarca*, 41 (no. 44), 45–46 (no. 49), 47–48 (no. 52); Zorzanello, *Catalogo*, 3:398–99; Ferrante, “Lombardo della Seta,” 478–79; and *Iter* 2:248b.

### Z Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, cod. 102, 17

Not seen; description based upon bibliography. Cart. 1496–1497, Martinengo (Province of Bergamo). 284 fols. Colophons by Romelius Gualenus de Solto (fol. 28: “sub die 7 Iulii 1496 in oppido Martinengi per Romelium Gualenum de Solto ibidem ludi praeceptorem et notarium”); fol. 67v: “transcriptae per me Romelium olim domini Marchesii de Gualenis de Solto pubis scholasticae rectorem sub luce tertia mensis Octobris millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo VI Martinengi”; fol. 95: “Per me Romelium de Solto in Martinengo anno salutis 1497 die 29 Iulii”). Humanist cursive hand for the Vergerio sermon.

*History*: from Cardinal Francisco Javier Zelada (1717–1801) to the Chapter Library in Toledo in 1796–97.<sup>49</sup>

#### *Contents*:

- 1 (fols. ?–?) Pamphylus Moratus, < *Carmen* > (damaged)
- 2 (fols. ?–28) Claudius Claudianus, < *Carmina*? ><sup>50</sup>
- 3 (fols. 41–46) Ioan. Matias Tyberinus, . . . < *Ep.* > *senatui populoque Brixiano de morte Beati Simonis < Tridentini >* (cf. *BHL* 2:1124)
- 4 (fol. 46v) Pamphylus Moratus, < *Carmen* > *ad Andr. Leonum ex carcere*

<sup>49</sup> Zelada managed to move most of his codices from Rome before the arrival of the French revolutionaries. On his library, see José M. March, “Documentos insignes que pertenecieron al Cardenal Zelada tocantes a la Compañía de Jesús,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 18 (1949): 119–20; Giovanni Mercati, *Note per la storia di alcune biblioteche romane nei secoli XVI–XIX*, Studi e testi 164 (Vatican City: BAV, 1952), 64–65, 68–69; and Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *La Bibliothèque Vaticane de Sixte IV à Pie XI: Recherches sur l'histoire des collections de manuscrits*, Studi e testi 272 (Vatican City: BAV, 1973), 184, 192 n. 17, 209, 219–20 n. 23.

<sup>50</sup> The Toledo codex is not included in the massive catalog of Claudian manuscripts supplied by J. B. Hall, *Prolegomena to Claudian*, Bulletin Supplement 45 (London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1986), 4–39.

- 5 (fols. 47–48?) Cristoforo Barzizza, *Oratio edita . . . ad benedictionem campanae*
- 6 (fol. 48r–v) Pamphylus Moratus, < *Carmen* >
- 7 (fols. 49–67v) Laudivio Zacchia, ed., *Epistolae Magni Turci* (Rome: Ioannes Philippus de Lignamine, 27 Nov. 1473), Hain 10506; *IGI* 5965; and *IERS* 203
- 8 (fol. 68) Anon., *De Hermafrodito* (inc: Cum mea me genitrix) (cf. Walther, *Initia*, 183 [no. 3662], 247 [no. 4902])<sup>51</sup>
- 9 (fols. 68v–69) Pamphylus Moratus, < *Carmen* >
- 10 (fol. 69v) *Phalaris Paurolae filio* translatio Latina (inc: Maxime utrumque)
- 11 (fols. ?–95) A. Persius Flaccus, *Saturae*  
(fols. 115–18v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) (copied from volume one of the *editio princeps* printed at Rome, 1468).

*Bibliography:* *Iter* 4:647b. Dr. Ramón González, director of the library, summarized the remaining contents of the codex as “diverse works of Jerome principally and of Augustine in lesser quantity, and a letter of Pope Damasus to Jerome.”

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<sup>51</sup> In 1466, Pamphylus Moratus copied the *Hermaphroditus* of Antonio Panormita into cod. Vat. lat. 3164 (see *Iter* 2:359a).

## CHAPTER 4

# Printed Editions<sup>1</sup>

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1 Hieronymus, *S. Tractatus et epistolae*, ed. Giannandrea Bussi. 2 vols. <Rome: in domo Petri Maximi (Conrad Sweynheym & Arnold Pannartz), 13 December 1468 >.

z (1:fols. 301–2) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)

*Bibliography*: Hain 8551; *BMC* 4:5; *IGI* 4733; and *IERS* 10.

2 *Aristeas de septuaginta interpretibus* translatio Latina Mathias Palmerius. Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae*, ed. Teodoro De Lellis. <Rome: Sixtus Riessinger, ca. 1468 >.

(1:fols. 368–69v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)

*Bibliography*: Hain \*8550; *BMC* 4:27; *IGI* 4734; and *IERS* 6.

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<sup>1</sup> The following incunabular editions of the works of Jerome do *not* have any of Vergerio's sermons:

a. *Epistolae* <Strasbourg: Johann Mentelin, not after 1469 >, Hain \*8549.

b. *Epistolae* (Mainz: Peter Schoeffer, 7 September 1470), Hain \*8553–54.

c. *Epistolae* (Basel: Nikolaus Kessler, 8 August 1492), Hain \*8561.

d. *Epistolae* (Basel: Nikolaus Kessler, 1497), Hain \*8565.

e. *Epistolae*. Lope de Olmedo, *Regula monachorum ex epistolis S. Hieronymi excerpta*, Italian translation Matteo da Ferrara (Ferrara: Lorenzo de' Rossi, 12 October 1497), Hain 8566.

In a communication of 28 October 1994, Ms. Mary S. Leahy, the Seymour Adelman Rare Book Librarian at Bryn Mawr College, informed me that the editions of the *Epistolae* published at Basel by Nikolaus Kessler on 8 August 1489 (Hain \*8559) and at Nuremberg by Anton Koberger on 12 November 1495 (Hain \*8562) also do not include Vergerio's sermon.

- 3 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae*, ed. Giannandrea Bussi. <Rome: in domo Petri Maximi (Conrad Sweynheym & Arnold Pannartz), 1470 (not after 30 August)>.
- 118 (1:fols. 288v–89v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)  
*Bibliography*: Hain \*8552; BMC 4:10; IGI 4736; and IERS 61.
- 4 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae* (Rome: Arnold Pannartz, 28 March 1476; Georg Lauer <using the type of Arnold Pannartz>, 5 April 1479).
- 118 (1:fols. 289v–90v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)  
*Bibliography*: Hain 8555; BMC 4:40, 62; IGI 4738; and IERS 468.
- 5 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae*, ed. Teodoro De Lellis. (Venice: Antonio Miscomini, 22 January 1476).
- (1:sig. S, 6r–v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)  
*Bibliography*: Hain \*8556; BMC 5:240; and IGI 4737.
- 6 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae* (Parma: s.t., 18 January 1480 and 15 May 1480).
- 118 (1:sig. ee, 8v–ee, 9v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)  
*Bibliography*: Hain \*8557; BMC 7:942; and IGI 4739.
- 7 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae*, ed. Teodoro De Lellis. (Venice: Andrea Torresano, 15 May 1488).
- (1:fol. 164r–v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)  
*Bibliography*: Hain \*8558; BMC 5:309; and IGI 4740.
- 8 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae* (Venice: Bernardino Benagli, 14 July 1490).
- (1:fol. 164r–v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, ... *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)  
*Bibliography*: Hain \*8560; BMC 5:372; and IGI 4742.

9 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae*. Lope de Olmedo, *Regula monachorum ex epistolis Hieronymi excerpta* (< Venice: Filippo Pinzi >, 7 January 1496). (1:fol. 164r-v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)

*Bibliography*: Hain \*8564; and IGI 4744.

10 Hieronymus, S. *Epistolae*. Lope de Olmedo, *Regula monachorum ex epistolis Hieronymi excerpta* (Venice: Giovanni Rosso, 7 January and 12 July 1496).

(1:fol. 164r-v) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)

*Bibliography*: Hain \*8563; BMC 5:419; and IGI 4745.

*Vall* Hieronymus, S. S. *Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri Opera*, ed. Domenico Vallarsi. 11 vols. (Verona, 1734-42).

(11:295-98) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *De Divo Hieronymo oratio* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)

*Sal* Dominico M. Salmaso, *Petri Pauli Vergerii Senioris De Divo Hieronymo opuscula . . . adiecta sua de eiusdem Divi Hieronymi studiis oratione* (Padua, 1767).

1 (4-7) <PPV, *Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi*> (inc: Gloriosi doctoris ac patris, fragm. at beginning)

2 (7-19) <PPV, *Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi*> (inc: Hodie mihi fratres carissimi)

3 (19-24) <PPV, *Sermo in laudibus Hieronymi*> (inc: Praestantissimi patres ecclesiastica nos doctrina, fragm. at beginning)

*PL* J.-P. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latina*, vols. 22-30, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri Opera omnia* (Paris, 1845-46).

(22:231-36) Pierpaolo Vergerio, . . . *De Divo Hieronymo oratio* (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae)





## PART III

### History of the Texts



## CHAPTER 5

# Vergerio's Lettered Public

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By emphasizing public service through oratory, Pierpaolo Vergerio supplied a new matrix for Italian humanism. He promoted a recovery of rhetoric in its primary sense, the act of public speaking on a specific civic occasion. As conceptualized by the Greeks, rhetoric looked primarily to persuasion, it was primarily employed in civic life, and it was primarily oral.<sup>1</sup> Vergerio and his fellow humanists diffused their ideas about rhetoric in writings that were copied into humanist miscellanies now conserved in libraries around the world. Form followed function: such codices assisted the rhetorical education of the students and teachers who put them together. That fact led Paul Oskar Kristeller to propose a new criterion for establishing the origin of a given humanist miscellany. In the absence of explicit attribution, one could posit that the original owner of the codex was the author of its rarest text.<sup>2</sup> As a corollary, one can usually infer that the owner fashioned his collection as a basic resource for his own education. Because the miscellany needed to supply models of effective prose, letters and speeches comprise the vast majority of entries in those codices. The miscellanies are one indication that humanists after Vergerio followed his proposals for educa-

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<sup>1</sup> See George Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and Its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1980), 4–6; and John M. McManamon, "Innovation in Early Humanist Rhetoric: The Oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder," *Rinascimento*, n.s., 22 (1982): 3–9.

<sup>2</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller's norm, first proposed in "An Unknown Letter of Giovanni Barbo to Guarino," *IMU* 8 (1965): 244, is cited by Claudio Griggio, "Il codice berlinese Lat. fol. 667: Nuove lettere di Francesco Barbaro," in *Umanesimo e rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia*, vol. 3 of *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum 180 (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 1:139 n. 14.

tional reform. They also point to a collaborative effort by humanists in various regions of Italy. The miscellanies regularly mixed texts of humanists in the Veneto (Vergerio, Gasparino Barzizza, Guarino da Verona) with other texts of humanists in Tuscany (Leonardo Bruni and Poggio Bracciolini). While Bruni and Poggio pursued a career in politics, Guarino and Barzizza taught rhetoric in schools.

The general survival of Vergerio's works and the specific case of his panegyrics for Saint Jerome both exemplify the shaping force of rhetoric in his thought. Since Leonardo Smith's edition of Vergerio's *Epistolario* in 1934, only one new letter of Vergerio has come to light. More pertinently, the examination of manuscripts with Vergerio's letters has led scholars to appreciate the variety of reasons for which those letters were copied. Smith emphasized the role of Vergerio's relatives in Capodistria, who began to collect documents related to his career toward the end of the fifteenth century. Later research established the existence of smaller groups of letters, known technically as sylloges, that were collected in places like Padua and Venice before any attempt was made to compile the *epistolario*.<sup>3</sup> One of those groups was put together to assist the task of rhetorical education. In its most complete form, the sylloge includes thirteen works: a letter of Vergerio to Giovanni da Bologna in 1396 (*Ep.* 61), his famous letter on the destruction of the statue of Virgil (*Ep.* 81), a caustic invective against Cardinal Antonio de Calvis for evicting Vergerio from a house in Rimini (*Ep.* 120), a group of letters about a gift of "Tartar razors" to Niccolò Leonardi (*Ep.* 120bis, 121, 122), a letter to Francesco Zabarella on the virtues of Cristoforo Zeno (*Ep.* 130), four letters of introduction that Vergerio, Francesco Zabarella, Gasparino Barzizza, and Guarino exchanged between 1414 and 1415 (*Ep.* 133, 134, 135, 136), Vergerio's letter in praise of Francesco Barbaro's *De re uxoria* (*Ep.* 137), and his epistolary eulogy after the death of Zabarella at Constance (*Ep.* 138).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Vittorio Rossi, review of *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. Leonardo Smith, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 108 (1936): 315–16; Marcello Zicari, "Il più antico codice di lettere di P. Paolo Vergerio il vecchio," *Studia Oliveriana* 2 (1954): 58–59; Griggio, "Il codice berlinese," 137–38, 143 n. 23; and Vittorio Zaccaria, "Niccolò Leonardi, i suoi corrispondenti, e una lettera inedita di Pier Paolo Vergerio," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di scienze, lettere, ed arti in Padova*, n.s., 95 (1982–83): 99, 103–10.

<sup>4</sup> The codices and their letters are: Berlin Lat. fol. 667 (no. 114, 120, 120bis, 121, 122, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138); Chemnitz 57 (no. 120, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 141, 142); London Arundel 70 (no. 61, 81, 120, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138); Milan Ambros. D 93 sup. (no. 52, 61, 120, 130); Munich UnivB. Folio 607 (no. 61, 81, 120, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138); Oxford Canon. misc. 484 (no. 120, 121, 133, 134, 135); Padua Seminario 692 (no. 120,

The earliest datable version of the sylloge is preserved in a manuscript now in the Biblioteca Oliveriana in Pesaro. That composite codex has as its original core a miscellany of letters and speeches that Agostino Santucci gathered together at Padua sometime between 1420 and 1425.<sup>5</sup> The codex illustrates the humanist method of instructing from models. There are letters by Vergerio, Barzizza, and Guarino, and there are speeches by Poggio, Barzizza, Guarino, and their students Leonardo Giustiniani and Pietro Donato. Santucci also transcribed the letters and orations he had composed according to the classicizing standards he had learned. A second codex, now in Berlin, was written by several hands in the Veneto during the first forty years of the fifteenth century. The core elements again consist of letters and orations written between 1400 and 1420 by Guarino and his students, by Barzizza, and by Leonardo Bruni. The largest collection of models comes from Guarino, who added autograph notes indicating his approval for changes made by the redactor. Around 1440, a new hand added a sylloge of the letters of Niccolò Leonardi, including those he had exchanged with Vergerio. Those letters have such precise data, found in no other exemplars, that scholars trace the codex to the household of Niccolò himself. Blind by the time that the sylloge was assembled, Niccolò likely instructed his son Girolamo to rummage among his papers and copy for their library the humorous letters he had exchanged with Vergerio some years before.<sup>6</sup>

The two codices demonstrate that more than one factor motivated those who collected such compendia. First, bonds of affection tied Vergerio to his Italian friends well after his departure for Buda in 1418. Still amused late in life by Vergerio's gift of Tartar razors, Niccolò Leonardi wanted to preserve his memories of their lifelong friendship.<sup>7</sup> Secondly,

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136, 137); Pesaro Oliver. 44 (no. 114, 120, 120bis, 121, 122, 133, 134, 137); Sankt Paul im Lavanttal 79.4 (no. 114, 120, 120bis, 121, 122, 133, 134, 135, 137); Stuttgart Poet. et Philol. quarto 40 (no. 114, 120, 121, 122, 133, 135, 137); Venice Marc. lat. XI.59 (4152) (no. 100, 120, 138); Venice Marc. lat. XI.102 (3940) (no. 114, 120, 120bis, 121, 122, 133, 134, 137); and Vienna 3330 (no. 61, 81, 120, 130, 133, 134, 135, 136, 138). The relationship among Arundel 70, Munich UnivB. Folio 607, and Vienna 3330 is discussed further in n. 12 below. See also the description of codices *Bp* and *Tp* in Part II above. *Bp* has ten letters (no. 16, 27, 34, 81, 98, 121, 129, 131, 140, 141). *Tp* has twenty-one letters (no. 48, 51, 52, 53, 55, 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 68, 69, 75, 77, 104, 114, 120, 121, 128, 130, 131).

<sup>5</sup> Zicàri, "Il più antico codice," 38–42.

<sup>6</sup> Griggio, "Il codice berlinese," 138–39; and Zaccaria, "Niccolò Leonardi," 103–8.

<sup>7</sup> The letter, which Smith did not find, was published by Zicàri, "Il più antico codice," 54–55 (from Oliveriana 44), and Zaccaria, "Niccolò Leonardi," 109 (from Berlin Lat. fol. 667 and Venice Marc. lat. XI.102 [3940]). The letter is also found in Camaldoli 1201 and Sankt Paul im Lavanttal 79.4.

Vergerio had established himself as a respected apologist for a humanist education. In Vergerio's invective against Carlo Malatesta, for example, educators found a persuasive example of classicizing oratory and an eloquent defense of the humanities. In that same letter, Vergerio had pushed his fellow humanists to concentrate on a revival of the culture of the orator as well as the poet. The letter was frequently copied during the Renaissance and well beyond the smaller sylloge.<sup>8</sup> Thirdly, younger adherents of the movement exploited their links to Vergerio in order to launch their own careers as teachers of grammar and rhetoric. Gasparino Barzizza and Guarino used the letters that Vergerio had written to them as a recommendation for their abilities. Barzizza and Guarino could both claim Francesco Barbaro as one of their best students. They appreciated Vergerio's positive reaction to the treatise that Barbaro wrote on marriage: it helped to confirm the efficacy of their lessons. The letters constitute an endorsement of humanist learning across three generations from Vergerio to Barzizza and Guarino and then to their students—Francesco Barbaro and Leonardo Giustiniani. Humanist learning had spread throughout the Veneto and helped prepare Venetian patricians for their governing role.<sup>9</sup>

The sylloge of Vergerio's letters formed part of a larger collection of materials, which educators like Guarino and Barzizza used to instruct their students in classicizing rhetoric. Later humanist instructors continued to utilize those materials, and they spread beyond Italy to other areas of Europe. Sometime after 1452, Hans Pirckheimer assembled a huge number of model letters and orations, many of which he himself copied into a miscellany now preserved in the British Library.<sup>10</sup> The

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<sup>8</sup> In addition to inclusion in three manuscripts with the sylloge, the letter on the destruction of Virgil's statue (*Ep.* 81) is conserved in thirty-two other humanist miscellanies and in seven of the Vergerio manuscripts described in Part II; for details, see the "Finding-List" below (Part VI, chap. 11). The eulogy for Zabarella (*Ep.* 138) exemplified the use of epideictic principles to extol a friend and learned cleric.

<sup>9</sup> For the Berlin codex, see Griggio, "Il codice berlinese," 136 n. 9, 140–45. Besides inclusion in seven manuscripts with this sylloge, the letter praising the *De re uxoria* (*Ep.* 137) is conserved in forty-two other humanist miscellanies and in three Vergerio manuscripts described in Part II. See the "Finding-List" below (Part VI, chap. 11); Percy Gothein, *Francesco Barbaro: Früh-Humanismus und Staatskunst in Venedig* (Berlin, 1932), 86–89; and Tiziana Pesenti, *Professori e promotori di medicina nello Studio di Padova dal 1405 al 1509: Repertorio bio-bibliografico*, Contributi alla storia dell'Università di Padova 16 (Padua: Centro per la storia dell'Università, and Trieste: LINT, 1984), 125. In general, see Germano Gualdo, "Barbaro, Francesco," *DBI* 6:101–3; and Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300–1600* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1989), 125–32.

<sup>10</sup> London, British Library, cod. Arundel 70. See Cesare Foligno, "Codici di materia

collection reflects the pedagogy of Giovanni Lamola, under whom Pirckheimer studied in Bologna. Lamola, in turn, was a product of the school of Guarino. The miscellany therefore includes letters and orations by Vergerio, sixty-four works of Guarino, and seven letters of Lamola himself, who also delivered a panegyric for Jerome in Bologna on 30 September 1442.<sup>11</sup> After Pirckheimer lugged his prized textbook back across the Alps, other German students interested in the new learning made their own copies of the massive collection of over two hundred and twenty-five texts. From its origins in Padua and Venice, the sylloge of Vergerio's letters migrated across Europe as the desire for an education in the humanities spread.<sup>12</sup>

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veneta nelle biblioteche inglesi (cont.)," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., 27 (1907): 215–24; Josiah Forshall, *The Arundel Manuscripts*, vol. 1, n.s., of *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1834–40), 1:15–21; and Arnold Friedrich Siegfried Reimann, *Die älteren Pirckheimer: Geschichte eines Nürnberger Patriziergeschlechtes im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus (bis 1501)* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1944), 103–20.

<sup>11</sup> Lamola's *Laudatio Sancti Hieronymi* (inc: Animadverto non mediocre ac paene) is conserved in Lucca, Bibl. Governativa, cod. 1394, fols. 173–75; Munich, Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 504, fols. 243–44 (copied by Hermann Schedel); and Munich cod. Clm 522, fols. 194–95. It was also published by Albrecht von Eyb in his *Margarita poetica* (Nuremberg: Johann Sensenschmidt, 2 Dec. 1472), GW 9529, fols. 401–2. Munich cod. Clm 504, fols. 101–2, has a letter of Vergerio to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73 [*Ep.* 104]); it was copied from Munich, UnivB., cod. Quarto 768. The Lucca codex also has two anonymous panegyrics for Jerome: 1) fols. 171–73 (inc: Mihi in venerabilem ac sanctissimum patrem) and 2) fols. 175–76 (inc: Hic est dies colendissimi patres). On the panegyrics and the codices, see *Iter* 1:259a; Agostino Sottili, "I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale," *IMU* 12 (1969): 439–58; and Ludwig Bertalot and Ursula Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia Humanistica Latina: Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts: Prosa A–M* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1990), 2.1:64 (no. 1208), 479 (no. 8722), 659 (no. 11920).

<sup>12</sup> Among the manuscripts with the sylloge, Berlin Lat. fol. 667, Chemnitz 57 (from 1463), Oxford Canon. misc. 484, Pesaro Oliveriana 44, and Venice Marc. lat. XI.102 were copied in Italy during the fifteenth century. For the relationship among London Arundel 70, Munich UnivB. Folio 607, and Vienna 3330, all written by German hands, see Ludwig Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Raccolta di Studi e Testi* 129–30 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1975), 1:9 ("Eine humanistische Anthologie"), 2:105–8 ("Eine Sammlung paduaner Reden"); and Gianni Zippel, "Analisi di lavori dell'ultimo decennio," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 7 (1974): 85–87 n. 15. Zicari, "Il più antico codice," 44–59, offers collations of Vergerio's letters based upon this family of manuscripts. The Stuttgart codex (Poet. et Philol. quarto 40) was written by a German hand between 1465 and 1469, while the manuscript in Sankt Paul im Lavanttal has Italian and German hands. Giovanni Bernardo Dalle Valli copied two letters of Vergerio (*Ep.* 104, *Ep.* 136) while at the University of Padua in 1452 (Munich Clm 78). Dalle Valli's variant ("Lenoni" for "Zenoni") is also found in the copies of *Ep.* 104 made by Johann Heller (Munich UnivB. quarto 768) and Jakob Schenk von Seydaw (London Harley 3716); see Bertalot, "Eine humanistische Anthologie," in *Studien*, 1:16–17. On 21 July 1424, Vergerio and Johann Schenk von Seydaw together witnessed a decision of King Sigismund; see Wilhelm Altmann, ed., *Die Urkunden Kaiser Sigismunds (1410–37)*, vol. 11 of *Regesta Imperii* (Innsbruck, 1896–1900), 1:419 (no. 5911). Hartmann Schedel, who with his uncle Hermann accounts for a large proportion of Italian

Humanist educators appropriately rode to success on the shoulders of Pierpaolo Vergerio. Vergerio's treatise on humanist education, *De ingenuis moribus*, far and away proved the most influential element of his scholarly legacy. Hundreds of manuscripts conserve the text. It was also published at least thirty times in Italy before the year 1500 and frequently thereafter. The earliest known manuscript was copied at Padua on 12 September 1403. The scribe, Antonius Petri Donadei de Rocca S. Stephani de Aquila, studied canon law at the University of Padua and passed examinations in June of 1408 before a board that included Francesco Zabarella. Another early copy was finished at Padua on 17 April 1423 by Antonius Gurceensis Brixiensis, perhaps one of Guarino's students. Guarino is known to have lectured on the text. Fittingly, Leonello d'Este, Guarino's great patron, commissioned a luxury copy of the work as a gift for his tutor.<sup>13</sup>

Many of the copies of the treatise that survive are written on parchment in *antiqua*, and they certify that Vergerio was popular with the

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humanist texts now in Germany, twice copied Vergerio's letter on the *De re uxoria* (Munich Clm 362 and 418). On the Schedels, see Richard Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus, und der medizinischen Literatur*, Studien und Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte Band 6, Heft 2-3 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1908), 228; Claude Jenkins, "Dr. Hartmann Schedel and His Books," in Veronica Ruffer and A. J. Taylor, eds., *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1950), 98-105, 132; and Agostino Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale*, Censimento dei Codici Petrarcheschi 4 and 7 (Padua: Antenore, 1971-78), 3.

<sup>13</sup> On the number of editions, see Luzi Schucan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "ad adolescentes": Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus*, Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance 133 (Geneva: Droz, 1973), 82 n. 17 (seven undated, twenty-two from 1470-1500, thirteen from 1501-64); David Robey, "Humanism and Education in the Early Quattrocento: The *De ingenuis moribus* of P. P. Vergerio," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* 42 (1980): 56-58; and Grendler, *Schooling*, 117-18. For the incunabular editions, see Hain 15981-16003; *IGI* 10149-73. The earliest manuscript, Naples BN cod. VIII.C.8, is described by Cesare Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, Spicilegium bonaventurianum 7-8 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, and Grottaferrata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), 2:819-21 (no. 450), who cites the colophon on fol. 128. Cod. Zan. lat. 498 (1919) of the Marciana in Venice, copied by Antonius Gurceensis Brixiensis at Padua, is described by Giuseppe Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum* (Venice, 1868-73), 4:184-86 (who reads "1425"); and Carlo Miani, "Petri Pauli Vergerii—ad Ubertinum de Carraria de ingenuis moribus et liberalibus adolescentiae studiis liber (Codicum conspectum recognovit brevisque annotatione critica instruxit Carlo Miani)," *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 72-73, n.s., 20-21 (1972-73): 185-86, 200 (who reads "1423"). Fol. 1 of the manuscript also has the following note: "Sancti Barnabae Brixiensis, ad usum fratris Seraphim de Luzago—Frater Paulus de Pergamo." Guarino's codex is now preserved in the Bibl. Estense at Modena, cod. Est. lat. 572 (Alpha M.9, 8). The scribe, Biagio Bosoni, also copied Est. lat. 17 (Alpha F.2, 59).



wealthiest patrons of Renaissance society. Members of the ruling classes wished to have a luxury copy of the work for their libraries. As late as 1471, the renowned scribe Federico Veterani finished a parchment codex for the library of Federigo da Montefeltro.<sup>14</sup> Rulers patronized humanism because they realized that the movement served as a valuable bulwark in defense of elitism. One cannot assume, however, that those princely patrons could understand, much less read the treatise. It served primarily as a symbol of status. Nor was the copying of the work restricted to the elite of Renaissance society. Students also made copies at the school of Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua and at other schools. Vergerio's principles for the education of adolescents quickly ended up in adolescent hands.<sup>15</sup> A soldier in the service of the podestà of Ancona copied the text in 1464, dating his work by the death of Pius II during an unsuccessful attempt to launch a crusade.<sup>16</sup> The only two

<sup>14</sup> The codex is BAV, Urb. lat. 1194, which also contains Ps. Plutarchus, Vergerio's letter on the statue (*Ep.* 81), a declamation (by Pietro Marcello?), and Bruni's translation of Basil. See Cosimus Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinate Latini* (Vatican City, 1902–21), 3:203–4; Cecil H. Clough, "Federigo Veterani, Polydore Vergil's *Anglica Historia*, and Baldassare Castiglione's *Epistola . . . ad Henricum Angliae regem*," *English Historical Review* 82 (1967): 772–83; Elisabeth Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques Latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1975ff.), 2.2:667–69; and Albert Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin*, *Bibliologia* 5–6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), 2:138 (no. 979). For further examples of parchment codices, see *ibid.*, 2:77 (no. 455), 2:91 (no. 580), 2:93 (no. 595), 2:93 (no. 602), 2:152 (no. 1105), and 2:155 (no. 1130).

<sup>15</sup> Marco Soardo copied the work (Budapest cod. Clmae 314) while a student under Vittorino, who taught at Mantua from 1423 to 1446. In Padua in 1474, Bartolomeo Squara made a copy of the treatise at the age of fourteen (Oxford Canon. misc. 87, fol. 79v).

<sup>16</sup> See *Iter* 2:62b, where Kristeller records the subscription in Perugia, Bibl. Comunale Augusta, cod. 2862 (formerly N.F.81): "Scriptus per me Bastianum Ser Antonii de Montefalco in civitate Anconae, cum essem ibi socius miles domini Albertini de Fulgineo potestatis dictae civitatis anno . . . 1464, quo tempore Pius papa II obiit in dicta civitate." Among other subscriptions, one might note: Parma Pal. 156 copied at Calchis (Greece) in 1441; Florence Ricc. 952 copied at London in 1447 by Milone da Carrara for Magister Thomas Franchus Graecus; BAV Chig. S.V.8 copied by Antonius Pe<?>ri Guidonis de Callio in 1450; Venice Marc. lat. VI.131 (3596) finished by Gaspar Tyburtinus in 1451; Oxford D'Orville 525 copied by the Dutch scribe Ioannes Pottere at Rome from 1454 to 1456; Weimar Octavo.142 copied at Padua, 17 September 1456, by Iop R. (perhaps Iob Resta according to Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:241–43); BAV Ottob. lat. 1615 copied by Nicolaus Ser Guasparis in the houses of Iulius Florentinus and Bernardus de Cursis in 1458 and 1459; Venice Marc. lat. XIV.236 (4499) copied by the notary Bartholomaeus de Rambaldo in 1460; Bergamo Delta VI.33 copied by Bartholomaeus de Gandino in 1468; San Daniele 110 written in *antiqua* by Battista da Cingoli; BAV Vat. lat. 1690 copied in 1461 and glossed by Marianus de Magistris (see Concetta Bianca, "Marianus de Magistris de Urbe," in Massimo Miglio, with P. Farenga and A. Modigliani, eds., *Scrittura, biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento* 2, *Littera antiqua* 3 [Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica, e Archivistica, 1983], 567–68); Padua Antoniana I.19 by Gulielmus Salinus? in 1467; BAV

portraits of Vergerio from the fifteenth century indicate the extent to which he had become identified with the *De ingenuis moribus*. Both appear in historiated initials in copies of the treatise from 1441 and 1444. The images depict Vergerio as a mature scholar in academic robes and a long beard.<sup>17</sup>

Eventually the treatise became part of a compendium of texts designed to present the ideals of humanist education. First and foremost, Vergerio's text was conjoined with Leonardo Bruni's translation of a letter of Basil the Great (ca. 330–379) entitled *Ad adolescentes*. Bruni completed the translation sometime between 1401 and 1402; he conceived it as an homage to the pedagogy of Manuel Chrysoloras and as a rebuttal to the criticism of clerics who questioned whether humanist studies were suitable for Christian youth. While medieval interpreters of the letter had restricted Basil's endorsement of liberal studies to monks,

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Pal. lat. 1740 written by Petrus Ursuleus and obtained by Agnolo Manetti in 1467 (see Giuseppe M. Cagni, "Agnolo Manetti e Vespasiano da Bisticci," *IMU* 14 [1971]: 304; Derolez, *Codicologie*, 1:157–58 [no. 358]); and Savignano 23 by Ioannes Cari de Lunardellis de Monte Florum around 1479. Undated copies include Gotha Memb. II.105 by Angelus Tutus, Naples V.C.44 by Raenardus, and BAV Vat. lat. 11547 by Matthias Antonii. The scribe Milone da Carrara was the brother of Marsilio, who led an unsuccessful attempt in 1430 to restore Carrara rule in Padua. See Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:128–29; and *Iter* 6:258b. Notable cases of ownership include: BAV Chig. J.VI.214 (Leonardus Marchio Malaspina in 1430 and marginal notes by Cesare Baronio); Milan Ambros. C 43 sup. (Francesco Pizzolpasso, d. 1443) (see Angelo Paredi, *La biblioteca del Pizzolpasso* [Milan: Hoepli, 1961], 96–97 [no. 7]); Milan Ambros. G 29 sup. (Francesco Vimercati); Cape Town 3.c.11 (Giovanni Barbo); London Harley 2678 (probably from Raphael de Marcatellis); Munich Clm 487 (Hartmann Schedel); New York Columbia Univ. Plimpton 154 (Antonius Vursatus); Paris Lat. 6722 (Palla Strozzi); Paris Lat. 16593 (Guillaume Fichet); Oxford Canon. misc. 146 (Iacopo Zeno, bishop of Padua in 1460); San Daniele 105 (marginal notes by Guarnerio d'Artegna); BAV Vat. lat. 2906 (Angelo Colocci); BAV Vat. lat. 3440 (Fulvio Orsini); Berlin Lat. quarto 468 (Convent of S. Maria Incononata in Milan to Carlo Morbio); Holkham Hall 486 (Carlo Sigonio); Venice Marc. lat. VI.129 (3037) and 130 (3205) (Giacomo Zabarella); Venice Marc. lat. VI.501 (1712) (Giovanni Battista Recanati); and Rome Vitt. Eman. 474 (Giacomo Manzoni) (see Annibale Tenneroni, *Catalogo ragionato dei manoscritti appartenuti al fu Conte Giacomo Manzoni*, Bibliotheca Manzoniana 4 [Città di Castello, 1894], 81 [no. 89]). A codex with the *De ingenuis moribus* now in Innsbruck, UnivB. 962, had some association with the University of Paris in 1460; see *Iter* 3:20a.

<sup>17</sup> Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Rawlinson G.47 (*Summary Catalogue* no. 14778) was copied in 1441, perhaps at Milan. The portrait of Vergerio is found on fol. 51 (Plate 5). For descriptions of the codex, see Otto Pächt and Jonathan James Graham Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966–73), 2:73 (no. 696); Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts ca. 435–1600 in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1984), 1:113 (no. 682); and Derolez, *Codicologie*, 2:93 (no. 602). Venice, Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.126 (4664) was copied by Hieronymus de Sandellis at Pirano d'Istria in 1444. The portrait of Vergerio is reproduced in Miani, "*De ingenuis moribus*," 201. On the manuscript, see Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta*, 4:190–91; and Miani, "*De ingenuis moribus*," 186–87.

Bruni saw it as universally applicable to adolescents.<sup>18</sup> So closely were the two works joined in the minds of fifteenth-century publishers that their titles were written chiasmatically: Vergerio's *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis* and Basil's *De liberalibus studiis et ingenuis moribus*. Shortly after translating Basil's letter, Bruni wrote his *Dialogi* as a manifesto for humanist leadership in rhetorical education. He dedicated that work to Vergerio and thereby acknowledged that Vergerio had first emphasized rhetoric as the proper matrix for humanist studies. In later writings, Bruni continued to supplement the resources available to humanist educators. By November of 1409, for example, he had translated Plato's *Gorgias*, a dialogue warning of rhetoric's dangers that Bruni turned into a playful debate about rhetoric's worth. Throughout his life, Bruni carried on the struggle on behalf of rhetorical culture that reflected his close friendship with Vergerio.<sup>19</sup>

Scholars and publishers also linked Vergerio's treatise with works on education written by humanists in the Veneto. The *De ingenuis moribus* was frequently copied with Guarino's translation of the *De pueris educandis*, then attributed to Plutarch. Both works stressed the importance

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<sup>18</sup> Statistical information is supplied in Schucan, *Das Nachleben*, 79–82, 117–18. More than fifty codices have both works. Sample codices are: Brussels Albert Ier I.10731–38; Florence Ricc. 978; Milan Ambros. F 51 sup.; Padua Seminario 92; Philadelphia U. of Penn. Smith lat. 34 (with Bruni's *De studiis et litteris*); Rome Corsiniana Nic. Rossi 304; Vienna 960; and Weimar O.142 (copied at Padua in 1456). Among printed editions, 25 of the 31 incunabular editions (81 percent) have both treatises, while 8 of the 13 editions (62 percent) published from 1501–64 pair them. In both cases, the percentages are even higher for Italy.

<sup>19</sup> By May of 1403, Bruni had translated Xenophon's dialogue, *Hiero sive Tyrannus*, interpreting it as a mirror for princes. In 1424, he also translated Plato's *Phaedrus*. In a letter to Battista Malatesta da Montefeltro, he adapted the principles of humanist education for noble women. Bruni recommended that women not bother with rhetoric because they had no role to play in public life. All of those works were copied together with Vergerio's treatise. BAV Chig. J.VI.214 has the *De ingenuis moribus*, Bruni's *Dialogi*, and his translations of Basil's letter, the *Hiero*, and the *Gorgias*. BAV Vat. lat. 3407 has the *De ingenuis moribus* and Bruni's translation of Basil's letter and the *Phaedrus*. Genoa Durazzo B.V.14 has Bruni's translations of Basil's letter and the *Hiero*, his *Dialogi*, Ps. Plutarchus, and the *De ingenuis moribus*. BAV Reg. lat. 1321, copied for Zenone Castiglione by Ubertino da Parma in 1434, has Bruni's *Dialogi*, his translations of the *Gorgias*, the *Phaedrus*, the *Hiero*, and Basil's letter, and the *De ingenuis moribus*; see James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 17 (Leiden et al.: E. J. Brill, 1990), 2:724. A sampling of manuscripts with the *Hiero* and the *De ingenuis moribus* includes: Dresden Db.89; Florence Ricc. 952; Kremsmünster 329 (with Basil's letter); Milan Ambros. A 166 sup. (with Basil's letter), C 43 sup.; Munich Clm 19652; New York Goodhart Gordan 73 (with Basil's letter); and Venice Zan. lat. 501 (1712) (with Basil's letter and the *Dialogi*). On Bruni's translations and the relevant manuscripts, see Schucan, *Das Nachleben*, 78–79, 83–85, 117; Hankins, *Plato*, 1:29–101, 2:367–400; and David Marsh, "Xenophon," *CTC* 7:149–55.

of moral formation in education. Since Vergerio argued that humanist studies had special efficacy in training the character of adolescents, he carried on educational theory from the point in human development where Plutarch had left off.<sup>20</sup> Copyists also paired Vergerio's treatise with the *De re uxoria* of Francesco Barbaro. The pairing was natural once Vergerio had written a letter to express his admiration for Barbaro's treatise. It also made sense given the developmental perspectives of Vergerio's approach to education. If Vergerio himself offered principles for early adolescence, Barbaro continued to guide one after entering upon the difficult commitment to marriage.<sup>21</sup> The program of educa-

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<sup>20</sup> Guarino translated the treatise of Ps. Plutarchus in 1410/1411; see Schucan, *Das Nachleben*, 82–83. Sample codices that conjoin the translation with the *De ingenuis moribus* include: Bergamo Delta II.15; Milan Ambros. N 104 sup.; BAV Ottob. lat. 1669, Vat. lat. 9306; Verona Capitolare CCLV (227); and Verona Comunale 2822. A significant group of the manuscripts has the three works (Basil's letter, Vergerio's treatise, and Guarino's translation of Ps. Plutarchus). Among the codices, the earliest are BAV Chig. J.VI.214, copied in 1430 and owned by Leonardus Marchio Malaspina (see Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:268–70; and Hankins, *Plato*, 2:722); BAV Regin. lat. 1321 copied in 1434 by Ubertino da Parma; and Milan Ambros. C 43 sup. (first third of 15th century). Further codices include: Bergamo Delta VI.33; Berlin Lat. octavo 108; Dresden Db.89; London Harley 2678 (copied from a printed edition); Univ. of London 288; Munich Clm 3849, Clm 19652; Padua Seminario 165 (with the *Hiero*); Oxford Canon. misc. 87; Paris Lat. 16593; Paris Nouv. acq. lat. 2609 (with Barbaro's *De re uxoria*); Schaffhausen Min. 120; BAV Ottob. lat. 1800, Ross. lat. 50 (with the *Hiero*), Urb. lat. 1194, Vat. lat. 1792; and Verona Capitolare CCXLIII (212). The combination of the three texts was likewise preferred by printers in the fifteenth century (9 of 31 editions; see Hain 15982–16003, and Schucan, *ibid.*, 115–21). Around 1474 or 1475, Giovanni Calurnio added to his edition of the treatises a letter attributed to Jerome (*De liberorum officii erga parentes*). Calurnio's edition (IGI 10153, 10166, 10171) had Vergerio's treatise, Bruni's translations of Basil and Xenophon, Guarino's translation of Ps. Plutarchus, and the Jerome letter. Calurnio had in his possession the manuscript of a *retractatio* of Leonzio Pilato's *Odyssey* based on the autograph that Vergerio had borrowed from Palla Strozzi; see Agostino Pertusi and Ezio Franceschini, "Un'ignota Odissea latina dell'ultimo Trecento," *Aevum* 33 (1959): 327.

<sup>21</sup> The following codices have both works: Berlin Lat. quarto 468 (with Ps. Plutarchus and Vegio's *De educatione liberorum*); Forlì III.66 (with Ps. Plutarchus); New York Goodhart Gordan 18; San Daniele 110 (with Ps. Plutarchus and Bruni's *De studiis et literis*); BAV Ottob. lat. 241 (with Ps. Plutarchus); and Venice Marc. lat. VI.84 (3202) (with Ps. Plutarchus). Cod. 49 of the Biblioteca Arcivescovile in Udine supplies an instructive example of a compendium of such treatises. Bound together with a twelfth-century fascicle of Cicero's orations, one finds a fifteenth-century miscellany, copied by an M. C., that contains: Vergerio's treatise, Bruni's translations of Basil's letter and the *Hiero*, Guarino's translation of Ps. Plutarchus, Barbaro's *De re uxoria*, Leonardo Giustiniani's funeral oration for Carlo Zeno, and letters and orations by Leonardo Bruni. On the Udine codex, see *Iter* 2:201a, 6:237a; Emanuele Casamassima et al., eds., *Mostra di codici umanistici di biblioteche friulane (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana Firenze)* (Florence: Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, 1978), 53–54 (no. 55); Cesare Scalon, *La Biblioteca Arcivescovile di Udine*, Medioevo e umanesimo 37 (Padua: Antenore, 1979), 118–19; and Hankins, *Plato*, 2:721. On the diffusion of Barbaro's work, see Gothein, *Francesco Barbaro*, 61–99. In Oxford Canon. misc. 87, Vergerio's treatise is linked to a work attributed to Aulus Gellius, . . . *De modera<n>do victu pue-*

tion advocated by humanists now had a clear conceptualization of stages in education—correct grammar in childhood, humanist studies in adolescence, ethical duties in marriage.

While Vergerio's theory of humanist education won him a vast public, his practice of classicizing oratory had more restricted circulation. The bulk of his orations are preserved in the same codices that have his sermons on Jerome, and they are discussed in the section that follows.<sup>22</sup> Due to its wider diffusion, however, Vergerio's *Sermo de vita Francisci Petrarcae* requires some explanation. Vergerio originally delivered the sermon at a ceremony, which Francesco Zabarella organized in Padua's cathedral to honor the memory of Petrarch.<sup>23</sup> Subsequently, it came to be used as a short biography that was often appended to the writings of Petrarch. There are approximately thirty copies of the work in existing manuscripts. In 1398, Ramus Ramedellus copied it for Margherita Malatesta, the wife of Francesco Gonzaga. Before 1400, another Italian scribe transcribed the *Vita* into a parchment codex now in the University Library at Greifswald. By 1432, the short biography had also become part of the library of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.<sup>24</sup> Gen-

*rorum*. The treatise was also paired with the *De nobilitate* of Buonaccorso da Montemagno in codices like Augsburg UnivB. II.Lat.1.quarto.33 (with Basil, Ps. Plutarchus, letters of PPV, and letters of Jakob Wimpfeling) and Kassel Philos. quarto 6 (with Basil and dated Ulm, 1470). On Buonaccorso's popular work, completed by 1429, see Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:402–5; Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1955), 1:365–66, 2:623–24 n. 22, rev. ed. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), 420–23; and Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* 2 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1985), 332–33.

<sup>22</sup> The oration for Francesco Novello's return is preserved in fifteen codices, of which seven do not figure among the manuscripts described above. Five of the seven have the sylloge of letters described earlier: London Arundel 70 (of Hans Pirckheimer); Milan Ambros. D 93 sup.; Munich Clm 78 (written by Giovanni Bernardo Dalle Valli in 1452); Munich UnivB. Folio 607; and Vienna 3330. The other two are late copies from the seventeenth century. The description of the funeral of Francesco il Vecchio and the funeral oration are paired in twelve codices, of which only four do not figure in the descriptions: Naples Già Viennesi lat. 57 (formerly Vienna lat. 3160); Venice Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900) (Roberto Papafava's draft for Marc. lat. XIV.210 [PM]); Venice Marc. lat. VI.208 (3569) (formerly in the Nani library); and Yale Osborn a.17 (formerly Phillipps 9627). The two orations that Vergerio delivered at the papal court in 1406 are only preserved in the manuscripts described above.

<sup>23</sup> Giuseppe Billanovich, *Petrarca letterato I: Lo scrittoio di Petrarca*, Raccolta di studi e testi 16 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1947), 358–68.

<sup>24</sup> Florence Laur. Ashb. 1014 was copied by Ramedellus and discussed by Nicola Festa in the preface to his edition of *L'Africa*, Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca 1 (Florence, 1926), xvi–xvii, xxx–xxxii; and by Riziero Zucchi, "Ottonello Descalzi e la fortuna del *De viris illustribus*," *IMU* 17 (1974): 488. The Greifswald codex is UnivB. 682, which Kristeller dated "sec. XIV ex." Nicolaus Bildestone gave Duke Humphrey the

erally coupled with Vergerio's edition of the *Africa*, the work was also linked with other writings of Petrarch such as the *De remediis utriusque fortunae*. Vergerio had sought to broaden Petrarch's approach to humanism by making oratory the special skill of a humanist. His most frequently copied oration came to serve as a biographical introduction to Petrarch's writings. That pattern also repeats itself with one of Vergerio's sermons for Saint Jerome.

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copy which is now in Paris (Lat. 10209). A copy from the mid-fifteenth century was added to the text of the *Africa*, which Konrad von Konstanz had copied in 1408 for Gerardus de Boyardis Ferrariensis; the manuscript is today conserved at Stuttgart, Württ. Landesbibl., HB.X.21. A note in Venice Marc. ital. XI.120 indicates that Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna helped Vergerio to revise and correct his metric summaries of the books of the *Africa*; see Luciano Gargan, "Giovanni Conversini e la cultura letteraria a Treviso nella seconda metà del Trecento," *IMU* 8 (1965): 132 n. 1.

## CHAPTER 6

# The Panegyrics for Saint Jerome

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It is possible to gauge the diffusion of the rest of Vergerio's orations by examining the manuscripts that contain his panegyrics for Jerome. Scribes and collectors copied the sermons for three reasons. First, they matched some of the Jerome panegyrics with other public orations by Vergerio that they chose for their miscellanies. Dating from the fifteenth century, those miscellanies assisted the work of rhetorical educators, functioning as textbooks for students from Italy and from other parts of Europe. Secondly, when individuals for personal reasons attempted to collect all of Vergerio's works, they usually found some of the panegyrics that he gave on Jerome. Relatives of Vergerio and members of the Papafava family, direct Paduan descendants of the Carrara, engaged in that effort beginning late in the fifteenth century. Vergerio thereby received posthumous recognition from the family whose patronage he had actively solicited during his lifetime. Thirdly, editors of the early printed editions of the *opera* of Jerome included one of Vergerio's panegyrics as a brief introduction to the saint's life. Sweynheym and Pannartz published the sermon in their *editio princeps* at Rome in 1468, and later publishers followed their editorial choice.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The following editions, all from Italy, have the sermon of Vergerio as part of their introductory material: Hain \*8550, 8551, 8552, 8555, \*8556, \*8557, 8558, \*8560, \*8563, \*8564. Vergerio's sermon is not included in the editions published at Strasbourg, Mainz, Nuremberg, and Basel (Hain 8549, \*8553-54, \*8559, \*8562, \*8565) nor in the Italian translation from Ferrara (Hain 8566). In general, see "Opera di San Girolamo, edizione del XV. secolo," *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 39 (1916): 158-63.

### a. Humanist miscellanies (*Bp*, *S*, *Tp*, *V*)

A composite codex now in Venice (*V*) contains the earliest copy of one of the Jerome panegyrics. The first section of that codex has Vergerio's sermon on Jerome as well as his description of the funeral of Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara and the oration that he wrote for the funeral. Vergerio drafted all three texts in Padua between September of 1392 and November of 1393.<sup>2</sup> The texts are also homogeneous from a rhetorical perspective and indicate the radical perspectives that Vergerio had adopted on public speaking. He appreciated the potential of public spectacle to arouse patriotic sentiments and taught humanists to capitalize on those ceremonies as a setting for political oratory that propagated the ideology of the governing elite. Vergerio likewise proposed to use classical principles in preparing his panegyrics of Jerome, thereby breaking with the conventions of Scholastic preaching on a scriptural theme. The title of the panegyric in *V* defines the work as "a sermon written in the manner of an oration," and the first words of the sermon indicate that Vergerio omitted a thematic verse because he preferred to follow the most up-to-date conventions for preaching.

Besides the three works of Vergerio, the collection also includes two letters of Petrarch and a letter and dialogue on the value of solitude that the Paduan scholar Lombardo della Seta composed for Petrarch.<sup>3</sup> Those texts were included in later collections of Vergerio's *opera*; per-

<sup>2</sup> The collection of Vergerio material in the first part of codex *E* includes the same group of texts found in *V*, except that the version of the Jerome panegyric is fragmentary here. The codex comes from the early sixteenth century and has a direct connection with the Este family.

<sup>3</sup> Giuseppina Ferrante, "Lombardo della Seta umanista padovano (?-1390)," *Atti del R. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere, ed arti* 93, no. 2 (1933-34): 475-80, observes that the work was copied "an infinite number of times" in the fifteenth century. Della Seta had promised to find someone to edit Petrarch's *Africa*, but he died in 1390 without fulfilling his pledge. Nicoletto d'Alessio, originally from Capodistria, was one of the two notaries who drafted Petrarch's *Testamentum*. When Vergerio came to Padua in 1390, d'Alessio was chancellor for the Carrara; see Paolo Sambin, "Alessio, Nicoletto d,'" *DBI* 2:247-48. The works of Petrarch in the Vergerio codices are:

*Bp*: *Laureationis Petrarcae Privilegium; Nota de Laura; Lombardo della Seta, Ad . . . Franciscum Petrarcam . . . epistola et de dispositione vitae dialogus.*

*E*: PPV, *Vita Francisci Petrarcae; Franc. Petrarca, Nota de Laura.*

*PM*: PPV, *Vita Francisci Petrarcae; Franc. Petrarca, Testamentum.*

*Ra*: Franc. Petrarca, *Testamentum; Lombardo della Seta, Ad . . . Franciscum Petrarcam . . . epistola et de dispositione vitae dialogus; Franc. Petrarca, . . . Responsio facta Lombardo a Sirico.*

*V*: Lombardo della Seta, *Ad . . . Franciscum Petrarcam . . . epistola et de dispositione vitae dialogus; Franc. Petrarca, Ep. to Pandolfo Malatesta; Franc. Petrarca, . . . Responsio facta Lombardo a Sirico.*



haps his heirs found them among his personal papers after he had left Italy for the Empire. Vergerio had himself carried on a debate with Petrarch about solitude and consistently espoused an activist style of humanism. Lastly, the fascicle in *V* has a letter of Antonio Loschi to Niccolò III d'Este, describing the murder of Ottobono Terzi. Loschi wrote the letter from Vicenza in 1409, two years after he had left Rome upon completing a diplomatic mission to Innocent VII. Vergerio and Loschi met on that occasion, and the codex may have some relationship to their friendship. The two humanists renewed their acquaintance in 1426, when Loschi received the poet's laurel while on an embassy to Emperor Sigismund.<sup>4</sup>

A second composite codex now in San Daniele del Friuli (*S*) contains the two orations for Jerome that Vergerio delivered in 1406 and 1408 while a member of the papal court. The *S* codex had ties to humanists from the Veneto active at the papal court and derives from the scriptorium of Guarnerio d'Artegna during its final years of activity (1461–1466). The texts of Vergerio's sermons have numerous errors and many corrections by the scribe, confirming the accuracy of his laconic post-script where he admitted working in extreme haste (*raptissime*). The latest dated components in the codex include letters that Guarino wrote from 1451 to 1452 and an autograph copy of the oration that Giacomo da Udine gave at Venice in 1457. The codex also has a Latin translation of an oration by Herodian of Syria on the funeral and deification of Emperor Septimius Severus (193–211). The translator was Ognibene Bonisoli da Lonigo (Omnibonus Leonicensus).<sup>5</sup> Bonisoli had completed the translation before 1458, when Marco Barbo, a nephew of the future Pope Paul II, gave a copy to Flavio Biondo.

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<sup>4</sup> See Amos Manni, "Terzi ed Estensi (1402–1421)," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione ferrarese di storia patria* 25, no. 2 (1925): 140, 159–82; Dieter Girgensohn, "Antonio Loschi und Baldassare Cossa vor dem Pisaner Konzil (mit der *Oratio pro unione ecclesiae*)," *IMU* 30 (1987): 30–35; and Germano Gualdo, "Antonio Loschi, segretario apostolico (1406–1436)," *Archivio storico italiano* 147, no. 4 (1989): 750–64. Codex Pal. 262 of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma originally had the *De ingenuis moribus* as its first work. When the Vergerio text was lost, an oration of Antonio Loschi to Doge Francesco Foscari (1423) was added; see Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:241–43.

<sup>5</sup> On Bonisoli's translation, see Flavio Biondo, *Scritti inediti e rari . . .*, ed. Bartolomeo Nogara, *Studi e testi* 48 (Rome: BAV, 1927), xxxi; it is also found in Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. V.G.19. Smith uncovered correspondence between Guarnerio d'Artegna and Raffaele Zovenzoni, the rector of the public school in Capodistria from 1461–64 and 1470–71. The correspondence dates from 1463. Early in the sixteenth century, Giovanni Andrea Vergerio, a distant relative, had searched for a supposed translation of Herodian by Pierpaolo Vergerio.

It is already evident that students from a variety of places in northern Italy examined Vergerio's works as a norm for proper oratory and as a model for preaching according to classical norms. Humanist grammarians and teachers of rhetoric played a critical role in preserving and transmitting his orations to posterity. The fact that humanist miscellanies such as *Bp* and *Tp* are written in a humanist cursive supports that conclusion. The miscellanies were not compiled as formal texts for libraries, but as working texts for students of humanism. Unlike the luxury copies of the *De ingenuis moribus* prepared by professional scribes for the libraries of wealthy patrons, the texts in humanist miscellanies from the Veneto had an educational matrix. Vergerio had made his proposal for a return to classicizing oratory at Padua late in the fourteenth century. Fifty years later, educators had created a sylloge of model orations with the nucleus drawn from Paduan speeches. Though scholars today describe such manuscripts by author, they were often organized according to rhetorical genres.<sup>6</sup>

By focusing on the importance of rhetorical education when investigating the manuscripts, new perspectives emerge on the nature of some of their texts. For instance, scholars have sometimes characterized as forgeries the letters of Pontius Pilate to two Roman emperors, preserved in codex *Bp* and in similar collections. In all likelihood, they are model declamations, offered to students as examples of Latin prose composition and as useful exercises in political debate. Grammarians would probably not have tried to pass off such texts as authentic documents from a particular historical era. Manuscript *Tp* has copies of the speeches attributed to Demades and Demosthenes, which are legion in humanist miscellanies. They comprise short reworkings of positions recorded in the historical sources as Athenian statesmen debated the policy to adopt before Alexander the Great.<sup>7</sup> At a moment when Giangaleazzo Visconti threat-

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<sup>6</sup> See Bertalot, "Eine Sammlung paduaner Reden des XV. Jahrhunderts," in *Studien*, 2:209–13, who characterizes the codex, Udine Arcivescovile 70, as a textbook of rhetorical models ("rhetorisches Musterbuch") and demonstrates that it contains all types of speeches, though prevalently those from university life. See also Giorgio Ronconi, "Il giurista Lauro Palazzolo, la sua famiglia, e l'attività oratoria, accademica, e pubblica," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 17 (1984): 1, 34–35, 63, who discusses two huge repertories from the scriptorium of Palazzolo. The repertories were organized by genre, and their exemplars were cited verbatim in other speeches.

<sup>7</sup> See Remigio Sabbadini, "Antonio da Romagno e Pietro Marcello," *Nuovo archivio veneto* 30 (1915): 218–22; and Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:246–47, 263. The following texts in the two miscellanies are probably declamations:  
*Bp*: (4) *Philippus rex Aristoteli salutem* (inc: Filium mihi genitum scito) (cf. Bertalot, *Studien*,

ened to unite Italy under a single ruler, an enlightened educator had his students imagine themselves confronted with a historical choice of acute contemporary relevance: how should Athens respond to Alexander? The speeches continued to be studied for stylistic and ideological reasons. Those of Demades and Demosthenes promoted ideals of liberty, but the letters of Pilate regrettably encouraged anti-Semitism.

In addition to basic compositional exercises, the miscellanies preserve evidence of advanced training in rhetoric as well. Manuscript *Tp* contains exordia and model letters that Gasparino Barzizza used to teach his students correct rhetorical technique. The same codex has a series of speeches written by Barzizza, who used them to illustrate the ways in which he himself applied the general principles of the art in determined historical circumstances.<sup>8</sup> Both codices have a group of orations closely associated with Guarino da Verona and written in the Veneto in the years from 1415 to 1425. The group includes the speech that Guarino gave to welcome Francesco Pisani as podestà of Verona, the funeral orations for Giorgio Loredan and Carlo Zeno delivered by Leonardo Giustiniani in Venice, and the commemorative eulogy for Manuel Chrysoloras that Andrea Giuliano gave at Venice. Giuliano and Giustiniani

2:247–48); (16–18) *Legati Scytarum ad Alexandrum regem oratio* (inc: Si Dii habitum corporis tui); (153–54) Anon., *Ep. to virgo nobilissima* (inc: Tullium Ciceronem Romanae virtutis); (155–58) Col. Salutati, *Declamatio Lucretiae* (Menestò, ed., *Coluccio Salutati editi e inediti*, 35–43); (158–59) Ps. Pontius Pilatus, *Ep. to Claudius* (inc: Nuper accidit quod et ipse probavi); (159) Ps. Pontius Pilatus, *Ep. to Tiberius* (inc: De Iesu Christo); (160) Ps. Avicenna, *Ep. to Aurelius Augustinus* (inc: Apparuiti compatriota noster).

*Tp*: (fol. 109r–v) Pietro Marcello?, short speeches of Demades and Demosthenes (ed. Remigio Sabbadini, “Pietro Marcello,” 241–42); (fol. 148) Ps. Plutarchus, *Ep. to Trajan* (inc: Modestiam tuam noveram) (cf. Bertalot, *Studien*, 2:248; and Helmut Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* [Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1966], 127, 260); (fols. 184–85) Ps. Cicero, <*Invectiva in Catilinam*> (inc: Non est tempus ocii) (cf. Agostino Sottili, *IMU* 18 [1975]: 52 [I codici del Petrarca, 724]).

The speech of the Scythian legates is also found in Brindisi Arcivescovile A/6 (*Iter* 1:38b, 5:514b–15a); Brussels Albert Ier II.1443 (*Iter* 3:122b–23a); Florence Ricc. 671 (a copy of the Brindisi manuscript); Gotha Chart. B.239 (*Iter* 3:398b–99a); London Add. 33382 Spanish translation (*Iter* 4:120a), Add. 40676 (*Iter* 4:122a); Paris Lat. 7868 (*Iter* 3:222b); and Toledo Cap. 13, 15 (*Iter* 4:640b). Further copies of the letter of Avicenna to Augustine are preserved in Berlin Magdeburg 13 (*Iter* 3:369a) and Munich Clm 28824 (*Iter* 3:625b).

<sup>8</sup> See Alfredo Galletti, *L'eloquenza: Dalle origini al XVI secolo*, Storia dei generi letterari italiani (Milan, 1904–38), 557–58; Gilles Gerard Meersseman, “La raccolta dell’umanista fiammingo Giovanni de Veris *De arte epistolandi*,” *IMU* 15 (1972): 215–81; Daniela Mazzuconi, “Per una sistemazione dell’epistolario di Gasparino Barzizza,” *IMU* 20 (1977): 183–84, 198–99; and G. W. Pigman, “Barzizza’s Studies of Cicero,” *Rinascimento*, n.s., 21 (1981): 123–33. At Padua in 1411, Barzizza dedicated his commentary on Seneca’s letters to Francesco Zabarella; see Letizia A. Panizza, “Gasparino Barzizza’s Commentaries on Seneca’s Letters,” *Traditio* 33 (1977): 308–13.

were prominent students at Guarino's school of rhetoric in Venice. Humanists therefore taught rhetoric not only on the basis of classical pedagogy and models but on the basis of their own speeches. They did so with an eye to ideological considerations; Giustiniani's oration for Carlo Zeno communicated a message sympathetic to the ideals of the Venetian patriciate. Though one of Venice's greatest war heroes, Zeno had obediently accepted the punishment of a year in prison after his conviction for accepting payment from a foreign prince. His submission to a system of justice blind to social privilege helped to maintain the "most serene environment" desired by the republic's aristocracy.<sup>9</sup>

Both codices (*Bp*, *Tp*) have a copy of the oration that Vergerio gave to celebrate the anniversary of Francesco Novello's return to power in Padua. As the first oration that Vergerio composed, it is one of the earliest examples of classicizing oratory from Renaissance Italy. One can therefore understand why educators wished that students of rhetoric copy the speech into their compendia. In a similar way, the panegyrics of Jerome included in the miscellanies broadened one's collection into the arena of preaching. Though the majority of orations in the two codices are epideictic, reflecting the general situation of oratory during the Italian Renaissance, there are also examples of deliberative orations pronounced on diplomatic embassies and sermons given in a liturgical context.<sup>10</sup> Having argued that students should be proficient in all three of

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<sup>9</sup> See Galletti, *L'eloquenza*, 561–62; and John M. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., and London: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1989), 88–91.

<sup>10</sup> The group of orations has the following order in the two codices:

*Bp*: (99–100) Guarino, *Oratio . . . in principio rhetoricae* (inc: Antequam ad hunc locum); (101–3) Guarino, *Laudatio . . . Francisci Pisani Veronensis praetoris . . . acta* (inc: Animadverti saepenumero magnifici viri) (cf. Agostino Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca*, 201); (104–12) <Leon. Giustiniani>, *Ad . . . Georgium Lauredanum funebris oratio*; (112–22) Leon. Giustiniani, . . . *Oratio habita in funere . . . Caroli Zeni . . .*; (122–31) Andr. Giuliano, . . . *Oratio in funere . . . Manuelis Chrysolorae habita . . .*; (131–33) Girolamo Dalle Valli, *Ad . . . Pasqualem Maripetrum . . . oratio pro universitate sua* (inc: Qui celsitudinem tuam his temporibus adeunt); (133–36) Bern. Giustiniani, *Oratio . . . habita ad . . . Pium secundum . . .* (inc: Sanctissime ac piissime pater cum devotissimi).

*Tp*: (fols. 68–69) Guarino, *Laudatio . . . Francisci Pisani Veronensis praetoris . . . acta*; (fols. 69–72) <Leon. Giustiniani>, *Ad . . . Georgium Lauredanum funebris oratio*; (fols. 72–77) Leon. Giustiniani, . . . *Oratio habita in funere . . . Caroli Zeni . . .*; (fols. 77v–81) Andr. Giuliano, . . . *Oratio in funere . . . Manuelis Chrysolorae habita . . .*

Codex *R* has a small sylloge of diplomatic orations, including that by Bernardo Giustiniani in *Bp*: (fols. 157–59) Bern. Giustiniani, . . . *Ad summum pontificem oratio dum fungeretur legatione ad serenissimum Ferdinandum Neapoli regem*; (fols. 159v–60) Ippolita Sforza, . . . *Oratio ad summum pontificem Pium*; (fol. 160) <Pius II>, *Responsum ex tempore*; (fols. 160v–61) Galeazzo Maria Sforza, . . . *Ad serenissimum principem Franciscum Fuscaram oratio* (cf. Agostino Sottili, *I codici del Petrarca*, 249).

the classical genres, Vergerio would be pleased to see a variety of model speeches in the miscellanies.

b. Vergerio's *Opera* (*B, C, E, MB, Pa, PM, R, Ra, T*)

The redactors of manuscripts who sought to collect Vergerio's *opera omnia* never succeeded in their quest; none of the manuscripts has the complete sylloge of ten panegyrics for Jerome. The group of four panegyrics that is preserved in the fourth part of manuscript *B* was put together at the beginning of the sixteenth century and subsequently bound with the huge group of letters collected by Vergerio's descendants, Pierpaolo di Vergerio and his son Paolo. Both father and son were notaries active in Capodistria in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The sylloge in *B*<sup>4</sup> consists of fragmentary versions of four of Vergerio's Jerome panegyrics together with two speeches that he gave in Rome in 1406 and a letter that Vergerio wrote to Salutati in the name of Pope Innocent VII. The homogeneous nature of this little collection, containing rather obscure texts of Vergerio regarding church affairs, suggests that the texts were originally found in Rome and sent back to Capodistria. In the early sixteenth century, Giovanni Andrea Vergerio came to Rome from Capodistria in search of lost works of Vergerio. Among those that he still had not located in 1509, he mentioned panegyrics of Saint Jerome and orations for resolving the schism.<sup>11</sup>

Leonardo Smith has proposed that the scribe of manuscript *C* worked in Capodistria at the end of the fifteenth century. That scribe indicated that he had access to autograph notes of Vergerio in three instances: the *De republica Veneta*, the *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae*, and *Ep. 27* written by Vergerio in 1391.<sup>12</sup> From those texts one can reconstruct elements of Vergerio's scholarly methods. On the basis of his reading and his examination of material evidence, Vergerio made a series of notes for the treatises on Venice and Capodistria. After further study, Vergerio went back to his notes and made additions and revisions in the margins. He never had the time or motivation to expand the notes into a prose text. In the case of the *De republica Veneta*, the scribe of manuscript *R* attempted to do that for Vergerio.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Epist.*, lvii–lx.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, xxxvii, xlvi–xlix.

<sup>13</sup> See David Robey and John Law, "The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta* of Pier Paolo Vergerio," *Rinascimento*, n.s., 15 (1975): 36–38.

Because Vergerio had offered various hypotheses regarding the etymology of *Iustinopolis*, his copyists did further research in historical sources to try and resolve the question. The scribe of C copied from the historian Iustinus a text that recounts the settling of the Colchians in Istria. The text almost certainly figured among Vergerio's papers, for it supports his preferred explanation and is associated with his incomplete treatise on Capodistria in three other manuscripts (*Bp*, *R*, *Pa*). The scribe of *R* added other excerpts on Capodistria and the Istrian peninsula, which he found in Pliny, Strabo, medieval chronicles of the region, and Flavio Biondo. Finally, three of the codices (*PM*, *R*, *Ra*) contain the text of an inscription that purportedly establishes a tie among the legendary voyage of the Argonauts, the emperor Justin II (565–578), and Iustinopolis. Vergerio had speculated that the city's Latin name may have derived from that emperor, though he personally found the association with the historian Iustinus more convincing. Scholars today judge the inscription to be a forgery of the Renaissance, created to fill in the historical record and enhance Capodistria's reputation.<sup>14</sup> There are grounds to suspect that the forgery was inspired by Vergerio's notes.

On 2 June 1507, Marsilio Papafava finished copying into manuscript *MB* Vergerio's biographies of the Carrara rulers of Padua. Papafava proved to be the first in a series of direct descendants of the Carrara, who collected Vergerio's works because Vergerio had narrated the historical deeds of their family. In that project, Marsilio had as his successors the abbot Roberto Papafava in the seventeenth century (*PM*) and Count Gian Roberto Papafava in the eighteenth century (*Pa*).<sup>15</sup> Ironically, neither of the later Papafava succeeded in publishing the edition of Vergerio's *opera* that both had projected. Instead, the manuscript written primarily by Marsilio Papafava, or a copy of that manuscript, served Ludovico Antonio Muratori when he prepared a collection of Vergerio's works for publication in the *RIS*. Muratori apparently engaged in a conscious subterfuge, claiming that he used a codex in the Estense library and thereby hiding the Paduan provenance of his manuscript and its connection to the Carrara.<sup>16</sup> By making copies of Vergerio's biogra-

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<sup>14</sup> Maria Pia Billanovich, "Bernardino Parenzano e le origini di Capodistria," *IMU* 14 (1971): 269–70.

<sup>15</sup> See *Epist.*, xl–xlii, xlv–xlvi, lxiv–lxviii; and Paolo Preto, "Pietro Ceoldo (1738–1813) tra ancien régime e rivoluzione," in *Contributi alla bibliografia storica della chiesa padovana 1*, *Fonti e ricerche 7* (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1976), 13–32.

<sup>16</sup> See *Epist.*, 490, 494 (Muratori's prefaces); and Anna Burlini Calapaj, "Tra polemica, erudizione, e storia: Scritti editi ed inediti di Adamo Pivati, parroco di S. Giuliana in

phies, the Carrara and Papafava kept alive their aspirations to regain political prominence. Of the thirty odd codices that conserve Vergerio's *De principibus Carrariensibus et eorum gestis liber*, more than half are now in libraries in Padua or Venice. The most famous copy is a luxury codex on parchment that contains portraits of the princes matched to Vergerio's biographies.<sup>17</sup> Vergerio himself believed that a verbal portrait that successfully renders the subject visible had the greatest potential to inspire the emulation of others.

Manuscript *MB* contains only one of Vergerio's panegyrics of Jerome, that delivered in Rome in 1406. Muratori decided not to print the work because he felt it had no bearing on his purpose, little that was original, and some things that were inaccurate.<sup>18</sup> Curiously, neither Roberto Papafava nor Gian Roberto Papafava found a copy of that sermon to add to their intended *opera omnia*. The oversight is especially surprising in the second instance, for a correspondent alerted Gian Roberto Papafava to the existence of another sermon that would complement the seven he had already found in codex *R*. Perhaps the count failed to find the sermon because the letter indicated only that the sermon was published in an incunabulum. Papafava may have searched in vain among the incunabular editions of Vergerio's works, not realizing that the sermon was actually published in the *opera* of Jerome. Manuscript *T* was copied from a codex in the library of Giacomo Zabarella in the seventeenth century. That manuscript, which Smith described as lost, is almost certainly codex *MB* or its exemplar.

Both manuscript *R*, now in Padua, and manuscript *Ra*, now in Venice, were transcribed late in the fifteenth century. The *R* codex opens with a letter from Pietro Dolfin (1444–1525), the abbot of San Michele di Murano, to Enrico Petronio, a doctor of law from Capodistria. The letter is dated 23 January 1480. Petronio was related to the Vergerio

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Padova," in *Contributi alla bibliografia storica della chiesa padovana 5* (1980–83), *Fonti e ricerche* 15 (Padua: Istituto per la Storia Ecclesiastica Padovana, 1983), 15–16.

<sup>17</sup> Cod. B.P. 158 of the Museo Civico in Padua. See further Vittorio Lazzarini, "Libri di Francesco Novello da Carrara," in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica*, Medioevo e umanesimo 6 (Venice, 1938; rev. ed., Padua: Antenore, 1969), 280–81; Giovanni Muzzioli, ed., *Mostra storica nazionale della miniatura* (Florence: Sansoni, <1954>), 164–65; and *Iter* 2:22a. On the surviving manuscripts of the biographies, see the comments of Attilio Gnesotto in *Petri Pauli Vergerii De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber* (Padua, 1925), ix–x, 125–27.

<sup>18</sup> Muratori is quoted by Smith, *Epist.*, 495: ". . . tum quod nulla ex parte ad institutum meum spectet, tum etiam quod nihil nisi vulgaria, eaque ne a fabulis quidem immunia, exhibeat."

family by marriage and had lent Dolfin a codex of the letters of Pierpaolo Vergerio. Dolfin had already acquired an active interest in Vergerio's work, for in 1462 he had lent his copy of the *De ingenuis moribus* to a relative of the same name, Pietro di Giorgio Dolfin (ca. 1427–1506).<sup>19</sup> The abbot asked Petronio if he might keep the codex of Vergerio's letters for a longer time in order to transcribe them. A codex presently preserved at Camaldoli but originally in the library of San Michele has a sylloge of Vergerio's letters which relate to Venetian matters. That manuscript was written in the eighteenth century and can only be a later copy of the letters selected by Dolfin.<sup>20</sup> In addition to Capodistria, the *R* codex had close associations with Padua. The manuscript has a note, which was purportedly copied from the Paduan communal archive before the burning of the Palazzo della Ragione in 1420. The note, a famous forgery often conjoined with an astrological table for the year 421, claims that the Paduan Senate sent out colonists to found a settlement at the Rialto in that year.<sup>21</sup> The document reflected patriotic sentiments among Paduans, who wished to liberate the city from Venetian control. Petronio studied law at the University of Padua, finishing his degree in 1479. Whether the work of Petronio or some other scribe, the codex is valuable for preserving three of the sermons on Jerome and a complete text of the short oration that Vergerio delivered at the papal court in August of 1406.

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<sup>19</sup> The copy of *De ingenuis moribus* made by Pietro di Giorgio is now Venice Marc. lat. VI.268 (3141); see Derolez, *Codicologie*, 2:152 (no. 1105). Venice Marc. lat. XIV.126 (4664), a *De ingenuis moribus* copied at Pirano in 1444, once belonged to the library of San Michele di Murano. Smith published the letter from Dolfin to Petronio in *Epist.*, xxxix. On the two Pietro Dolfin, see the articles of Raffaella Zaccaria in the *DBI* 40:562–71. The abbot Pietro transcribed Jerome's letters into BAV cod. Vat. lat. 13703. Luigi Pesce, *La chiesa di Treviso nel primo Quattrocento*, Italia sacra: Studi e documenti di storia ecclesiastica 37–39 (Rome: Herder, 1987), 1:207–8, discusses the contacts among Vergerio, Carlo Zeno, and Giacomo da Treviso. Giacomo served from 1393 to 1395 as vicar general to Leonardo Dolfin, bishop of Castello (Venice).

<sup>20</sup> Camaldoli cod. 1201, fols. 193–211v; see *Iter* 5:522b–23b. Smith, *Epist.*, xxxviii–xxxix n. 1, surmised that the manuscript was lost.

<sup>21</sup> See Vittorio Lazzarini, "Il preteso documento della fondazione di Venezia e la cronaca del medico Iacopo Dondi," in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica*, Medioevo e umanesimo 6 (Venice, 1938; rev. ed., Padua: Antenore, 1969), 107–11; Sante Bortolami, "Per la storia della storiografia comunale: il *Chronicon de potestatibus Paduae*," *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 105 (1975): 76–78; and Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1981), 70–72. Ronconi, "Lauro Palazzolo," 28, speaks of a student from Capodistria at the University of Padua by the name of Ericino Petroni; see further *Iter* 2:241a, 359a.



Between the years 1486 and 1502, Paolo Ramusio the elder (ca. 1443–1506) copied the texts into codex *Ra*. Ramusio was born in Rimini and studied at the University of Padua; he eventually settled in Venice and frequently served as an assessor for Venice in the cities of her empire. Ramusio also raised a family of distinguished humanists.<sup>22</sup> His collection of the works of Vergerio shared elements with other collections, but he managed to give it a personal stamp as well. Like other students, Ramusio coupled Vergerio's *opera* with selected works from the corpus of Petrarch. Likewise, Ramusio offered the forged inscription from Capodistria immediately after Vergerio's notes on the site of his hometown. A note informs the reader that, although the inscription was unknown to Vergerio, it confirms the thesis that the emperor Justin II had some relationship to Iustinopolis.<sup>23</sup> Ramusio's codex is unique for preserving an office for the feast of Jerome which Vergerio put together while studying canon law in Padua (1400–1405). The office differs in arrangement from others written in the late fourteenth and fifteenth century, though all of them build from a common stock of psalms, prayers, and readings.<sup>24</sup> Ramusio bridges the two worlds of those collecting rhetorical miscellanies and those collecting Vergerio's *opera*.

<sup>22</sup> Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 423–24.

<sup>23</sup> According to Smith, *Epist.*, xlv n. 1, Ramusio copied the inscription from cod. 21 of the Archivio Papafava in Padua.

<sup>24</sup> In addition to the one in Ramusio's codex, there are offices for the feast in Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. pat. lat. 70, fols. 87–91; BAV, cod. Vat. lat. 1205, fols. 59–61; and Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, cod. Car. C.144, fols. 131–55 (dated 1427). Because all of the offices begin with the same antiphon, they share a common incipit in the catalogs. The office in the Vatican manuscript has some relationship to the Hieronymite congregation of Blessed Pietro Gambacorta and was put together after Pietro's death in 1435. The Vatican manuscript is described in M.-H. Laurent, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 1135–1266* (Vatican City: BAV, 1958), 138–39. Information on the Oxford codex is available in Henry O. Coxe, *Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos Complectens*, part 3 of *Catologi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Oxford, 1854), 333–34; and Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta: La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de saint Jérôme*, *Instrumenta patristica* 4 (Steenbrugge, Belg.: in abbazia S. Petri, 1969–72), 3:653, 669, 688. The Oxford codex was written in *antiqua* by Francesco da Poppio (see fol. 91). Possessors' notes on fol. ii suggest a Florentine provenance: "Questo libro è di Giovan Batista d'Attaviano Doni." "Questo libro è di Piero di Simone del Nero comprato da Santi de le Volte il di [...] di gennaio 1580." On the office for Jerome composed by Pietro da Viterbo, OESA, at the behest of Giovanni d'Andrea, see Joseph Klapper, "Aus der Frühzeit des Humanismus: Dichtungen zu Ehren des heiligen Hieronymus," in Ernst Boehlich and Hans Heckel, eds., *Bausteine: Festschrift für Max Koch zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* (Breslau, 1926), 273–80.

### c. Jerome's *Opera* (*A*, *Ar*, *Br*, *Gn*, *Tr*, *Z*)

The final group of codices all have copies of the panegyric for Jerome, which Vergerio delivered at Rome in 1406. In every case, the sermon was copied from an incunabular edition of the works of Jerome. The six manuscripts testify once again to the fact that, in producing books, printing did not immediately replace handwriting. Between 1480 and 1483, Cardinal Giovanni of Aragon evidently decided to add a copy of Jerome's *opera* to his personal library, and he paid a talented scribe in Florence to make a handwritten copy of the works (*A*). The scribe in turn copied Jerome's letters and treatises from the edition published at Parma in 1480. The cardinal's luxury manuscripts, written in *antiqua* on high-quality parchment, better mirrored his status as the ecclesiastical notable of the ruling family of Naples. After Giovanni's sudden death in 1485, the two volumes passed to the Royal Library, where in 1495 they became part of the spoils of the French invasion of Italy. The codices passed from the Aragonese rulers of Naples to powerful French cardinals (Guillaume Briçonnet and Georges d'Amboise) and eventually to the French Royal Library.<sup>25</sup>

The Cambridge codex (*Gn*) is a similar case of luxury manuscript production for John Gunthorpe, dean of Wells Cathedral and former master of the Royal Palace in London. In its use of two columns and Gothic script, the codex testifies to the cultural lag between England and Italy. Unlike Giovanni of Aragon, the imperial counselor Jakob Spiegel (ca. 1483–1547) had a limited interest in manuscript books. Apparently while visiting Buda in 1514, he obtained a codex of Tacitus from the Corvinian Library, but he gave it to Beatus Rhenanus a few years later. Spiegel was a nephew of Jakob Wimpfeling, among the first of the German humanists to endorse Vergerio's approach to humanist education in the *De ingenuis moribus*. Spiegel himself collected a large number of theological works, and his favorite author was Erasmus. His once owning the codex of Jerome's works now in London (*Ar*) reflects the

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<sup>25</sup> On the edition printed at Parma, see Pietro Zorzanello, "La stampa nella provincia di Parma e Piacenza," in Domenico Fava, ed., *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia: Emilia e Romagna* (Milan, 1932), 538; and Luigi Balsamo, "Editoria e umanesimo a Parma fra Quattro e Cinquecento," in Paola Medioli Masotti, ed., *Parma e l'umanesimo italiano (Atti del convegno internazionale di studi umanistici, Parma, 20 ottobre 1984)*, Medioevo e umanesimo 60 (Padua: Antenore, 1986), 80. For the dispersion of the Royal Library at Naples, see Armando Petrucci, "Biblioteca, libri, scritture nella Napoli aragonese," in Guglielmo Cavallo, ed., *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale*, Biblioteca universale 250 (Bari: Laterza, 1989), 199–201; and Hankins, *Plato*, 1:96, 2:506, 710 (for the similar provenance of Paris lat. 6858).

interest of a follower of Erasmus in exegesis and the writings of the church fathers.<sup>26</sup>

Three other codices (*Br*, *Tr*, *Z*) are more modest efforts by individuals to assemble a useful collection of texts. An anonymous monk in the Benedictine scriptorium of San Faustino probably copied codex *Br*. In addition to the sermon on Jerome, the scribe chose to include a group of "praiseworthy sermons" by John Chrysostom that had recently been translated into Latin and published at Rome. The entire collection reflects emphases in the evolving spirituality of the monastery through contact with humanist textual activities, and it served the monk primarily as an aid to preaching. The Trier manuscript (*Tr*), copied outside Italy in a Gothic script typical of southern Germany and Austria, once belonged to the library of the Windesheim congregation at the Augustinian convent attached to the pilgrimage church of Eberhard. If copied at the monastery, the choice of texts, featuring writings related to Jerome, enlightens us on the reform spirituality of the congregation toward the end of the fifteenth century. The manuscript from the library of Cardinal Zelada (*Z*), now preserved in Toledo, had its origins in Martignano, in the province of Bergamo. The scribe of the first texts in the codex, Romelius Gualenus de Solto, earned his living as the teacher in a grammar school. He used the early folios of his manuscript for poetic texts by a local humanist named Pamphylus Moratus.<sup>27</sup> The collection probably served the master in his efforts to teach Latin grammar.

All of the scribes of those manuscripts had access to Vergerio's sermon on Jerome from 1406 because the sermon was used as a biographical supplement in the first edition of Jerome's works published at Rome

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<sup>26</sup> See Otto Herding, ed., *Jakob Wimpfeling's "Adolescentia,"* Jacobi Wimpfelingi opera selecta 1 (Munich: W. Fink, 1965), 85–95; Eugenio Garin, *L'educazione in Europa (1400–1600): Problemi e programmi* (2d ed., Bari: Laterza, 1966), 185; Karl Heinz Burmeister, "Die Bibliothek des Jakob Spiegel," in Fritz Krafft and Dieter Wutke, eds., *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, Kommission für Humanismusforschung, Mitteilung 4 (Boppard: H. Boldt, 1977), 166–71, 180–82; and John F. D'Amico, *Theory and Practice in Renaissance Textual Criticism: Beatus Rhenanus Between Conjecture and History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: Univ. of California Press, 1988), 115–16.

<sup>27</sup> Further manuscripts with works of Moratus are cataloged in *Iter* 2:204b–5a (Udine Comunale F.P. 2686), 2:248a (Venice Marc. lat. XIV.214 [4674]), 2:359a (BAV Vat. lat. 3164), and 4:623b–24a (Seville 7–1–49). The Toledo codex has the *Epistulae Magni Turci* translated by Laudivio Zacchia da Vezzano Ligure. Zacchia also wrote a *Vita Beati Hieronymi* (Rome: J. Gensberg, ca. 1474), IGI 5700. Cod. Clm 18527b of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich has a sermon on Jerome copied in 1483 (fols. 146v–53), which quotes Vergerio's *Sermo 8* at length from the opening words. Variants indicate that the author used the copy of Vergerio's sermon included in the works of Jerome published at Rome in 1470.

in 1468. The complicated effort to print an *opera omnia* started with Teodoro De Lellis, the bishop of Treviso. Before his death in 1466, De Lellis had collected Jerome's letters and organized them into three general groups.<sup>28</sup> The editorial project then passed to the humanist Giannandrea Bussi. Given Bussi's familiarity with classical and patristic manuscripts, he regularly collaborated with the first Roman printers. When the Germans Sweynheym and Pannartz decided to publish an edition of Jerome's works, they enlisted Bussi's help. Bussi found his task simplified by the materials that Teodoro De Lellis had already gathered. Using that collection as a basis, Bussi then consulted Theodore Gaza on problems of textual transmission and possible emendation. The printing of Jerome's works engaged a group of humanist scholars in Rome during the pontificate of Paul II (1464–1471). The first run numbered two hundred and seventy-five copies, and a second printing in 1470 sold for the rather economical price of five ducats for each of two volumes.<sup>29</sup>

Circumstantial evidence suggests that Giannandrea Bussi and his associates made the decision to include Vergerio's panegyric in the introductory material.<sup>30</sup> First, the only manuscripts of Jerome's works from the

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<sup>28</sup> On Teodoro De Lellis, see Augusto Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso nel secolo decimoquinto*, *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, ser. 3, tom. 3 (Venice, 1912), 40–42; Luigi Alpagò-Novello, "Teodoro de' Lelli vescovo di Feltre (1462–64) e di Treviso (1464–66)," *Archivio veneto* 66 (1936): 238–56; Rodolfo Dell'Osta, *Un teologo del potere papale e suoi rapporti col cardinalato nel secolo XV ossia Teodoro de' Lelli vescovo di Feltre e Treviso (1427–1466)* (Belluno: S. Benetta, 1948); Pesce, *La chiesa di Treviso*, 1:365, 605, 2:7; and Diego Quaglioni, "De Lellis, Teodoro," *DBI* 36:506–9. Teodoro's father, Simone De Lellis da Teramo (ca. 1383/88–d. by Aug. 1458), studied under Francesco Zabarella at the University of Padua. On Simone's career, see Myriam Billanovich, "Francesco Colonna, *Il Polifilo*, e la famiglia Lelli," *IMU* 19 (1976): 421–24; Walter Brandmüller, "Simon de Lellis de Teramo: Ein Konsistorialadvokat auf den Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel," *Annuario Historiae Conciliorum* 12 (1980): 229–55; and Paolo Cherubini, "De Lellis, Simone," *DBI* 36:504–6. Codex *Tp*, described above, has the only literary work presently attributed to Simone (fol. 54v: *Oratio vel epistola . . . in compatrem . . . Guedonem de Francia*). However, Brandmüller, "Simon de Lellis," 259, has challenged the attribution.

<sup>29</sup> Hieronymus, *Tractatus et epistolae*, ed. Giannandrea Bussi, Hain 8551; *BMC* 4:5; *IGI* 4733. For Bussi's activity, see Sergio Samek Ludovici, "Sweynheym, Pannartz, e Giovanni Andrea Bussi," *Beiträge zur Inkunabelkunde*, ser. 3, 4 (1969): 162–64; Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*, *Temi e testi* 26 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), 105–11; Massimo Miglio, "Bussi, Giovanni Andrea," *DBI* 15:568–69; Miglio's comments in *Prefazioni alle edizioni di Sweynheym e Pannartz prototipografi romani*, *Documenti sulle arti del libro* 12 (Milan: Il Polifilo, 1978), xvii–xxxv; and Eugene Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985), 121–22. Miglio published the prefaces to vol. 1 (*ibid.*, 3–5) and vol. 2 (*ibid.*, 5–11) of the 1468 edition.

<sup>30</sup> An edition of Jerome's works published at Rome around 1468 claims to reproduce the text that De Lellis prepared, and it has Vergerio's sermon on Jerome. That does not

fifteenth century which contain Vergerio's panegyric are those copied from the various printed editions that had the speech. For example, none of the approximately thirty codices of Jerome's works copied in the fifteenth century and now preserved in the various fondi of the Vatican Library has Vergerio's sermon. In a few cases, the codices do have a biographical introduction such as the life of Jerome that Giovanni d'Andrea wrote for his *Hieronymianus*. Thus, even though the practice of appending a biography to a collection of Jerome's works was not unknown, no editor prior to Bussi chose Vergerio's panegyric as the appropriate text.<sup>31</sup> Secondly, among the Vatican codices, there is a two-volume set of Jerome's works that originally belonged to Teodoro De Lellis (Vat. lat. 343 and 344). The letters of Jerome are preceded by the index that De Lellis had prepared; he distributed the letters under the headings of faith, Scripture, and morality. In the second volume, immediately after the last of Jerome's writings, the manuscript has a biography of Jerome written by Nicolò Maniacoria in the twelfth century and two of the letters on Jerome's miracles written by a forger in the fourteenth century. Moreover, the two volumes have annotations and collations in a hand other than that of De Lellis. The codices appear to be the ones that Bussi and his associates used as the basis for their edition, but they did not find Vergerio's sermon there.<sup>32</sup>

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necessarily mean that De Lellis himself chose to include Vergerio's sermon. The edition is *Aristeas de septuaginta interpretibus*, translatio Latina Mathias Palmerius; Hieronymus, *Epistolae* <Rome: Sixtus Riessinger, ca. 1468 >, Hain 8550; *BMC* 4:27; *IGI* 4734; *IERS* 6. Vergerio's sermon is found in vol. 1, fols. 368–69v.

<sup>31</sup> Late manuscripts of Jerome's *opera* in the BAV include: Barb. lat. 568, 569; Pal. lat. 1262; Regin. lat. 326; Urb. lat. 51; and Vat. lat. 342, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 357, 358 (with the biography of Giovanni d'Andrea), 359, 362, 363, 364, 365, 367 (with the biography from the *Legenda aurea*), 368, 4321, 7604, 8124, 8559, 9256. Vat. lat. 348, 349, 358, and 362 are included in Derolez, *Codicologie*, 2:141 (no. 1007, 1008, 1009, 1010).

<sup>32</sup> Vat. lat. 343 and 344 are described in the BAV catalog prepared by Marco Vattaso and Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vaticani Latini: Codices 1–678* (Vatican City, 1902), 248–54. According to Massimo Miglio and Concetta Bianca, the hand of the scholar who conducted the collation of De Lellis's manuscript is not that of Bussi. The following codices all belonged to the library of De Lellis: BAV Ottob. lat. 749, Vat. lat. 216, 343, 344, 345, 434, 535, 546, 619, 795, 797, 976, 1905, 2107, 4520; and Venice Zan. lat. 345 (1650). In addition to the printed catalogs of the Vatican library, see also Marco Vattaso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Studi e testi 20 (Vatican City, 1908), 37–38; José Ruyschaert, "Recherche des deux bibliothèques romaines Maffei des XVe et XVIe siècles," *La Bibliofilia* 60 (1958): 330–31; Ruyschaert, "Le miniaturiste 'romain' de l'*Opus* de Michele Carara," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969): 216–19; Concetta Bianca, "La formazione della biblioteca latina del Bessarione," in C. Bianca et al., eds., *Aspetti e problemi*, vol. 1 of *Scrittura, biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Littera antiqua 1.1 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica, e Archivistica, 1980), 158–59; and Bianca, "La

Thirdly, the text of Vergerio's panegyric on Jerome, as it is preserved in the Bussi edition, has a brief series of emendations made to polish its Latin style. Bussi liked to confer with other scholars about textual matters; he discussed the Jerome edition with Theodore Gaza, who had already worked on a text of Vergerio. Gaza and Niccolò Sagundino had helped to revise Vergerio's Latin translation of the works of Arrian. In the course of that project, Sagundino had expressed his disdain for the pedestrian quality of Vergerio's version.<sup>33</sup> A scholar like Gaza, therefore, may have been prone to see a need to emend the text of Vergerio's sermon. Most importantly, the content points to Bussi. Because Vergerio depicts Jerome as exemplifying the value of humanist studies for a Christian intellectual, his portrait better harmonizes with the scholarly priorities of Bussi and his circle. In fact, those Roman humanists may have consciously selected Vergerio's panegyric as a subtle warning to Paul II, who was then quarreling with his humanist secretaries.

The friction between pope and humanists directly involved Teodoro De Lellis too. De Lellis had moved up in the church hierarchy by exploiting his Venetian connections at the papal court and by refining his skills as a defender of papal primacy.<sup>34</sup> In 1451, he wrote a short treatise against the Pragmatic Sanction, and, ten years later, he composed a letter in the name of Pius II to endorse Gregor Heimburg's condemnation for heresy. In 1464, De Lellis came to the aid of Paul II when he censured any attempt by the cardinals to limit papal sovereignty. De Lellis argued that, were the pope bound by electoral capitulations, he would find himself as powerless as Venice's Doge, the symbolic prince

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biblioteca romana di Niccolò Cusano," in Massimo Miglio, with P. Farenga and A. Modigliani, eds., *Scrittura, biblioteche, e stampa a Roma nel Quattrocento* 2, *Littera antiqua* 3 (Vatican City: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica, e Archivistica, 1983), 693–94. De Lellis also prepared a table of contents for his codex of Gregory the Great (Vat. lat. 619). Among the curiosities of his library are his employing a left-handed scribe named Egbertus Noet (Vat. lat. 976 and 4520) and his purchasing Vat. lat. 2107 from the Roman baker Albertus Prent, to whom Cardinal Antonio Cerdá y Lascos left the codex in his will.

<sup>33</sup> Gaza's collaboration with Bussi is discussed by Massimo Miglio, "Bussi," *DBI* 15:568–69. Philip A. Stadter, "Arrianus, Flavius," *CTC* 3:7–8, pointed out Sagundino's disparaging remarks about Vergerio's translation.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., Alpagò-Novello, "Teodoro de' Lelli," 238–46; Dell'Osta, *Un teologo*, 23–96; Hubert Jedin, *Der Kampf um das Konzil*, vol. 1 of *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient* (2d ed., Freiburg: Herder, 1951), 56, 67–68; Arthur J. Dunston, "Pope Paul II and the Humanists," *Journal of Religious History* 7, no. 4 (1973): 292–94, 298–303, 306; John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation*, Studies in Historical and Political Science, ser. 101, no. 1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1983), 92–97; and Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana Univ. Press, 1985), 8–9.

par excellence. In his polemical works, De Lellis appealed to the thought of Jerome, whom he cited as an apologist for the supreme authority of the pope.

Therefore, when Paul II found himself under attack by the humanists, he naturally turned to Teodoro De Lellis for assistance. The Venetian pope had almost immediately antagonized his humanist employees when he reorganized the Roman Curia in 1464 and eliminated many of the posts that they had filled in the College of Abbreviators. The humanist Bartolomeo dei Sacchi, better known as Platina, bitterly resented a papal decision that left himself and many humanist colleagues without work. Platina's insulting invective against Paul II earned him a hearing where he was interrogated by Teodoro De Lellis. When Platina defended his positions and threatened to appeal to a church council, De Lellis threw him into prison. Released in January of 1465 through the mediation of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, Platina found himself back in a cell of Castel Sant'Angelo in February of 1468, when Paul II accused the members of the Roman Academy of plotting against his life.

The editors and printers of the Roman press issued the edition of Jerome's works at a moment when the papal court and humanists were in less than perfect harmony. The message of Vergerio's panegyric, included in the first Roman editions of Jerome's *opera*, countered the hard line taken by Paul II and De Lellis. The panegyric comprised a call for humanism in the service of the ecclesiastical community; humanist studies would prepare a learned clergy capable of reforming moral corruption by living exemplary lives. Attempts to condemn those studies for being pagan comprised myopic bigotry on the part of church authorities. Bussi may have found a copy of Vergerio's panegyric in Rome, given that Vergerio had delivered it there. And Cardinal Gonzaga, Platina's major Roman defender, may have advised him in that choice. In 1462, six years before Bussi's edition, Gonzaga had copied in his own hand another of Vergerio's panegyrics for Jerome.<sup>35</sup>

Whatever the reasons, the decision assured wide circulation for that panegyric of Vergerio. In the eighteenth century, it was reprinted in the

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<sup>35</sup> See Alessandro Luzio and Rodolfo Renier, "Il Platina e i Gonzaga," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 13 (1889): 433-34; Alpago-Novello, "Teodoro de' Lelli," 240-42; D. S. Chambers, "Il Platina e il Cardinale Francesco Gonzaga," in Augusto Campana and Paola Meldioli Masotti, eds., *Bartolomeo Sacchi il Platina: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi per il V Centenario (Cremona, 14-15 novembre 1981)*, Medioevo e umanesimo 62 (Padua: Antenore, 1986), 10-12, 15-16; and the description of the Naples manuscript in Part II above.

folio edition of Jerome's works edited by Domenico Vallarsi, and it migrated from there into Migne's *Patrologia Latina*. Even some editors who did not include the panegyric still seem affected by its content. Erasmus prefaced a masterful biography of the saint to his edition of the letters and treatises for Froben in 1516; the general spirit of Erasmus's life, admittedly a more subtle piece of historical interpretation, mirrored the reformist tone of Vergerio's panegyric.<sup>36</sup> The trail of Vergerio's works leads to other churchmen who embraced his call for devotion to Jerome. Pietro da Montagnana, a parish priest who taught Latin grammar in Padua from 1423 until his retirement in 1477, once had in his possession the only extensive autograph folios of Vergerio still known today. During his long years of teaching, Pietro also copied ninety-five letters of Jerome in his distinctive Semigothic script and became fluent in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, the three languages that Vergerio adduced to demonstrate that Jerome had become a proficient philologist.<sup>37</sup> Ioannes Vitez (ca. 1408–72), bishop of Nagy-Várad and later of Esztergom,

<sup>36</sup> Froben published the edition of Jerome's works in nine volumes in 1516. On Erasmus's editorial contribution and his biography of Jerome, see Joseph Coppens, "Le portrait de saint Jérôme d'après Erasme," in J.-C. Margolin, ed., *Colloquia Erasmiiana Turonensia, De Pétrarque à Descartes* 24 (Paris: J. Vrin, 1972), 2:821–28; John B. Maguire, "Erasmus' Biographical Masterpiece: *Hieronymi Stridonensis Vita*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 26 (1973): 265–73; John Olin, "Erasmus and the Church Fathers," in *Six Essays on Erasmus and a Translation of Erasmus' Letter to Carondelet, 1523* (New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1979), 33–47; Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 116–36; and Anna Morisi Guerra, "La leggenda di San Girolamo: Temi e problemi tra umanesimo e controriforma," *Clio* 23 (1987): 22–28. Mariano Vittori prepared an edition of Jerome's letters that was published at Rome in 1565, and he prefaced to it a biography, which portrayed Jerome as a champion of counter-reform. See Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 154–56; and Morisi Guerra, "La leggenda," 28–33. Vallarsi's first edition was printed at Verona between 1734 and 1742. The *Patrologia Latina* reproduced his second edition, which was published at Venice between 1766 and 1772.

<sup>37</sup> On the career of Pietro da Montagnana, see Giuliano Tamani, "Catalogo dei manoscritti ebraici della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia," *La Bibliofilia* 74 (1972): 254–63; Tamani, "Pietro da Montagnana studioso e traduttore di testi ebraici," *IMU* 16 (1973): 349–58; Albinia de la Mare, K. Marshall, and R. H. Rouse, "Pietro da Montagnana and the Text of Aulus Gellius in Paris B.N. Lat. 13038," *Scriptorium* 30, no. 2 (1976): 219–25; Silvio Bernardinello, "Gli studi propedeutici di greco del grammatico padovano Pietro da Montagnana," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 9–10 (1976–77): 103–28; and Bernardinello, "La *Consolatio* coisliniana di Boezio: Le glosse e la biblioteca di Pietro da Montagnana," *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia patavina di scienze, lettere, ed arti: Memorie della classe di scienze morali, lettere, ed arti*, n.s., 93, no. 3 (1980–81): 29–52. Montagnana's manuscript of Jerome's works is Venice Marc. lat. III.35 (2502). Simone Vosich da Montona descended from a noble Istrian family and held church offices in Hungary, Rome, and Padua. While in Padua, Simone built a burial chapel for his family and dedicated it to Jerome in 1467. Six years later, Simone was named bishop of Capodistria; see Mario Botter, "Nobili istriani in Treviso: La famiglia da Montona," *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 58, n.s., 6 (1958): 114–18.



inherited a number of Vergerio's books and his love for humanism. In the prologue of his *Epistolario*, completed in 1451, Vitez noted that Jerome had often cited Virgil, Horace, and Terence in his letters. He further argued that erudite Christians should follow Jerome's example by writing prose according to the model of Cicero.<sup>38</sup>

The most effective way to diffuse Vergerio's portrait of Jerome continued to be the printed editions of the saint's writings, which scholars and churchmen bought for their libraries. In the sixteenth century, as Vergerio would have hoped, one owner proved to be among the few tolerant voices of that militant era. A copy of the edition of Jerome's works published in Rome around 1468 and now preserved in the Biblioteca Casanatense has marginalia and emphases by Marcello Cervini, Pope Marcellus II (1555). While studying Vergerio's panegyric, Cervini underlined the passages on Jerome's trial before the heavenly tribunal and his departure from Rome when his election as pope seemed assured. In the second case, Cervini added a marginal note to remind himself that "Jerome withdrew from the city and repudiated the pomp of a secular ruler."<sup>39</sup> Cervini caught the precise emphasis that Vergerio would have wished and gave future generations still another reason to remember him as "good Pope Marcellus."

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<sup>38</sup> See Ioannes Vitez de Zredna, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. Iván Boronkai, Bibliotheca scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, n.s., 3 (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1980), 31 (*Ep.* 1); and Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz, Studia humanitatis: Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgruppe für Renaissanceforschung* 6 (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1984), 20–28.

<sup>39</sup> "Hieronymus recessit ab urbe et renuntiavit pompis saeculi." The edition has the shelfmark Casanatense Vol. Inc. 707. A note by Antonio Cervini indicates that the marginalia and emphases were written by Marcellus II ("Postilla quae habentur in hoc et secundo volumine sunt ex proprio characterе Marcelli II ex attestatione illustrissimi et reverendissimi D.D. Antonii Cervini . . ."). See further Stanley Morison, "Marcello Cervini, Pope Marcellus II: Bibliography's Patron Saint," *IMU* 5 (1962): 303–4, 314–17; and William V. Hudon, *Marcello Cervini and Ecclesiastical Government in Tridentine Italy* (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1992), 20, 39–42, 58–59. Morison, "Marcello Cervini," 308, discusses Cervini's plan to print a polyglot Bible that would be "nothing less than a critical revision."



# PART IV

## Editorial Matters



## CHAPTER 7

# Criteria for the Edition

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- a. The minimal quantity of autograph material by Pierpaolo Vergerio makes it impossible to reconstruct Vergerio's Latin orthography.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, I have standardized the orthography of the texts according to the norms in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Modern standards have been used for punctuation and capitalization as well.
  - b. Professional scribes were employed for the copying of codices *A* and *V*. In the majority of cases, however, Vergerio's texts were copied by persons familiar with humanist Latin. That means that most of the codices offer the possibility of editorial intervention by literate copyists.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Epist.*, lxxiv–lxxviii; and Atilio Gnesotto, “Breve ritorno a due insigni rappresentanti del primo umanesimo italoico,” *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere, ed arti in Padova*, n.s., 53 (1936–37): 129–35.

<sup>2</sup> See the debate over the possible interventions by Paolo Ramusio the elder in codex *Ra*. Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, xlv–xlv (“... la sua imperizia ed il malvezzo di introdurre nel testo delle modificazioni ed inter-/polazioni affatto arbitrarie, privano *Ra* di pressochè ogni valore per la ricostruzione dell’Epistolario”); Theodor E. Mommsen, *Petrarch’s Testament* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Univ. Press, 1957), 53 (“Ramusio’s text in particular contains some evident interpolations”); and Alessandro Perosa, “Per una nuova edizione del *Paulus* del Vergerio,” in Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti, eds., *L’umanesimo in Istria*, *Civiltà veneziana: Studi* 38 (Florence: Olschki, 1983), 296–98, all saw Ramusio as polishing and editorializing. Vittorio Rossi, review of *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. Leonardo Smith, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 108 (1936): 315–16; and Sergio Cella, “Il *Paulus*,” *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 66, n.s., 14 (1966): 45–103, tend to give precedence to Ramusio’s readings. In the case of *Sermo* 9 below, I judge that Ramusio made over thirty obvious errors and approximately twenty unnecessary editorial changes, which render his version the least reliable. The changes include four transpositions

- c. I have used angular brackets < > to indicate letters, words, or passages that I have added to the text on the belief that something was omitted in the course of transmission. I have used square brackets [ ] to indicate editorial deletions from the transmitted text. In the notes, square brackets enclosing dots or a numeral indicate a blank space of that many letters in a given manuscript.
- d. Because no sylloge has all ten of the sermons, the relationship among the manuscripts must be explained case by case.

*Sermones 1-3:* *Pa* is a copy of *R*. Therefore, the edition is based upon the text in *R*. *Pa* has only been taken into consideration for possibly accurate emendation and for correcting scribal errors.

*Sermo 4:* *Bp* and *R* share two omissions (notes s and qq), a single addition at note l (*et*), and two transpositions. They therefore form a separate family from *C* and *B*. *R* has three further transpositions and gives an abbreviated version of the quotation from Jerome. *B* is a copy of *C* or *C*'s exemplar with minor editorial changes.<sup>3</sup> *PM*, *Pa*, and the text published by Salmaso are copies based upon one or more existing manuscripts. The edition is based upon  $\beta$  (*Bp*, *R*) + *C*.

*Sermo 5:* *V* is the only complete text of the sermon. *N* and *Tp*, despite being fragmentary, have portions of the sermon found only in *V*.<sup>4</sup> The scribe of *C* also knew of a fuller redaction than the one he was copying, for he left space in the manuscript at the precise point

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and revisions like *maiore* for *more*; *est* for *esse*; *magis* for *maius*; *reddere* for *reddendae*; *correctus* for *correctus*; *tante diem suum* for *ante hominem suum*. In two instances (*et Haethiopicae* for *Aethiopissae*, *placere* for *placeret*), I believe that Ramusio attempted to emend the text correctly.

<sup>3</sup> There are one instance in which *B* omits a word found in all the other manuscripts (note f) and two instances where *B* makes an addition (notes oo and uu). In the case of *C*'s omission at note xx, the scribe of *B* interpolated *concedat* where the  $\beta$  manuscripts have the correct reading *praestet*. *R* has five editorial changes, three of which are transpositions found in no other manuscript (notes i, m [double tr.], w). At note hh, the scribe of *C* indicates that he collated the reading in this sermon with that in a later sermon. He did the same thing in *Sermo 5* (see n. 5 below).

<sup>4</sup> Within the group of three manuscripts (*V*, *N*, *Tp*), *N* is a copy of *V* or *V*'s exemplar. When writing *N*, Gonzaga made three omissions (notes e, hh of seven words, ii), one addition, and five transpositions. The material common to *V* and *Tp* indicates that they are of independent derivation. There are eight omissions in *Tp* (notes c, m, n, q, qq, ss of several words, jjj, ll) and one addition, whereas there are two omissions in *V* (notes rr of several words, ggg).

where his copy was deficient.<sup>5</sup> The edition is based upon *V*. Manuscripts *C* and *Tp* are used for possibly accurate emendation and for correcting scribal errors.

*Sermo 6*: The omissions in *C* at notes *q* and *ii* and the space left at note *cc* prove that *R* is not a copy of *C*. Likewise, the omissions in *R* at notes *w* and *xx* and the space left at note *ee* prove that *C* is not a copy of *R*. The fragmentary text in *B* is again a copy of *C* or *C*'s exemplar. *PM*, *Pa*, and the text published by Salmaso are copies based upon one or more existing manuscripts. The edition is based upon *C* and *R*.

*Sermo 7*: *B* contains only a fragment of the text but is important for preserving several lines lost in *R* due to a jump from *Constantinopolitani* to *Constantinopoli* (note *s*).<sup>6</sup> *PM*, *Pa*, and the text published by Salmaso are copies of existing manuscripts. The edition is based upon *R*, which is supplemented by *B* where necessary.

*Sermo 8*: the significant variants establish two families,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ .  $\beta$  consists of codices *Bp*, *Tp*, *S*, together with the text printed in the editions of Jerome's *opera* (1-10, *Vall*, *PL*) and thence copied by scribes into codices *A*, *Ar*, *Br*, *Gn*, *Tr*, *Z*.<sup>7</sup> The printed texts betray probable

<sup>5</sup> *C* is the fullest and most accurate version of a group of manuscripts that also includes *B*, *E*, *R*. *B* is the shortest version; it shares a common addition with *E* and *R* (*vestras* at note *i*) but omits *ne* where those two do not (note *h*) and does not omit *fidem* (note *j*) where those two do. *E* and *R* share a common omission (note *j*), but *E* also omits *libenter* (note *dd*) where *R* does not, while *R* omits *vestris* (note *aa*) where *E* does not. *C* and *R* have two common omissions (notes *aaaa*, *zzzz*); there are six further omissions in *R* not found in *C* (notes *eee*, *iii*, *ttt*, *xxx*, *vvvv*, *bbbb*) and one further omission in *C* not found in *R* (note *eee*). All four manuscripts have a common variant at note *k* (*et* for *in*) and make similar transpositions at notes *d* and *g* (where the scribe of *B* may also have collated a manuscript from the other group). There is a single transposition at note *t* that is common to these four manuscripts and to *N*, *Tp*. For the second time, the scribe of *C* collates the wording in this sermon with that used in a later sermon (note *uuuu*).

<sup>6</sup> In the material common to both manuscripts, there is also one omission in *R* at note *t*, and there are two omissions in *B* at notes *k* and *r*.

<sup>7</sup> Based upon significant common variants, the following relationships may be posited between the printed editions and the manuscripts copied from them:

a. *Br* was copied from the first Roman edition of 1468 (*I*). The same is probably true for *Ar* and *Z*. The common variants are: *cuus*] *eius* (except *Z*); *recte*] *eum* *add.*; *oneris*] *honoris* (*oneris ex honoris corr. Ar Z*); *quidem*] *qui*; *illius*] *illis*; *cuipiam*] *cupiam* (except *Ar*); *quod ipsum*] *quidem ipsum* (*quid enim Z*). At note *ee*, *Ar* has an omission found in no other exemplar. Beginning about halfway through the sermon, the scribe of *Ar* gives readings that differ from the printed edition: *ista vulgo*] *illa vulgo*; *huiusmodi*] *huiusce*; *iidem et*] *iidemque et*; *ductorum*] *doctorum*; *utroque*] *utrosque*; *vivorum doctorum*] *virorum doctorum*.

b. *Tr* was copied from the edition published at Venice in 1476 (*S*). They make a common addition to the text at note *pp*.

interventions by the editors (Giannandrea Bussi and his associates).<sup>8</sup> *S* is a copy of *Tp* or *Tp*'s exemplar; they share three omissions, while *S* has fifteen further omissions, one totaling twelve words.<sup>9</sup> *Tp*, in all likelihood, is a copy of *Bp* or *Bp*'s exemplar. There is a single omission common to all the exemplars of  $\beta$  (*et* at note *s*).  $\gamma$  consists of codices *C*, *MB*, *T*, all of which add an *in* at note *eeee*. *T* is a copy of *MB* or *MB*'s exemplar; they share three omissions, while *T* has two further omissions.<sup>10</sup> The edition is based upon  $\beta$  (*Bp*, *I*) and  $\gamma$  (*C*, *MB*).

*Sermo* 9: the significant variants establish two families,  $\beta$  (*S*, *Tp*) and  $\gamma$  (*C*, *Ra*). When compared to  $\gamma$ , the  $\beta$  manuscripts betray seven common omissions and five common transpositions.<sup>11</sup> Within  $\beta$ , *S* has eight further omissions and one addition not found in any other manuscript, whereas *Tp* has two such omissions and one transposition.<sup>12</sup> Within  $\gamma$ , *C* has one omission and two blank spaces not

c. *A* and *Gn* were copied from the edition published at Parma in 1480 (6). They share a common omission at note *nnnn*.

d. Omissions in the texts published at Rome ca. 1468 (2) and from 1476 to 1479 (4) are not found in any of the codices. The omissions are at note *vv* for 2 and at note *ll* for 4.

<sup>8</sup> There are five omissions common to the printed texts and the manuscripts copied from them (notes *w*, *ddd*, *fff*, *kkk*, *zzz*). The same texts share the following significant variants: *perpetua*] *propria*; *non delectatur*] *non delectari*; *viventi*] *viventis*; *conservanda augmentandaque*] *et servanda et augmentanda*; *qualisqualis sit*] *qualiscumque sit*; *me*] *non add.*; *incensam*] *intensam* (*imm- ex int- corr. Tr*); *huiusmodi*] *huiusmodi*; *quidem*] *quaedam*; *admirabilisque*] *excellantiae eum add.*; *vices gerent et doctorum*] *vires gerent et doctorum* (*doctorum Ar*); *quippe*] *bellum add.* (*quippe malum 4 quidem bellum A*); *horridam monachis habitationem praestabat*] *horridum monachis habitaculum praestabat* (*praestabat habitaculum Z*); *utrosque*] *utroque* (*utros- Ar*); *viros interpretatione linguarum ad eruditionem adiuvens*] *varia interpretatione linguarum vivorum doctorum eruditionem adiuvens* (*virorum doctorum eruditionem adiuvens Ar*); *ipsa*] *ipse*; *deterretet*] *deterret*; *per omnia saecula* (*et cetera*)] *in saecula saeculorum Amen*. In one case (at note *rr*), I believe that the printed text offers a correct emendation of *nonne*. Because *Tp* and the printed editions share an omission at note *hhhh*, the Roman printers, in all likelihood, had a copy of the sermon that derived from the same exemplar as that for *Tp*.

<sup>9</sup> The omissions common to *Tp* and *S* are found at notes *p* (blank space in *Tp*), *eee*, *hhhh*. The further omissions unique to *S* are found at notes *e*, *n*, *r*, *t*, *v*, *y*, *dd*, *hh*, *ppp*, *ttt*, *aaaa* (twelve words), *ffff*, *gggg*, *iiii*, *jjjj*. At note *m*, *Tp* alone omits an *in*.

<sup>10</sup> The omissions common to *MB* and *T* are found at notes *kk*, *www*, *llll*. They also make an addition to the text at note *dddd*. At note *hhhh*, *MB* and *T* omit an *et*, as do most of the exemplars in  $\beta$  (see n. 8 above).

<sup>11</sup> The common omissions are found at notes *i*, *gg*, *llll*, *pppp*, *vvvv*, *www*, *rrrr*. In one instance (note *llll*), where the scribe jumped from *incendia* to *inedia*, the omission shared by *S* and *Tp* consists of eighteen words.

<sup>12</sup> The omissions found only in *S* occur at notes *g*, *h*, *t*, *jj*, *ss*, *zzz*, *nnnn*, *mmmm*, and the addition is found at note *qqq* (*etiam*). The omissions found only in *Tp* occur at notes *oooo* and *ssss*.



found in any other manuscript, whereas *Ra* has four omissions, one blank space, and numerous editorial changes not found in the other codices.<sup>13</sup> *Tp* and *Ra* share a common title. The edition is based upon  $\beta$  (*S*, *Tp*) and  $\gamma$  (*C*, *Ra*).

*Sermo 10*: a fragment preserved only in *C*.

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<sup>13</sup> There is an omission in *C* alone at note *sss*, blank spaces at notes *eee* and *iiii*, and an addition at note *qqqq* (*et*). *Ra* is the only codex with omissions at notes *nn* (*quae*), *ppp*, *vvv* (four words), *ssss* and a blank space at note *hhh*. *S* and *Ra* both omit *et* at note *nnn*.

## CHAPTER 8

# Vergerio's Sources

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- a. In examining Vergerio's use of sources in the *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber*, Roberto Cessi and Carmela Marchente documented his habit of compiling data from previous authors.<sup>1</sup> Vergerio focused upon ethical considerations, and his mind tended to work synthetically. In composing the panegyrics for Jerome, Vergerio had at his disposition the great compilation of material that Giovanni d'Andrea had assembled (*Hieronymianus*). The clearest indications that Vergerio used the *Hieronymianus* are found in *Sermo 3* (the ludicrous story of the woman's dress), *Sermo 5* (the comments about Gregory the Great), *Sermo 6* (the identification of Stridon with Sdregna), and *Sermo 7* (the summary account of the miracle of the two travelers).
- b. Vergerio's use of the *Hieronymianus* makes it difficult to judge the ultimate source of some of his quotations. For example, the proverb first recorded in the letter of Ps. Augustinus, the analysis of the etymology of Jerome from Iacopo da Varazze's *Legenda aurea*, and the

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<sup>1</sup> See Roberto Cessi, "Prefazione," in *Gesta magnifica domus Carrariensis, RIS*, n.s., 17.1.2:xxv-xxxiv (esp. xxvii: "Poichè il componimento vergeriano è un testo composito, privo di ogni originalità storica, se non letteraria, è naturale che l'autore segua le sue fonti con troppa povertà critica, cui non suppliscono i commenti morali, con i quali tenta invano collegare gli avvenimenti e dare una apparente unità organica al racconto"); and Carmela Marchente, *Ricerche intorno al "De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber" attribuito a Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore*, Università di Padova: Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia 23 (Padua: CEDAM, 1946), 11-37 (esp. 23: "Anche in questa rassegna, il metodo, a cui l'autore si attiene per l'uso di ciascuna delle sue fonti, non appare disforme da quello rilevato nella prefazione, cogliendo dalle varie lezioni parallele un elemento ora dall'una, ora dall'altra per formare un nuovo periodo").

- mistaken assertion in the *Legenda aurea* that everyone considered Jerome worthy to succeed Pope Liberius are all included in the compendium of Giovanni d'Andrea.
- c. Vergerio frequently quoted three key passages from Jerome's *Epistolae*: *Ep.* 22.7, *Ep.* 22.30, and *Ep.* 45.3. All three quotations were traditionally cited in the previous biographies of Jerome. In the case of *Ep.* 22.7, which Vergerio cited in eight of his ten sermons, there are only two slight variants from the text of the critical edition. The first involves the possible interpolation from *Ep.* 22.1 of *Aethiopissae* for *Aethiopicae*. The second involves a transposition of *habituaculum praestabat* to *praestabat/praestat habituaculum*. Neither would permit a precise identification of a single manuscript or a manuscript family that Vergerio may have used.
  - d. I believe that Vergerio consulted the *Epistolae* of Jerome directly rather than cited them from an intermediate source like the *Hieronymianus*. In *Sermo 1* and *Sermo 9*, he admitted to quoting a passage from the *Epistolae*, which he has apparently reworded slightly in keeping with his penchant to improve the literary expression of his sources. Other allusions to obscure passages from the *Epistolae* confirm Vergerio's decision, stated explicitly in *Sermo 10*, to return to the original source.
  - e. There are instances of a more critical approach to the sources than may be apparent in Vergerio's biographies of the Carrara. Because the sources gave differing ages for Jerome's death, Vergerio simply affirmed that Jerome had reached the age of ninety when he died. The information ultimately derives from the *Epitoma chronicae* of Prosper of Aquitaine (ca. 390–ca. 463).<sup>2</sup> In a first attempt to discuss the etymology of *Hieronymus*, Vergerio relied upon Iacopo da Varazze, whom he then reinterpreted in order to underline the scholarly character of Jerome's activities. Once Vergerio had learned Greek, he derived the correct etymology. Finally, Vergerio expressed his skepticism that Jerome's town of Stridon should be identified with Sdregna in Istria, as Giovanni d'Andrea had claimed.
  - f. In a subtle tribute to Jerome, Vergerio at times used language derived from the Vulgate (e.g., *coaeuus*, *conforto*, *congaudeo*, *demereo*, *gehenna*, *operationes*, *superexresco*, *supersemino*, and *saeculum* in a negative

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<sup>2</sup> Alberto Vaccari, "Le antiche vite di S. Girolamo," in *Miscellanea Geronimiana: Scritti varii publicati nel XV centenario della morte di San Girolamo* (Rome, 1920), 4.

- sense). Moreover, he used key imagery from the Bible and the Divine Office (e.g., the sower and the seed, the wheat and the chaff, *messis, pignus futurae gloriae*), especially when speaking to an audience of monks.
- g. In terms of Latin style, the sermons have, on the whole, an experimental quality. They are not masterpieces of classicizing style, though that is clearly the intent. The style improves in the two sermons delivered before the papal court in 1406 (*Sermo 8*) and 1408 (*Sermo 9*). In *Sermo 2*, Vergerio uses the figure of speech known as anadiplosis (*aut ingenio studuit aut studio lavoravit aut labore profecit*), and he more than once employs paralepsis when treating Jerome's miracles. Among the more obvious errors are Italianizations like *veniebat suffocanda, veniunt praedicanda*.<sup>3</sup>
- h. The errors in Vergerio's version of the miracle of the two travelers in *Sermo 7* may indicate that he cited the story from memory rather than directly from the written source.

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<sup>3</sup> For comments on Vergerio's style in the *Epistolario*, see Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, lxxxiv–lxxxv; and Marcello Zicàri, “Il più antico codice di lettere di P. Paolo Vergerio il vecchio,” *Studia Oliveriana* 2 (1954): 52–53 n. 1, 56–57 n. 1. Both authors found the strongest traces of classical *cursus* in the letters that Vergerio reworked, though Zicàri felt that those resonances could still be fortuitous.

## CHAPTER 9

# Sigla

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<i>A</i>	Parisinus latinus 1890 Ioan. Aragonensis
<i>Ar</i>	Londiniensis Arondellianus Bibl. Britannicae 304
<i>B</i>	Venetus Marcianus latinus XI.56 (3827) Brunaccii
<i>Bp</i>	Patavinus B.P. 1223
<i>Br</i>	Brixianus L.III.30
<i>C</i>	Oxoniensis Bodleianus miscellaneus 166 Canonici
<i>E</i>	Mutinensis latinus 186 Estensis
<i>Gn</i>	Cantabrigiensis Dd.VII.1 Gunthorpi
<i>MB</i>	Mediolanensis Braidensis AC.XII.22 Papafavae
<i>N</i>	Neapolitanus IX.F.62 Gonzagae
<i>Pa</i>	Patavinus B.P. 1203 Papafavae
<i>PM</i>	Venetus Marcianus latinus XIV.210 (2955) Papafavae et Morelli
<i>R</i>	Patavinus B.P. 1287 Patrum Reformatorum
<i>Ra</i>	Venetus Marcianus latinus XIV.254 (4535) Ramusii
<i>S</i>	Sandanielensis 144 Guarnerii de Arthenia
<i>T</i>	Tarvisinus 5
<i>Tp</i>	Tarvisinus I.177 Cathedralis Ecclesiae Capituli
<i>Tr</i>	Treverensis 788/1372
<i>V</i>	Venetus Marcianus latinus XIV.239 (4500)
<i>Z</i>	Toletanus 102, 17 Zeladae

- 1 *Editio princeps* Hieronymus, *S. Tractatus et epistolae* <Rome, 1468>
- 2 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* <Rome, ca. 1468>
- 3 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* <Rome, 1470>
- 4 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* (Rome, 1476-79)

- 5 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* (Venice, 1476)  
 6 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* <Parma, 1480>  
 7 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* (Venice, 1488)  
 8 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae* (Venice, 1490)  
 9 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae*. Lope de Olmedo, *Regula monachorum ex epistolis Hieronymi excerpta* (<Venice>, 1496)  
 10 Hieronymus, *S. Epistolae*. Lope de Olmedo, *Regula monachorum ex epistolis Hieronymi excerpta* (Venice, 1496)  
*Vall* Domenico Vallarsi, ed. *S. Eusebii Hieronymi ... Opera* (Verona, 1734–42)  
*Sal* Dominic Salmaso, ed. *Petri Pauli Vergerii Senioris De Divo Hieronymo opuscula ...* (Padua, 1767)  
*PL* J.-P. Migne, ed. *S. Eusebii Hieronymi ... Opera omnia* (Paris, 1845–46)

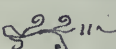
Π Reading common to printed editions and codd. *A Ar Br Gn Tr Z*

<i>add.</i>	scribal addition
<i>add. et del.</i>	scribal addition that is crossed out
<i>add. et expung.</i>	scribal addition that is expunged
<i>ex al. litt. corr.</i>	scribal correction where original letters indecipherable
<i>ex corr.</i>	scribal correction in the text
<i>ex corr. in marg.</i>	scribal correction in the margin of the text
<i>ex corr. interl.</i>	scribal correction in the space between the lines
<i>in marg.</i>	scribal addition in the margin of the text
<i>in ras.</i>	scribal correction over an erasure
<i>interl.</i>	scribal addition in the space between the lines
<i>om.</i>	scribal omission
<i>scripsi</i>	editor's proposed emendation



Antonella da Messina, "St. Jerome in His Study."  
London, The National Gallery.  
With the permission of The National Gallery.

Agnatis uti generis Ignominia delictum In  
 Carere unum necesse est. Mortis qz genus  
 Idem subijt a uod Induce alius destinaret.  
 Iacobini uxor Magnifica Guidonis de Gonzaga  
 filia, cum puulo nato a uo Iacobum appella  
 uerit Ad patrem remanentia est: Ipse uero cum  
 hodie traditur ac uario qz patrimonium regem di  
 uertis In uis qz acut committat eandem uirum  
 finit: cum nichil illi deceret parte uadum  
 di liberatem: puulo uirum sep moris communi  
 ne cum Francisco principatum gerit.

Annis In custodia uisit: Suis Maionibus uti  
 gie parum simili: Coepere siquidem remu  
 cent: nato uoluit: ne proterito. Aspexit no Sa  
 tis Robusto. In uice moris Scilicet obijt. Cum  
 Annus Habuit . . . . . Isep ut uia uirum  
 Inuenit. In Inuit moriens nulla qz cum pompa  
 sepultus est:  Paulus uiscent:

Hoc sumpsit ego Mandatum papatorum a quadrato  
 Geomica uirum. In qua no uent abia. Inuit  
 Familie: uice abioqz dnoqz pader. et ut Inpositi  
 firmi die meruaj. 2. Junij. M. cccc. vii.  
 In Vigilia Eucharistie:

10  
 Inuenit uirum

Milan, Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, cod. AC.XII.22, fol. 84.

Autograph subscription of Marsilio Papafava.

With the permission of the Library and  
the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali-Italy.





celebratorem, tunc autem bonis illud regedi. Sicut, sequit' utique  
 fides, virtus dicitur, No fuit in facis aut inuocata. et virtus  
 quae de mltis vitijs erant hinc agrestes hinc q' mag' nor illi  
 mi extrema et in hanc aut potestati capi aut fieri substructione. et  
 cum ut mai' p'p' ut virtute detruisset, videtur, quare multo vultura  
 et p'p'ia virtute. In aut vitijs, et sumi dicitur et sternit mltos  
 i bar onera p'p' obisti, tunc mltis arte impende alijs aut ipse  
 ardua p'p'itate, sed in tuo dicta ita et p'p'ia virtutis virtute  
 parata fuit. fucisti itaq' dicitur, illis in claps, p'p'ia repisti namq'  
 p'p'ia p'p'ia. mase virtute reposita. Non renouatur memoria nec  
 ana p'p'ia et p'p'ia, et p'p'ia virtutis, virtute, et abm p'p'ia re  
 p'p'ia: p'p'ia, frequens recordare mltis in laude. dicitur virtute, cele  
 bratur, que hinc virtutes tibi monumenta adstruunt, famae obisq'  
 futuris, cui memoria sempiterna vale.

Epistola - Ma-  
 rca -  
 in Bibl. Scip. p. 137. et  
 per. 238

Praefationem omni forma et forma memorie. d. P. P. Ramusij  
 Praefationem primo orationibus in honore S. Hieronymi Senti  
 q' ipm scribit. 1608.

Quotiens p'p'ia parces. fuit q' Ramusij hinc aduocata reddendi memoria  
 p'p'ia anno memorie de laudib' Sati Hieronymi. Eund' ipse natale eius die  
 fari solet. Semp' mihi singulis annis virtute memur esse Saluando  
 mltisq' p'p'ia posse. quid debeat. No p'p'ia mltis quoniam virtute. va-  
 quo p'p'ia fuit detruere: virtute fuit semp' mltis est: quid virtute. S. g' magis  
 p'p'ia et virtute ipm virtute p'p'ia est, et facultates mee q' fuit p'p'ia  
 virtute: Nam qd ego in me dicitur, qui nec omis qd hinc, qui mag'  
 fuit, aut virtute fuit fuit p'p'ia virtute. ad hinc Sati magis  
 laudandus, Sine q' ipm est eius virtute, qd p'p'ia est magis meo  
 negat: Sine q' virtute est mea mea virtute virtute in virtute ad id  
 humanitas virtute opinio posse virtute. hinc quidem virtute est meo  
 virtute magis semp' in virtute virtute. nec in virtute aliquid  
 magis, aut melius qd ei p'p'ia virtute, aut qd ante ipm virtute  
 mihi virtute in virtute, et p'p'ia reddere virtute virtute. Et nec  
 id quibus quo Sati dei humana virtute laude, qui ipm omis virtute  
 virtute virtute, virtute fuit, Sine virtute laudando virtute virtute  
 virtute, qd virtute in virtute. Et si aliquis ut ad laudandam

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fol. 33.  
 Autograph of Paolo Ramusio the elder.  
 With the permission of the Library and  
 the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali-Italy.



Oxford, Bodleian Library, cod. Rawl. G.47, fol. 51.  
Historiated initial with a portrait of Pierpaolo Vergerio the elder.  
With the permission of the Library.



## PART V

Pierpaolo Vergerio,  
*Sermones decem pro Sancto Hieronymo*

## *Sermo 1 pro Sancto Hieronymo*<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts: Pa, part 1, 211–12; R, fols. 35–36.*

**R**everend<issim> i patres fratresque carissimi, etsi magna semper cum delectatione animi munus hoc praestare soleo, qui singulis annis glorioso doctori<sup>b</sup> Beato Hieronymo in die dicatae ei<sup>c</sup> sollemnitatis sermonem de laudibus eius facere consuevi, numquam tamen memini me antehac alacriore animo ad<sup>d</sup> hoc venisse quam<sup>e</sup> nunc, cum in vestro conventu dicturus sum vobisque<sup>f</sup> audientibus qui imitatores vitae illius estis et pars<sup>g</sup> quaedam messis antiquae eius bonaeque culturae. Moveor etiam vestro studio vestroque desiderio quos scio de eo libenter audituros, cuius vitae sanctimoniam libenter imitamini. Excitat enim dicentis ingenium auditorum intentus affectus, nec possumus nisi iucunde dicere quod scimus libenter audiri.

Hunc autem diem vobis praecipue celeberrimum esse decet, qui per observantiam religionis monasticam vitam agitis. Ceteri nam Christianae fidei doctores communes sunt omnibus, Hieronymus vero proprius peculiarisque est monachorum. Nam et ipse monachus fuit et monachorum pater, et nunc etiam mortuus doctor est monachorum ac vester

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<sup>a</sup> Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Oratio pro Sancto Hieronymo R. Oratio III pro Sancto Hieronymo Pa

<sup>b</sup> doctori ex doctoris corr. R

<sup>c</sup> scripsi: sibi R. suae Pa

<sup>d</sup> ad] q- add. et del. R

<sup>e</sup> scripsi: quod R Pa

<sup>f</sup> scripsi: verbisque R Pa

<sup>g</sup> [ . . . . . ] Pa

## *Sermon 1 for Saint Jerome*

**M**ost reverend fathers and most beloved brothers, I am in the habit of delivering a sermon each year in praise of the glorious doctor, Blessed Jerome. It is my way of marking the day of solemnity consecrated to him. Although I am always accustomed to discharge this duty with great delight in my soul, I nevertheless cannot recall an occasion when I have approached it with greater enthusiasm than I do at this moment. For I am about to speak to your assembly and address listeners who are imitators of the life of that man and comprise just a part of what he began to harvest long ago through sound training. I am also moved by your eagerness and your longing; I have no doubt that you will choose to listen to a sermon about an individual whose blessed life you have chosen to imitate. Strong feelings of sympathy on the part of the audience always prompt a speaker to do his best, and no audience will be disposed to hear what we have to say if we cannot find an enjoyable way to express it.

This day, however, ought to be especially festive for you, seeing that you conduct your lives according to a monastic rule of piety. The other doctors of the Christian faith are a common legacy shared by all believers, but Jerome is actually a doctor who belongs in a special way to monks. As a matter of fact, he himself was a monk and a father to his monks, and even now, after his death, he is an instructor for every

praecipue, religiosi ac sancti viri, quibus quemadmodum Benedictus auctor fuit regulae, ita Hieronymus exemplorum. Vitas enim patrum scripsit qui tunc in monasteriis eremoque versabantur, et quae de sanctis viris vidit aut audivit in illa sua per Aegyptum peregrinatione cuncta descripsit. Complures ferme tunc essent monachi quam nunc Christiani. Erant enim urbes plenae monachis quibus nunc monasteria ipsa sunt vacua, nec erant etiam tunc tam multi quam multo magis boni; nunc autem maliciae peius est initium quam paucitatis. Illa autem lectione quid delectabilius ad legendum, quid commodius ad instruendum, quid fructuosius ad aedificandum, quae semper est vobis in manibus? Itaque cum ea < m > legitis, illum auditis, illos videtis; quos si in miraculis et virtutibus faciendis imitari non licet, at in caritate et bonis operibus nemini negatur.

Hieronymus autem, quasi in se proprium nihil haberet quod imitari quis posset, aliena scribebat quae ceteri possent imitari; quorum et ipse imitatione, dum crescit merito factus est summus, et quos humiliter sectabatur<sup>h</sup> gloriose praegressus est. Factus est enim iustissimus, dum se semper existimat peccatorem, evenitque de ipso quod de alio ipsemet scribit,<sup>i</sup> quod, dum se pauperem semper ad discendum credit, ad docen-

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<sup>h</sup> sactebatur? R

<sup>i</sup> scribit] r- interl. R



monk and especially for you, pious and holy men. As Benedict was the source of your rule, so Jerome was the source of your examples. For Jerome wrote the lives of the fathers who in his day were dwelling in monasteries or in the desert, and he described everything he saw and heard about those holy men during his pilgrimage through Egypt.<sup>1</sup> I am almost of a mind to say that the number of monks in those days was far greater than the number of Christians in our own day. Back then, there were entire cities of monks whereas now the monasteries are almost empty. And it was not only a question of vast numbers in those days, but the monks were by and large much better persons; in our day, however, the onset of immorality gives cause for greater concern than does the scarcity. And yet what gives greater enjoyment for your reading, what supplies greater assistance for your instruction, what produces greater cause for your edification than Jerome's narrative, which you always have in your possession? Therefore, when you read that account, you hear Jerome and you see those holy men. If you are not allowed to imitate those monks by performing miracles and achieving heroic virtue, at least you are all allowed to imitate them by practicing charity and doing good deeds.

Nonetheless, Jerome acted as if he had nothing of his own that someone else might imitate; he wrote about matters that others accomplished and everyone thereafter might imitate. By emulating the example of those men, he himself deservedly came to be ranked among the greatest monks as he grew older, and he eventually surpassed in renown those whom he followed in humility. For Jerome was made most just while he always looked upon himself as a sinner,<sup>2</sup> and what he himself wrote about another happened to him as well. I refer to the fact that he

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.34–37 (CSEL 54:196–202). As an endorsement for the monastic life, Jerome wrote the *Vita Sancti Pauli*, *Vita Sancti Hilarionis*, and *Vita Malchi*. See *Clavis*, 140 (no. 617–19); J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome: His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (New York et al.: Harper & Row, 1975), 60–61, 170–74; and Philip Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), 133–39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Marc. 2:17; Rom. 3:23–24; Gal. 2:17.

dum locupletissimum se fecit. Ecce enim dum Romae ex suis meritis atque virtutibus dignus ab omnibus summo<sup>j</sup> sacerdotio creditur, ipse se dignum credidit qui in eremum iret ad sua peccata deflenda; dumque<sup>k</sup> doctissimus ab omnibus et haberetur et diceretur, tunc demum Gregorio Nazianzeno se tradidit in disciplinam. Ex quibus factum est ut non tam summo pontificatu, ad quem etiam indigni pervenire possunt, quam regno caelorum, quo nullus pertingit indignus, se dignissimum redderet, et qui, si aliis forsitan de se credidisset, auctor plurimis fuisset erroris, humiliter de se sentiens, doctor factus est veritatis, eo praestante qui vivit et regnat per infinita saecula benedictus. τελλως < sic >

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<sup>j</sup> scripsi: suo R Pa

<sup>k</sup> dumque] -que ex quae? corr. R

made himself richly endowed to teach because he always thought of himself as poorly endowed to learn.<sup>3</sup> Here is my evidence: while everyone else in Rome felt that Jerome was most worthy of the supreme pontificate because of his virtuous deeds,<sup>4</sup> he felt that he was only worthy of retiring to the desert in order to deplore his many sins. At a point in Jerome's career when he was universally considered most learned and openly described as such, he gave himself over to Gregory of Nazianzus for further instruction.<sup>5</sup> It all meant that he did not render himself most worthy of the supreme pontificate, to which heights even the unworthy are able to climb. Rather, he rendered himself most worthy of that kingdom of heaven, into which no one who is unworthy will ever enter. If by chance Jerome had let himself believe what others were saying about him, he would have become a source of error for a great many people. But because he looked upon himself with genuine humility, he was made a doctor of truth, through the intercession of the one who lives and reigns as blessed for ever and ever. The end.

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<sup>3</sup> The precise reference is uncertain. Vergerio cites the same phrase in *Sermo* 9: "... cumque doctor plane ab omnibus haberetur denuo coepit esse discipulus, ac more Platonis, cum semper se ad addiscendum pauperem credidit, ad docendum se fecit locupletem." In *Ep.* 53.1, Jerome described Plato's journeys for the sake of further learning (CSEL 54:443: "... ut, qui Athenis magister erat et potens cuiusque doctrina Academiae gymnasia personabant, fieret peregrinus atque discipulus, malens aliena verecunde discere quam sua aliis impudenter ingerere"). Jerome often quoted the Socratic aphorism "Scio quod nescio"; see, e.g., *Contra Rufinum* 1.17 (CCL 79:15) and *Comm. in Abdiam Proph.* Prol. (CCL 76:350). Cf. also *Ep.* 66.9 (CSEL 54:658: "... nec temeritate quorundam docere, quod nescias, sed ante discere, quod docturus es") and *Ep.* 127.7 (CSEL 56:151: "... ut et in ipso, quod docebat, se discipulam fateretur").

<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 45.3 (CSEL 54:325). Jerome's affirmation is frequently cited in the biographies. Cf. Anon., "Vita Sancti Hieronymi (inc: Hieronymus noster)," *PL* 22:178; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 16.18 (Duoai, 1624, 623a); Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea vulgo historia Lombardica dicta. Ad optimorum librorum fidem*, edited by Johann Georg Theodor Grässe (2d ed., Leipzig, 1850), 654; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 17.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 50.1, 52.8 (CSEL 54:389, 429); *Comm. in Isaiam* 3.6.1 (CCL 73:84); *Contra Rufinum* 1.13 (CCL 79:12); *De viris illustribus* 117 (*PL* 23:747). Gregory of Nazianzus (329-89) was summoned to Constantinople in 379 and briefly served as bishop of the city in 381.

## *Sermo 2 pro Sancto Hieronymo*<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts: Pa, part 1, 212–15; R, fols. 36v–38v.*

**A**gite, fratres carissimi, diem hunc natalem sancti doctoris Hieronymi devota laetitia, laetaque cum devotione celebremus, ut eius merita gloriose pieque recolentes<sup>b</sup> in terris, propitiae propitium mereamur in caelis habere patronum. Indiget namque nostrae fragilitatis conditio talibus semper praesidiis muniri, ut, quae per se subsistere firma non potest, sanctorum electorum Dei et ope sustentetur ne cadat et adiumento confortetur ut proficiat. Accedit ad haec quod, dum virtutem alienam recensendo probamus, magis ipsi ad imitationem probitatis accendimur, et quod miramur in aliis hoc ipso nos mirandos videri studemus. Hinc veteri more proponuntur clarorum virorum imagines, describuntur gesta, et benefacta memorantur ut aemulatione virtutis studiosa posteritas assequi quos probat nitatur.

Hodie autem proponitur nobis magnum sive doctrinae, sive religionis, sive virtutis ac sanctitatis exemplum: sanctus doctor Hieronymus, cuius doctrina mirabilis, religio sancta ac immaculata, virtus vero vitae

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<sup>a</sup> Eiusdem Pro eodem R. Oratio IV pro Sancto Hieronymo Pa

<sup>b</sup> recolentes] re- interl. R

## Sermon 2 for Saint Jerome

May you mark this birthday of the holy doctor Jerome with dedicated rejoicing, most cherished brothers, and let us together celebrate it with joyful dedication, so that, by recalling with devout pride his merits on earth, we may by grace deserve to have a gracious patron in heaven. As a matter of fact, the weakness of our human condition always has need of the protection of such defenses. Because we find it difficult to stand up on our own, we are supported by the aid of the elect saints of God so that we do not fall; because we are weak, we are strengthened by their assistance so that we can move forward. I can think of another service to add to this list. At the same time that we call to mind the virtue of someone else and give it our stamp of approval, we ourselves are greatly inflamed to imitate such probity; we give our best effort to become an object of admiration because we possess the very quality that we admire in someone else. Consequently, in keeping with ancient custom, we display the images of distinguished men, we describe their deeds, and we recall their services in order that men of succeeding generations zealously strive to emulate the virtue and follow the path of those whom they esteem.<sup>1</sup>

Today, however, we have before us an exemplar who stands out from the crowd whether he is ranked on the basis of learning or piety or virtue and holiness. I refer to the holy doctor Jerome, whose learning was extraordinary, whose piety holy and blameless, whose virtue truly

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Ovidius Naso *Pont.* 4.2.35–36; C. Sallustius Crispus *Jug.* 4.5–6; and Hieronymus *Ep.* 24.1 (CSEL 54:214).

excellentissima fuit. De cuius laudibus, cum dicere multa vellem, ne pauca quidem mihi attingere posse videor. Tantus se virtutum cumulus ac paene infinitus acervus offert meritorum ut, quantum facilitas incohendi ad dicendum promovet, desperatio finis tantum retardet; immo, cum facilius sit ubique desinere quam in dicendo longius progredi, exordium orationi dare difficillimum est, cum inter tam multas magnasque viri laudes unde initium cum delectu sumatur non facile inveniri quis possit?

Quid ergo? Congaudere magis possumus quam digne laudare, congaudere, inquam, cum de meritis vitae, tum de praemiis gloriae. Magnum iudicatur in terris vicisse regna, occupasse imperium, devictis hostibus triumphasse, et terrenam gloriam plausu populorum et favoribus quaesisse mundanis. At quanto maior<sup>c</sup> est triumphus regna possidere caelestia, aeternum parasse imperium mundo calcato, et immarcescibilem gloriam iusto Dei iudicio quaesivisse! Quae quidem hodie sancto doctori Hieronymo<sup>d</sup> repetitis morum periodis obtigerunt. Congaudeamus ergo illi de gloria ut meritorum participes esse valeamus. Reddamus honorem ut preces pro nobis fundat apud Deum.

Nam si natales hominum dies celebrare gentilitas<sup>e</sup> caeca solebat, quibus erant in hanc vitam adducti<sup>f</sup> miseriarum et omnis angustiae plenam, quanto nos magis vera fide illuminati sanctorum Dei festa colere debemus, quibus in vitam mortis <in> noxiam, calamitatis ignaram, omnisque adversitatis immunem translati sunt! Praecipue vero post apostolos

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<sup>c</sup> maior ex magis corr. interl. R

<sup>d</sup> doctori Hieronymo ex Hieronymo doctori corr. R

<sup>e</sup> gentilitas ex antiquitas corr. in marg. R

<sup>f</sup> scripsi: additi R Pa

outstanding throughout his life. Although I would like to say many things about his claims to distinction, I have the impression that I will only be able to touch upon a few of them. So enormous an assortment of virtues and an almost infinite multitude of merits present themselves that the ease of beginning your speech spurs you on to the same extent that the hopelessness of finishing it holds you back. Now the opposite holds as well. Whereas it is rather easy to stop speaking at some point rather than continue on at greater length, it is extremely difficult to formulate an exordium for an oration when you find yourself in the midst of such compelling motives to praise the man. Who could possibly claim that in such a case it is easy to find a topic from which he could begin his speech and feel a sense of satisfaction?

Where does that leave us? We have a greater capacity to rejoice with one another for Jerome than we do to praise him worthily—to rejoice together, I say, for the merits of his life and in a special way for the reward of his glory. It is usually considered a great accomplishment to have conquered kingdoms on earth, to have seized power, to have won a triumph for defeating the enemy, and to have pursued the glory that is attained here by granting worldly favors in exchange for the acclaim of various peoples. But how much greater a triumph it is to possess heavenly kingdoms, to have prepared dominion for eternity by treading the world under foot, and to have pursued the unfading glory that is attained only through the just judgment of God! Those things certainly have occurred on this day for the holy doctor Jerome, as you can confirm by reviewing the patterns of his ethical conduct. Let us therefore rejoice together with Jerome for his glory so that we may be able to participate in his merits. Let us render him homage so that he may pour out prayers before God on our behalf.

For if blind antiquity was accustomed to celebrate the birthday of human beings,<sup>2</sup> the day on which they were conducted into this miserable life where needs of every sort abound, how much the more should we who are illumined by true faith treasure the feast-day of God's saints, the day on which they are conveyed into a life free from death, safe from catastrophe, and immune from all adversity! Holy Mother Church

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. P. Terentius Afer *Ph.* 48; M. Tullius Cicero *Fin.* 2.31.101; P. Ovidius Naso *Tr.* 3.13.2, 5.5.1; C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus *Ep.* 6.30.1; and M. Valerius Martialis *Epigrammata* 8.64.14.

Christi summo studio doctorum suorum natalia colere debet<sup>e</sup> sancta mater ecclesia quae illorum praedicationibus fundata, horum doctrinis adornata est, atque ut ab illis instituta, ita ab iis Deo auctore defensa. Illi Christo loquente acceperunt quod crederent, ii Spiritu Sancto inspirante hauserunt quod docerent. Illi verbum Dei seminarunt,<sup>h</sup> ii iam natum coluerunt et superexcrecentes errores paenitus extirpare<sup>i</sup> studuerunt. Quid enim proderat uberem fidei segetem in agro dominico germinare, si malis gramminibus suffocanda veniebat,<sup>j</sup> cum initio ex orientis ecclesiis<sup>k</sup> diabolo seminante zizania novi cottidie generis haereses pullularent?

Inter ceteros vero fidei sanctae doctores non minime omnium Hieronymus aut ingenio studuit aut studio laboravit aut labore profecit. Totum enim ferme quod in ecclesia Dei legitur ipsius labor est, aut ordinando aliena, aut extranea<sup>l</sup> interpretando, aut propria certe condendo. Hinc Psalterium<sup>m</sup> distraxit in partes, et divinum officium per hebdomadam ordinavit. Totum veteris novique testamenti corpus in Latinam vertit orationem, et prophetas et quaecumque<sup>n</sup> in sacris litteris aut obscura erant aut dubia diffusis commentariis cottidianisque homeliis explanavit. Libros edidit complures, multas gravesque materias per tractatus explicavit, sermones et epistolas magno numero fecit. In omni ferme oratione adversus invidos suos et haereticos Catholicae fidei repugnantes nunc

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<sup>e</sup> debet ex debemus corr. interl. R

<sup>h</sup> seminarunt] q- add. et del. R

<sup>i</sup> extirpare ex exst- corr. R

<sup>j</sup> veniebat ex veniebant corr. R

<sup>k</sup> scripsi: ecclesias R Pa

<sup>l</sup> scripsi: extrema R Pa

<sup>m</sup> scripsi: Psalmista R Pa

<sup>n</sup> quaecumque ex quo-? corr. R



should definitely treasure the birthdays of her doctors and mark them with an outpouring of fervor second only to that shown the apostles of Christ. Once we grant that God was the ultimate source, it is then fair to say that the church was built upon the preaching of the apostles<sup>3</sup> and decorated by the teaching of the doctors; that means that she was established by the former and protected by the latter. The apostles accepted what they were believing through the verbal instruction of Christ; the doctors embraced what they were teaching through the interior inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The apostles sowed the word of God; the doctors cultivated that word once it had germinated and strove to uproot entirely all errors that were growing in its midst. For what good would it do for an abundant crop of faith to sprout in the Lord's field, if it was being strangled by harmful weeds? From the beginning, chaff planted by the devil was springing up every day in the form of new and different heresies that came from the churches in the east.<sup>4</sup>

Among all the other doctors of our holy faith, Jerome surely did not rank last when it came to giving effort through one's talent or expending energy in the struggle or making progress through such energetic labor. Virtually everything that is read in the church of God is the fruit of Jerome's labor; he either reorganized the works of others or translated the works of foreigners or produced thoughtful works of his own. He therefore divided the Psalter into parts, and he organized the Divine Office by weeks.<sup>5</sup> He translated the entire corpus of the Old and New Testaments into Latin prose, and in his extensive commentaries he explained the writings of the prophets and any matters in sacred letters that were obscure or uncertain. He published several books, he offered his opinion in treatises on many important issues, he brought out sermons and letters in great numbers. In virtually every oration, he denounced his jealous rivals and the heretics who were opposing the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eph. 2:19.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Matt. 13:24–25, 36–39; and Hieronymus *Comm. in Mathaeum* 2:958–79 (CCL 77:111–12).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Nicolò Maniacoria, "Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi vita," *PL* 22:191; Honorius of Autun, *Gemma animae* 4.1 (*PL* 172:689); Ioannes Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 19(c), 57(a) (CCL *con. med.* 41A:41–42, 103–4); Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 657 (citing Ioan. Beleth); Ps. Eusebius, "Epistola . . . de morte gloriosissimi Hieronymi doctoris eximii," in Joseph Klapper, ed., *Hieronymus: Die unechten Briefe des Eusebius, Augustin, Cyrill zum Lobe des Heiligen*, part 2 of *Schriften Johannis Neumarkt, Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* 6 <Berlin, 1932>, 18; Ps. Augustinus, "Epistola . . . de magnificentiis Beati Hieronymi," in Joseph Klapper, ed., *Hieronymus*, 252; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 11–12.

acrimonia sermonis, nunc argumentorum vi,<sup>o</sup> nunc acumine salium invectus.

Verum ut vehemens fuit in corrigendis malis et refellendis haereticis, ita multas ab iis persecutiones passus est. Quorum malitiae cedens Romae discessit, et, a Gregorio Nazianzeno sufficienter imbutus, trans mare se contulit in desertum, cumque a bonis omnibus summo sacerdotio dignus iudicaretur, se ipsum dignum iudicavit quem in eremo maceraret. Ex presbytero urbis Romae monachus transmarinus effectus, Gregorio se discipulum praebuit<sup>p</sup> ut ab eo disceret quod universos edoceret. Fugit urbem ut orbi prodesset. Eremum petiit ut et sibi et iis qui in saeculo erant consuleret et viam vitae ac salutis aperiret.

Quo in loco cum multa Deus magnaque miracula per illum fecisset, illud<sup>q</sup> certe non parvum fuit quod leo, saevissima beluarum, in eius usus est datus et velut rationis particeps mandatis parebat. Sicque factum est ut Romae Hieronymus a bestialibus hominibus immansuete tractatus, ferocissimam<sup>r</sup> beluam solo aspectu mansuefecerit in eremo, et qui humanitatem in hominibus non invenit ferae abstulerit feritatem.<sup>s</sup> Hic ego iam mihi infinitum pelagus propositum video, sive vitam moresque eius aspecto, sive ad miracula mentis oculum verto. Verum sermonis longitudini parcens finem facio, eo praestante qui dedit initium, qui et vivit et regnat per infinita saecula benedictus. τελλωϛ < sic >

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<sup>o</sup> vi *interl. R*

<sup>p</sup> praebuit *ex credidit corr. in marg. R*

<sup>q</sup> illum *R*

<sup>r</sup> feracissimam *R*

<sup>s</sup> feritatem] *P add. et del. R*

Catholic faith; at times he used the sharpness of his speech, at times the force of his arguments, at times the cunning of his wit.

Because Jerome was so forceful in reproving evil men and confuting heretics, he suffered much persecution at their hands. Yielding to the malice of their machinations in Rome, he left the city, and, once he had been sufficiently instructed by Gregory of Nazianzus,<sup>6</sup> he sailed across the sea and journeyed into the desert. And although everyone else judged him worthy of the supreme pontificate,<sup>7</sup> he only felt worthy of doing penance in the wilderness. From a priest in the city of Rome, he transformed himself into a monk overseas; as a disciple, he paid close heed to Gregory in order that he learn from Gregory what he might teach to everyone else. He fled the city in order to be of benefit to the world. He sought out the desert in order that he might have regard for his own needs and the needs of those still engaged in the world and thereby blaze a trail to life and salvation.

In that place, God worked many great miracles through Jerome, not the least of which involved a lion, the most savage of beasts, who dedicated himself to the tasks of Jerome and obeyed his commands as though he possessed the power to reason.<sup>8</sup> And so it happened that Jerome was treated savagely by bestial human beings in Rome, while in the desert he tamed the most ferocious beast by his demeanor alone; a person who did not find humanity in his fellow human beings removed the ferocity from a truly ferocious animal. At this point I see stretching before me a boundless expanse of ocean, whether I look toward his life and his morals or train my mind's eye upon his miracles. But, in an effort not to lengthen this sermon, I now bring it to a close, through the intercession of the one who inspired the undertaking in the first place and who lives and reigns as blessed for ever and ever. The end.

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<sup>6</sup> See *Sermon 1*, n. 5 above.

<sup>7</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 45.3 (CSEL 54:325). See *Sermon 1*, n. 4 above.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Anon., "Vita Divi Hieronymi (inc: Plerosque nimirum)," in *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*, ed. Boninus Mombritius (Paris, 1910), 2:34; Nicolò Maniacoria, "Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi vita," *PL* 22:193; Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 16.18 (Duoai, 1624, 623b); Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 655–56; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 18.

### *Sermo 3 pro Sancto Hieronymo*<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts: Pa, part 1, 215–18; R, fols. 38v–41.*

**D**ecet quidem omnes ubique terrarum Christianos diem hunc sollemnem habere, memoriam celebrem facientes gloriosissimi doctori <s> Beati Hieronymi cuius vita, doctrina, ac miraculis tota Christiana religio illustrata est. Maxime vero eos qui re[li]gionem istam incolunt singulari devotione convenit diem eius festum celebrare, quando<sup>b</sup> hinc proximo loco illud fidei nostrae praecipuum lumen exortum est. Nam cum ceteri gloriari permixte soleant si quos claros secundum saeculum homines aut litteris aut virtute originis suae consortes habuere, quanto nos iustius ex hoc sancto gloriari possumus cui praeter mortales virtutes saecularumque peritiam<sup>c</sup> litterarum quae vel sola quemvis possent clarissimum reddere, tantum accessit et sanctitatis vitae et eruditionis sacrae ut ad harum elationem nihil illa videri possint. Festum hoc<sup>d</sup> igitur inter pauca nobis debet esse sollemne, quod non solum illustrem virum habeamus quem imitemur in terris sed et sanctum patronum qui pro nobis intercedat in caelis.

Sed (quod ad omnes attinet Christianos) et hic dies et ceteri, quibus sanctorum fidei nostrae doctorum memoriae celebrantur, summo studio ab omnibus Christianis colendi sunt. Quid enim proderat fidei nostrae praedicatione seminatum esse aut apostolorum studio aut labore excul-

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<sup>a</sup> Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo eiusdem R. Oratio V pro Sancto Hieronymo Pa

<sup>b</sup> cum Pa

<sup>c</sup> peritiam ex doctrinam corr. in marg. R

<sup>d</sup> hoc interl. R

### *Sermon 3 for Saint Jerome*

**I**t is undoubtedly appropriate for all Christians everywhere on earth to see this as a solemn day and accordingly extol the memory of the most glorious doctor, Blessed Jerome, for the entire Christian religion is given luster by his life, his teaching, and his miracles. Those Christians who inhabit this particular region have an even greater obligation to celebrate Jerome's feast day with singular devotion since that exceptional light of our faith was born in a place nearby. While others have a tendency to boast in the most outrageous way if they have shared their birthplace with persons distinguished in letters or in virtue as the world reckons things, how much the more justly can we boast about this saint, who, over and above virtues in this mortal life and expertise in secular letters (which in and of themselves can render someone very distinguished), added such great holiness of life and sacred erudition that the former could seem to pale before the sublime character of the latter. To state matters succinctly, this feast ought to be solemn for us not only because we have an illustrious man whom we imitate on earth but also because we have a holy patron who intercedes for us in heaven.

Still (if I may address a matter of relevance to all Christians), this day and the others, on which we celebrate the memory of the holy doctors of our faith, ought to be revered with the greatest enthusiasm by every single Christian. For what good would it do for our faith to be sown by the preaching of the apostles or cared for by their zealous labor or

tum aut martyrum sanguine irrigatum esse, si superexcrecentibus variorum errorum spinis universa seges suffocata periret nec posset fructum afferre salutis? Ob quam rem<sup>e</sup> ille optimus caelestis agricola, quo possent bene nata semina salubriter adolescere, istos sibi ministros delegit qui et haereticorum zizania ex agro suo vellerent et teneram segetem spinis tribulisque ac ceteris noxiis herbis plantisque purgarent. Inter ceteros autem gloriosus doctor Beatus Hieronymus plurimum in hoc agro, hoc est in sacrosancta Dei ecclesia, sua industria suoque labore profectum attulit. Humiles et eos qui se doceri vellent erudiendo non minus exemplo vitae quam dignitate sermonis, haereticos et eos qui sanam doctrinam perverterit castigando tam efficacia quam sacrae auctoritate scripturae, aemulos ac doctores ubique corripiendo et acrimonia stili et gravitate monendi<sup>f</sup> insecutus est.

Sed, per Deum immortalem, quis maiores est umquam aemulorum passus persecutiones, quando<sup>g</sup> illi non modo doctrinae detrahebant verum etiam honestati nominique insidiati sunt? Nam muliebri veste per fraudem contextum de incontinentia calumniati sunt. Quamobrem saluti magis eorum quam<sup>h</sup> nomini suo consulens, Roma, ubi iam erat presbyter cardinalis, abire decrevit ne, si praesens perseveraret, radicato iam odio, amplius illis praeberet delinquendi materiam; quos tamen non

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<sup>e</sup> scripsi: Obigitur R. Ob id igitur Pa

<sup>f</sup> monendi] est add. et del. R

<sup>g</sup> cum Pa

<sup>h</sup> quod R

irrigated by the blood of the martyrs, if the entire crop were then to be suffocated by the thorns of diverse errors that grow among it and perish before it can produce the fruit of salvation? For that reason, wherever the seeds were well sown and able to mature in good health, the most skilled heavenly farmer selected as his servants those persons who would pull up the chaff of heretics from his field and rid the tender crop of nettlesome thorns and other harmful weeds and plants.<sup>1</sup> Within that group of servants, however, the glorious doctor, Blessed Jerome, produced the greatest benefits by his exertion and toil in that field, by which I mean the sacred church of God. He accompanied the humble and those willing to be taught by instructing them no less through the example of his life than the dignity of his speech; he hounded the heretics and those perverting sound doctrine by censuring them on the basis of his own cogent positions and on the authority of Holy Scripture; he debated his rivals and scholars everywhere by countering their claims through the pungency of his style and the urgency of his warnings.

But, by the immortal God, who ever suffered greater persecution at the hands of his rivals! They not only disparaged his teaching, but they also conspired to destroy the integrity of his name. For they set a trap and used a woman's dress to accuse him falsely of fornicating.<sup>2</sup> On that occasion, Jerome took more account of the salvation of those men than of his own reputation, and he decided to leave Rome, where he was already a cardinal-priest.<sup>3</sup> If he were to continue to reside in a place where hatred had become so deeply rooted, he would give his adversaries further opportunities to commit crimes. Nevertheless, even after departing, he was not able to escape from those men. For, whatever he

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. 13:7, 24–30, 37–43; and Hieronymus *Comm. in Mathaeum* 2:958–1001 (CCL 77:111–12).

<sup>2</sup> The episode of the woman's dress is narrated in Nicolò Maniacoria, "Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi vita," *PL* 22:186; Ioannes Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 157(i) (CCL *cont. med.* 41A:301); Ps. Eusebius, "Epistola de morte," 33–34; Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 654 (citing Ioan. Beleth); and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 17 (citing Ioan. Beleth and Vincent of Beauvais). Vergerio's language is closest to that of Giovanni d'Andrea: "Illi nimium indignati ei insidias paraverunt et per vestem muliebrem . . . ab eis turpiter est derisus." Cf. Anon., "Vita Sancti Hieronymi (inc: Hieronymus noster)," *PL* 22:178; and Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 16.18 (Douai, 1624, 623a), who spoke only of a trap.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anon., "Vita Divi Hieronymi (inc: Plerosque nimirum)," 2:31; Nicolò Maniacoria, "Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi vita," *PL* 22:185; Ioannes Beleth, *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* 157(i) (CCL *cont. med.* 41A:301); Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 16.18 (Douai, 1624, 623a); Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 654; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 17.

absens effugere potuit, nam<sup>i</sup> quicquid postea interpretaretur<sup>j</sup> aut scriberet aut doceret totum illi carpebant nec quicquid ei abinde morsibus tutum erat. Quapropter et in epistolis saepe et in prologis semper nata est illi querela qua in calumniantes invehitur aemulos.

Haec vero tametsi per se gravia sint, levia videri possunt si ad illa conferantur quae sua sponte in eremo passus est. Quae libet nunc ut antehac sum saepe solitus suis ipsius verbis commemorare. "O quotiens," inquit, "in eremo constitutus (et cetera)." Haec ille de se ipso non inanis gloriae causa sed exhortationis atque exempli et ut intelligamus tanto nobis maiora praemia preparari quanto fuerimus in graviori pugna victores. Nam quid tantum<sup>k</sup> demeruerit vir sanctus et per omnem aetatem Deo gratus unde tam austeram paenitentiam subiret, nisi quod perfecta innocentia ibi culpam deputat, ubi culpa non est, sed si quas incurrit, magnas iudicat et ita corpus castigat ne in minimis quoque perlabi possit. Omne itaque genus vitae laudabilis hic pretiosus sanctus exercuit: Romae apostolicam, ubi et defuncto pontifice qui tunc ecclesiae praeerat ab omnibus summo sacerdotio dignus iudicabatur; eremiticam in deserto quod anachoritarum est; in Bethlehem coenobiticam; ubique sanctissimam ac Deo placentem.

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<sup>i</sup> scripsi: nec R Pa

<sup>j</sup> scripsi: interpretabatur R Pa

<sup>k</sup> quidnam Pa



subsequently translated or wrote or taught, those men tore it to pieces, and from that moment on nothing was safe from their mordant criticisms. Therefore, Jerome frequently lodged a complaint in his letters and consistently did so in his prologues in which he denounced those rivals who had wrongly accused him.<sup>4</sup>

Even though these matters might well appear to be serious on their own merits, they can seem piddling when compared to the things that Jerome voluntarily suffered in the desert. It is a pleasure to refresh your memory of those events by citing Jerome's own words, as I have frequently done in the past. "Oh, how often," he says, "when I was living in the desert (etc.)."<sup>5</sup> Jerome related these things about himself not for the sake of his own vain glory but for the sake of a persuasive example: he wanted us to understand that, the more dangerous the battle in which we earn victory, the greater the rewards prepared for us. For that holy man, truly gratifying to God throughout his life, never committed so terrible a sin that he would have to undergo that harsh a penance, unless we have a case of scrupulous innocence imputing blame to itself where there really is none. Yet whenever such innocence does fall into any sins, it considers them mortal and mortifies the body in such a way that it will never slip again, even in the most trivial matters.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, this exceptional saint practiced every type of life that is worthy of commendation: he practiced the life of an apostle in Rome, where all judged him worthy of the supreme pontificate after the pope who was presiding over the church had died;<sup>7</sup> he practiced the life of a hermit in the desert, as typified by the anchorites; he practiced the life of a monk in Bethlehem;<sup>8</sup> everywhere he lived he practiced a life most holy and pleasing to God.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Contra Rufinum* 2.2 (CCL 79:34); *Vulg. Isaia Praef.* (PL 28:772, quoted in *Contra Ruf.* 2.32, CCL 79:69); and *Comm. in Isaia* 11.Praef. (CCL 73:428).

<sup>5</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152-54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, Loeb Classical Library 262 (London and New York, 1933; repr. London: W. Heinemann, and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), 67.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 15.2 (CSEL 54:64).

<sup>7</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 45.3 (CSEL 54:325). See *Sermon 1*, n. 4 above.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.34 (CSEL 54:196-97). In general, see Paul Antin, "Le monachisme selon saint Jérôme," in *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), 101-24.

Qui cum talis fuerit tamque mirabilis, plurimum tamen et adiumentum et ornamentum habuit ex eruditione ac doctrina studiisque litterarum in quibus omnes propemodum doctos homines qui umquam fuerunt excessit. Trium enim linguarum peritissimus extitit, Hebraeae, Graecae, et Latinae. Omnis historiae tam ecclesiasticae<sup>1</sup> quam saecularis peritissimus fuit. Poetarum fabulas figmenta<sup>2</sup>que novit omnia; notitiam omnem rerum contemplatus est. Eloquentia vero tanta ut Ciceronem cuius libros studiosissime legebat prope aequaret. Haec omnia ex scriptis eius licet<sup>m</sup> deprehendere plane.

Quae quidem quam prompta haberet quamque tenaciter ipsius memoriae inhaerent indicat id quod ipse de se scribit. Nam cum gravissima quondam febre circa medium, ut ipse ait, quadragesimae laboraret iamque ad extremum venisse videretur ita ut pararentur exequiae, subito raptus est in spiritu ante iudicis aeterni tribunal ac de conditione interrogatus, Christianum se esse respondit. Tunc iudex, "Mentiris," inquit, "Ciceronianus es," et flagellis eum graviter caedi iussit. Ille vero cum inter verbera strepitumque flagellorum unam hanc assidue vocem emitteret, "Domine, si umquam saeculares libros legero, te negavi," intercedentibus his qui aderant dimissus est. Inde vero ad vitam rediens liventes ex verberibus scapulas habuit et in corpore suo vera vestigia flagellorum ut non tam somnium dici possit sed res vere gesta certumque iudicis aeterni iudicium.

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<sup>1</sup> ecclesiasticae] eccliaisticae < sic > ex al. litt. corr. R

<sup>m</sup> licet ex libet corr. interl. R

Although he was surely the sort of person who arouses our admiration, he nevertheless supplied the most appealing assistance through his erudition and his teaching and his study of letters, in which he surpassed nearly all the learned individuals who ever lived. He became most proficient in three languages: Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.<sup>9</sup> His vast expertise extended across the range of history, from that of the church to that of society. He lifted the veil from the mysterious images of the poets; he attentively observed every phenomenon of nature. One can honestly say that his eloquence was so great that he practically equalled Cicero, whose books he read with the utmost attention. You can easily find confirmation for all of these claims by examining his writings.

I can show that Jerome tenaciously memorized these things and kept them ready at hand by referring to something that he wrote about himself. For, when he was struggling with a very severe fever around the middle of Lent, as he himself tells us, and he seemed so near to death that preparations were being made for his funeral, suddenly he was caught up in the spirit before the judgment seat of the eternal judge. When he was asked to state his condition in life, he said that he was a Christian. Then the judge replied, "You are lying; you are a Ciceronian." And he ordered him to be handed over for a painful scourging. Amidst the cracking blows of the whip, Jerome steadfastly repeated a single phrase, "Lord, if ever again I read worldly books, I have denied you." After the bystanders interceded on his behalf, he was sent away. Upon awakening, Jerome found that he actually had shoulders swollen black and blue from the blows and such authentic traces of the scourging on his body that no one could label the experience merely a dream. Rather, it actually took place and indicated an incontrovertible verdict rendered by the eternal judge.

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Contra Rufinum* 3.6 (CCL 79:79: "Ego philosophus, rhetor, grammaticus, dialecticus, Hebraeus, Graecus, Latinus, trilinguis?")

Posthac autem, ut ipse asserit, codices gentilium legit, sed tanto studio divina tractavit quanto<sup>n</sup> illa ante non legerat, unde aut totum aut certe partem maximam suorum librorum postquam id even[en]it edidit. In quibus tamen tantum est peregrinae historiae, tantum gentilium fabularum externaeque disciplinae, omnia ad fidei usum accommodata ut nihil aliud dies ac noctes egisse quam ut illa conquirat videri possit. Sed et de fide tot tantaque praescrispsit ut nusquam ei vacasse libros gentilium legere facile credi queat. Totum enim vetus testamentum ex integro interpretatus est Hebraicam veritatem secutus. In omnes prophetas commentarios scripsit. Expositiones in evangelia epistolasque canonicas, contra haereticos libros complures, tractatus varios pro variis quaestionibus ac materiis, sermones, homilias, epistolas, omnis generis scripturas edidit, ut non modo austeritas vitae sed etiam exuberantia doctrinae miraculum sit.

Sed iam de ceteris miraculis quid dicam, quae Deus mirabilis in sanctis suis per hunc sanctum gloriosum et in vita et in morte operari dignatus est? Quae quidem tam multa sunt tamque<sup>o</sup> illustria ut, si quippiam attingere possim, nec complectar omnia. Illud asseverare audeo: non esse genus aliquod hominum in quod, si modo devotionem in eum habuerint, certa illius beneficia miraculosaque opera non extent. Quamobrem hortor unumquemque ut singularem in eum devotionem habeant eumque sibi cum aliis sanctis quos colunt patronum eligant. Sentient profecto sese ei utiliter commendatos opesque suas bene in illo locatas cum ad huius vitae commoda, tum ad aeterna praemia, quae ipsius meritis et intercessione necnon et aliorum sanctorum ille nobis concedat, qui vivit et regnat trinus et unus per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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<sup>n</sup> scripsi: quam R Pa

<sup>o</sup> tamquam R

Afterwards, however, as he himself asserted, he continued to read the books of the pagans, but he treated divine matters with greater enthusiasm than he had ever shown for pagan literature in the past.<sup>10</sup> For that reason, I infer that he published the entire corpus of his writings or certainly the vast majority of them after that event. In those writings, nevertheless, there is so much from the history of other peoples, so much from pagan poetry and foreign practice, and all of it accommodated to the utility of faith, that it could actually appear that he did nothing else day and night but delve into those matters. On the other hand, he taught so many things of great magnitude about the faith that it is almost inconceivable that he would have had enough time free to read the books of the pagans. For he translated anew the entire Old Testament by working from the original Hebrew text, he wrote commentaries on all of the prophets, he published explanations for the Gospels and the canonical epistles, several books against the heretics, various treatises on a wide range of controversial issues, sermons, homilies, letters, writings of every sort, so that not only the austerity of his life but the breadth of his erudition must also be considered a miracle.

But what shall I say now about the other miracles, which the God who proves so awesome in his saints<sup>11</sup> deigned to perform through this glorious saint during his lifetime and after his death? Those miracles are honestly so numerous and so impressive that, if I should attempt to touch upon any aspect of them, I could never cover them in their entirety. I will not back away from making one claim: there is no type of human beings for whom Jerome did not grant genuine services and perform miraculous deeds, provided only that they have nurtured sincere devotion toward him. For that reason, let me exhort each and every one of you to nurture a special devotion toward Jerome and to choose him as a patron along with the saints you already venerate. You will undoubtedly feel that I do you a service by commending you to his care and by having you invest your money wisely in him, if you earn a profit in this life and especially if you gain an everlasting reward. Through the merits and intercession of Jerome along with the other saints, may God concede such a reward to us, the God who lives and reigns, three and one, for ever and ever. Amen.

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<sup>10</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.30 (CSEL 54:190–91). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, Loeb Classical Library 262 (London and New York, 1933; repr. London: W. Heinemann, and Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), 127–29.

<sup>11</sup> Vulg. Ps. 67:36.

## Sermo 4 pro Sancto Hieronymo<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts:* B, fol. 89r-v; Bp, 143-46; C, fols. 146v-49;

*Pa*, part 1, 204-6; *PM*, fols. 150-51; *R*, fols. 45-46v.

*Edition:* *Sal*, (Padua, 1767), 7-19.

**H**odie mihi, fratres carissimi, pro more institutoque meo veterē<sup>b</sup> habendus est ad vos sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi, ad quem digne laudandum tantam vellem mihi suppetere dicendi facultatem quanta subest illi copia meritorum, meque eum tam eximie laudare posse quam cupio. In altero enim satisfactum est illius dignitati, in altero voluntati meae. Sed contra, nescio quo modo, in his rebus <plus> quam in ceteris evenit ut, cum est de alicuius laudibus<sup>c</sup> dicendum, quo maior extat laudum copia, eo minor sit semper bene laudandi facultas. Sic opinor quod maiestate rerum dicendarum<sup>d</sup> aut multitudine meritorum premitur vis dicentis. Nam illud quidem commune est in omnibus: numquam<sup>e</sup> satis videri a se factum aut fieri posse satis quod magno quis cum desiderio facit.

Longe autem<sup>f</sup> lateque superexcedit ingenioli mei modum Hieronymi laudum immensitas, quantumque devotione animus ad dicendum impellitur, tantum admiratione retardatur. Nescit enim initium invenire dum

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<sup>a</sup> Petripauli Vergerii Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio *R*. Eiusdem Pro Sancto Hieronymo elegantissima oratio *B*. Oratio pro eodem *C*. Oratio I pro Sancto Hieronymo *Pa*

<sup>b</sup> veteri *Bp R*

<sup>c</sup> alienis laudibus *Bp*: laudibus alicuius *B*

<sup>d</sup> dicendarum] aut multitudine rerum dicendarum *add. et expung. B*

<sup>e</sup> numquam numquam *Bp*: nusquam *R*

<sup>f</sup> autem *om. B*

## *Sermon 4 for Saint Jerome*

Today, most beloved brothers, in keeping with my custom and my long-standing commitment, I have to deliver a sermon to you on the praises of Saint Jerome. In order to praise him worthily, I would wish for two things: to possess at this moment a skill in public speaking as great as the abundance of merits that supplies the basis for his praise and to be able to praise him as exceptionally as I desire. In the first instance, satisfaction is rendered to the worth of that man, in the second to my own affection. But the exact opposite tends to occur when you have to give a panegyric as opposed to another type of speech, and I am not sure why that is so. When you have to extol someone else, your ability to do a good job in praising that person always decreases as the number of things you need to praise increases. I suppose this is so because the splendor of what must be addressed or the multitude of merits overwhelms the power of the one speaking. As a matter of fact, I suspect you all know the feeling: we never seem to have done a sufficient job or even seem capable of doing a sufficient job when we come to the task so eagerly.

The immensity of the praises of Jerome, however, far and wide surpasses the capabilities of my feeble intellect, and as much as I feel the urge to speak out of devotion to Jerome, I am likewise held back by my admiration for him. No speaker knows how to find a way to begin a

videt sibi non patere<sup>g</sup> exitum, dumque se in terrenis<sup>h</sup> metitur desperat prorsus digne<sup>i</sup> commendari posse caelestia. Nam si de mundanorum hominum laudibus dicturis<sup>j</sup> hoc evenit ut non satis dicere posse videantur, quanto magis enarraturo huius sancti praeconia qui virtute et meritis gloriosis Christianam fidem et ecclesiam Catholicam<sup>k</sup> illustravit. Solent autem in mundanis laudibus celebrari certamina, victoriae, triumphi, et cetera huiuscemodi. Quae profecto multo<sup>l</sup> excellentius alio quodammodo in sanctis Dei veniunt praedicanda.

Tres sunt enim hostes<sup>m</sup> et gravissimi atque infestissimi qui dies noctesque<sup>n</sup> mentem studentem<sup>o</sup> placere Deo impugnant: mundus per potentiam<sup>p</sup>, caro per blanditias, daemon<sup>q</sup> cum insidiis. Mundus opum magnificentia<sup>r</sup> honorumque fulgore aciem mentis obruit, et, dum reges ac populos a se victos ostentat, intelligi vult nemini<sup>s</sup> iam turpe esse cum vincitur. Caro voluptatibus atque deliciis robur animi enervare contendit, et, ut vinci se patiat, dulcia cuncta promittit. Daemon<sup>t</sup> vero fraudum omnium artifex instructissimus mille cottidie retia tendit, mille subnectit laqueos quibus animas Deo devotas apprehendat.

Age nunc, comparentur, si placet, hae pugnae<sup>u</sup> animi cum illis quae manu ferroque geruntur.<sup>v</sup> In illis enim indutiae nonnumquam<sup>w</sup> interveniunt, et post bellum pax tranquilla subsequitur; in istis autem sine fine pugnatur, non mora datur aut requies, nec hora<sup>x</sup> aut momentum

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<sup>g</sup> petere *B*

<sup>h</sup> tererenis *B PM* (*ex terrenis corr. al. m.*)

<sup>i</sup> digne prorsus *R*

<sup>j</sup> dicturus *R*

<sup>k</sup> Catholicam ecclesiam *Bp R*

<sup>l</sup> multo] et *add. Bp R* (*in ras.?*)

<sup>m</sup> Tres enim hostes sunt *R*

<sup>n</sup> atque noctes *B*

<sup>o</sup> audentem *Bp*

<sup>p</sup> impotentiam *Bp R*

<sup>q</sup> daemon *ex demum? corr. C R*

<sup>r</sup> magnificentiam *Bp R C*

<sup>s</sup> nemini *om. Bp R*

<sup>t</sup> Demum *B*

<sup>u</sup> haec pugna *B*

<sup>v</sup> gerantur *R*

<sup>w</sup> nonnumquam indutiae *R*

<sup>x</sup> hora *ex Mora corr. interl. B*



speech as long as he sees that he has no good way to end it, and, as long as a speaker appraises himself honestly according to earthly standards, he will abandon any hope of being able to commend worthily the affairs of heaven. For if those who are about to pronounce the praises of worldly men find that they do not seem capable of covering those subjects sufficiently, how much the more will one feel inadequate who is about to pronounce publicly a panegyric of this saint, who by his virtue and glorious merits has added luster to the Christian faith and the Catholic Church. In worldly praises, however, it is customary to celebrate conflicts, victories, triumphs, and other things of this sort. Matters that are unquestionably far more excellent according to a different standard must comprise the focus when you preach on the saints of God.

As a matter of fact, there are three enemies, of a most fearsome and hostile variety, who day and night attack the mind of one striving to please God: the world through power, the flesh through pleasures, the devil with his snares. The world breaches the battle line of the mind by displaying the brilliance of wealth and the glitter of public office, and, while the world boasts about kings and peoples whom it has conquered, it wants to give the impression that no one should feel shame in defeat. The flesh struggles to weaken one's strength of soul through selfish pleasures, and it promises everything agreeable in order that you let down your guard. The devil, a craftsman most skilled in every form of deceit, daily casts out a thousand nets and sets a thousand traps in which he catches those souls devoted to God.

With your permission, I would like to move on and compare the battles of the soul with those which are fought with sword in hand. In the latter, a truce on occasion intervenes, and, after the war, an interval of peace generally follows; in the former, however, one must struggle without end, no pause or rest is given, not an hour or even a moment

illum est vacuum. In illis ut plurimum adverso invicem pectore decertatur<sup>y</sup> et facie ad faciem; in his undique impugnatur homo ex nulla parte securus. In illis videri licet tela a quibus precaveri oportet; hic autem velut in nocte tectum<sup>z</sup> est certamen et pugna incerta, cum hostis invisibilis mentem impugnat.

Verum conferantur nunc et victoriae. Si enim magnum est urbem aliquam<sup>aa</sup> aut<sup>bb</sup> regnum unum<sup>cc</sup> mundi vincere, quanto maius est mundum ipsum superare? Nam plane vincit is mundum qui despicit omne quod est in eo,<sup>dd</sup> nec se permittit aut ambitione honorum aut opum cupiditate detineri. Vincere vero carnes et dulces Sirenum cantus surda aure praeterire, quid est aliud quam se ipsum vincere et sensui rationem praeferre? Quod genus pulcherrimum est victoriae. Quam vero feram saevissimam aut quod monstrum immanissimum gloriosius est vincere quam daemonis artes eludere ipsiusque tendiculas<sup>ee</sup> illaeso pede pertransire?

Ab<sup>ff</sup> his autem qualiter fuerit in vita praesenti vexatus gloriosus iste sanctus et qualiter huiusmodi pugnas cum Dei adiutorio fortiter evicerit<sup>gg</sup> minime arroganter de se ipse scribit in epistola ad Eustochium. Quod quoniam elegantius aliter dici non potest,<sup>hh</sup> eius ipsius verba subiciantur. "O quotiens," inquit, "in eremo constitutus et<sup>ii</sup> in illa vasta solitudine quae exusta solis ardoribus horridum monachis praestabat habitaculum<sup>jj</sup> putavi me Romanis interesse deliciis. Sedebam solus quia amaritudine plenus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformi[s] et squalida cutis situm Aethiopicae<sup>kk</sup> carnis obduxerat. Cottidie lacrimae, cottidie gemitus, et si quando repugnantem somnus imminens oppressisset,

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<sup>y</sup> decertantur *C B*. decertatur *ex decertantur corr.* ("redundat *n* in antiq. codice" *in marg. al. m.*) *PM*

<sup>z</sup> tecum *Bp R C*

<sup>aa</sup> aliquem *R*

<sup>bb</sup> vel *Bp R*

<sup>cc</sup> aliquod *Bp R*

<sup>dd</sup> mundo *R*

<sup>ee</sup> tendicula *B*

<sup>ff</sup> *Ab]* *is add. et del. C*

<sup>gg</sup> vicerit *B*

<sup>hh</sup> potest] "aliter posset" *in marg. C*. posset *B Bp R*

<sup>ii</sup> et] cetera *add.* (in illa . . . currimus *om.*) *B*

<sup>jj</sup> habitaculum] et cetera *add.* (putavi me . . . currimus *om.*) *R*

<sup>kk</sup> *scripsi: Aethiopissae Bp C*

is free from battle. In the latter, it is most frequently the case that one confronts another by squaring off face to face; in the former, a human being finds himself attacked from every direction and vulnerable on all sides. In the latter, you are permitted to wield weapons as a vital means to parry the enemy's thrust; the former, however, involves a hidden conflict and an uncertain struggle, as though it were occurring at night, when an invisible enemy attacks the mind.

But let us also compare the victories won in each instance. For if it is a great achievement to conquer some city or an individual kingdom in this world, how much greater an achievement is it to conquer the world itself? Clearly, the person who conquers the world disdains everything that is in it, and he does not allow himself to become a slave to ambition for office or greed for riches. All in all, if one overcomes the flesh and turns a deaf ear to the sweet songs of the Sirens,<sup>1</sup> what else has he done but conquer himself and put reason ahead of emotions? That is the sort of victory that is most rewarding. Is it really more glorious to overpower a most savage beast or a most inhuman monster than it is to elude the artifice of the devil and pass through his snares unharmed? Obviously not.

To get some idea of the extent to which that glorious saint was pestered by these enemies during his lifetime and the extent to which he courageously emerged the victor in battles of this sort with God's assistance, we can read what Jerome writes about himself without the least arrogance in a letter to Eustochium. Since no one could express it more elegantly, let me now quote his own words. "Oh, how often," he says, "when I was living in the desert, in that lonely waste, scorched by the burning sun, which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place, how often did I fancy myself surrounded by the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone; for I was filled with bitterness. My unkempt limbs were covered in shapeless sackcloth; my skin through long neglect had become as rough and black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if sleep ever overcame my resistance and fell upon

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. P. Virgilius Maro *Aen.* 5.684; and Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.18 (CSEL 54:167). In general, see Paul Antin, "Les sirènes et Ulysse dans l'oeuvre de saint Jérôme," in *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), 59-70.

nude humo ossa vix haerentia collidebam. De cibis vero et potu taceo, cum etiam languentes monachi aqua frigida utebantur<sup>ll</sup> et coctum aliquid accepisse luxuriae sit. Ille igitur ego, qui ob gehennae metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum, saepe choreis intereram puellarum. Pallebant ora ieiuniis et mens desiderii extuabat in frigido corpore et ante hominem suum iam carne praemortua sola libidinum incendia bulliebant.

Itaque omni auxilio destitutus ad Iesu iacebam pedes, rigabam lacrimis, crine tergebam, et repugnantem carnem ebdomadaram inedia subiugabam. Non enim erubescio confiteri infelicitatis meae miseriam, quin potius plango non esse, quod fuerim. Memini me clamantem diem crebro iunxisse cum nocte nec prius a pectoris cessasse verberibus, quam rediret domino increpante tranquillitas. Ipsam quoque cellulam meam quasi cogitationum mearum consciam pertimescebam et mihimet iratus et rigidus solus deserta penetrabam. Sicubi concava vallium, aspera montium, rupium praerupta cernebam, ibi meae orationis locus erat, illud miserrimae carnis ergastulum; et, ut mihi testis est Dominus, post multas lacrimas, post caelo oculos inhaerentes nonnumquam videbar mihi interesse agminibus angelorum et laetus gaudensque cantabam: In odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus." Haec autem tantilla narratio scientibus multa ex paucis intelligere satis<sup>mm</sup> sit.

De peritia vero litterarum quae et ipsa laus hominis sancti<sup>nn</sup> est quid dicam, cum maxime in scripturis sacris<sup>oo</sup> ita doctum fuisse constet, ut in proverbium deductum sit nullum hominum<sup>pp</sup> scivisse quod Hieronymus ignoravit? Nec fuit, ut in plerisque, otiosa in hoc<sup>qq</sup> homine tanta doctrina. Multa enim et per se scripsit, et aliorum multa interpretatus est. Trium linguarum eruditissimus, Hebraeae,<sup>rr</sup> Graecae, ac<sup>ss</sup>

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<sup>ll</sup> utantur *Bp*

<sup>mm</sup> satis] est *add. et del. C. add. et expung. B*

<sup>nn</sup> sancti hominis *Bp R*

<sup>oo</sup> sacris] eum *add. B*

<sup>pp</sup> hominem *Bp R*

<sup>qq</sup> hoc *om. Bp R*

<sup>rr</sup> Hebraicae *B*

<sup>ss</sup> et *B*

my eyes, I bruised my restless bones against the naked earth. Of food and drink I will not speak. Hermits have nothing but cold water even when they are sick, and for them it is sinful luxury to partake of cooked dishes. But though in my fear of hell I had condemned myself to this prison-house, where my only companions were scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself surrounded by bands of dancing girls. My face was pale with fasting; but though my limbs were cold as ice my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead.

And so, when all other help failed me, I used to fling myself at Jesus' feet; I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair; and if my flesh still rebelled I subdued it by weeks of fasting. I do not blush to confess my misery, nay, rather, I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember that often I joined night to day with my wailings and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned to me at the Lord's behest. I used to dread my poor cell as though it knew my secret thoughts. Filled with stiff anger against myself, I would make my way alone into the desert; and when I came upon some hollow valley or rough mountain or precipitous cliff, there I would set up my oratory, and make that spot a place of torture for my unhappy flesh. There sometimes also—the Lord Himself is my witness—after many a tear and straining of my eyes to heaven, I felt myself in the presence of the angelic hosts and in joy and gladness would sing: 'Because your anointing oils are fragrant we run after you.'<sup>2</sup> This brief account should more than suffice to help us understand a whole host of things.

Now what shall I say about his expertise in letters, which also constitutes fair grounds for praising a person of sanctity? It is especially apparent that he was well versed in the Holy Scriptures: you all know the saying that nobody has ever discovered something that Jerome did not already know.<sup>3</sup> Nor did he acquire such vast erudition merely for his own personal enjoyment, as tends to be the case with many others. He wrote many things of his own accord, and he translated many things that others had written. Because he was extremely fluent in three languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin<sup>4</sup>—he also wrote several lengthy vol-

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<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152-54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 67-69.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. Augustinus, "Epistola de magnificentia," 253: "Quae Hieronymus ignoravit in natura nullus hominum umquam scivit."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Contra Rufinum* 3.6 (CCL 79:79).

Latinae, obscura quoque sacrae scripturae per multa ac magna volumina commentatus est ut non modo variis nationibus sed rudibus quoque ingeniis fundamenta fidei innotescere possent.

De moribus vero dici hoc potest, quod tota eius vita exemplum bene vivendi fuit. Maledicos bene vivendo confudit. Persequentes secedendo<sup>tt</sup> superavit. Sibi parcus, ceteris largus, tam mitis in alios ut et feras mansuefaceret, et in se tam austerus ut vix in hostem quis eadem pateretur. Non mirum igitur si, tantis dotibus praeditus atque ita in terris vexatus, nunc coronatus triumphat in caelis, dignum praemium tot certaminum tantarumque virtutum,<sup>uu</sup> quibus propemodum dici potest eum intulisse vim<sup>vv</sup> caelo. Cuius rei argumentum est quod et in vita et post mortem ita miraculis claruit, ut miraculum permagnum sit eum tot et tanta operatum esse miracula. Ipse igitur cuius diem sollemnem agimus a rege regum et dominatore<sup>ww</sup> omnium Deo, cui in illo caelorum regno semper assistit, nobis imploret ut in praesenti gratiam saeculo et in futuro gloriam praestet,<sup>xx</sup> ad quam<sup>yy</sup> nos perducatur ipse Dei Filius, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat per infinita saecula benedictus.

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<sup>tt</sup> secedendo ex secendo? corr. R

<sup>uu</sup> virtutum] consecutus add. B

<sup>vv</sup> vim] in ras. Bp: in add. et del. R

<sup>ww</sup> donatore B

<sup>xx</sup> praestet] om. C: concedat B

<sup>yy</sup> quas R

umes of commentary on obscure matters in Holy Scripture. That means that the fundamentals of faith can be known by various peoples and even by those with little formal education.

In discussing his morals, I have no trouble claiming that his whole life serves as an example of ethical conduct. He frustrated those slandering him by his integrity. He overcame those persecuting him by his departure. Sparing to himself, he was generous to everyone else; he was so kind to others that he even tamed the wild beasts<sup>5</sup> and so strict in his own regard that hardly anyone suffered as much when battling an enemy. It is no wonder, then, that one who was endowed with so many gifts and harassed to such an extent on earth, should now be crowned in triumph in heaven, a worthy reward for so many conflicts and such great virtues. On that basis, I am almost tempted to say that Jerome took heaven by storm. The proof for such a claim lies in the fact that Jerome gained wide renown for miracles during his lifetime and after his death. In the final analysis, it is truly an enormous miracle that he worked so many miracles of such great substance. May Jerome himself, therefore, whose solemnity we observe today, make supplication on our behalf to the king of kings and lord of all, the God whom he forever attends in that kingdom of heaven, that God confer his grace to us in the present age and his glory to us in a future one. It is toward that glory that the Son of God himself directs us, he who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit as blessed for ever and ever.

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<sup>5</sup> Vergerio alludes to the story of the lion; see *Sermon* 2, n. 8 above.

## *Sermo 5 pro Sancto Hieronymo*<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts:* B, fol. 89v (fragm.); C, fols. 152v–57v (fragm.); E, fols. 21v–23 (fragm.); N, fols. 27v–28 (fragm.); Pa, part 1, 206–11 (fragm.); PM, fol. 151 (fragm.); R, fols. 47–51 (fragm.); Tp, fols. 129v–30 (fragm.); V, fols. 1–8v.

**P**raestantissimi viri<sup>b</sup> atque optimi patres, cum bona venia vestra praetermittam nunc parumper solitum morem sermocinandi, et, omisso themate (qui mos iam<sup>c</sup> apud modernos deciderat) primo gloriosissimam virginem ad auxilium mihi invocabo, dicens “Ave Maria (et cetera).”

Sermo mihi hodie ad vos habendus est, viri clarissimi,<sup>d</sup> non de studiis litterarum ut saepe soleo, non de bellicis rebus quae, ut difficiles fieri,<sup>e</sup> ita iucundae sunt memoratu, non denique de ullis negotiis quae aut ad publica iura hominum aut ad privatas res pertineant, sed de religione et sanctitate. Neque enim<sup>f</sup> vereor, viri optimi,<sup>g</sup> ne,<sup>h</sup> cum de religione dicturum me pollicitus sim, parum attentas aures<sup>i</sup> praestituri sitis.

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<sup>a</sup> Sermo de Beato Hieronymo in modum orationis editus per dominum Petrupaulum Vergerii de Iustinopoli devotissimum Beati Hieronymi V. Sermo editus in festo Sancti Hieronymi per Petrupaulum Vergerium oratorum elegantissimum Tp. Petripauli Vergerii Sermo de laudibus Beati Hieronymi N. Petripauli Vergerii Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio R. Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio elegantissima E. Pro Sancto Hieronymo oratio II Pa

<sup>b</sup> Praestantissimi viri . . . et cetera om. B C E R

<sup>c</sup> iam om. Tp

<sup>d</sup> clarissimi viri B. optimi viri C E R

<sup>e</sup> fieri om. N

<sup>f</sup> enim in ras. V

<sup>g</sup> optimi patres B. clarissimi viri C E R

<sup>h</sup> ne om. B

<sup>i</sup> aures] vestras add. B E R



## *Sermon 5 for Saint Jerome*

**M**ost eminent men and most honest fathers, with your kind indulgence, I will slightly depart today from the usual manner of delivering a sermon. Because I have not cited a thematic verse from Scripture (a convention that is no longer observed by the most up-to-date preachers), I will immediately begin by praying that the most glorious virgin assist me, as I say, "Hail Mary (etc)."

Today I do not have to deliver a sermon to you, most distinguished men, about the study of letters (as I am often accustomed to do), nor about matters of war that are gratifying to recall in proportion as they were difficult to conduct, nor finally about any dealings that apply to the common rights or private affairs of human beings. I must rather speak about belief and sanctity. And yet I have no fear that you will not listen attentively, most honest men, now that I have stated my intention to address matters of faith. I have come to know your devotion, loyalty,

Novi devotionem vestram, pietatem, moderationem, fidem,<sup>j</sup> palamque ab universis perpetuo scitum est, cum summo studio in<sup>k</sup> omni vita honestissimas res colueritis,<sup>l</sup> divina tamen iura caerimoniasque sacrorum primo semper apud vos loco constitisse.

Quod si igitur, ut<sup>m</sup> vere sensit Tales, non modo actus sermonesque nostri sed ne cogitationes quidem latere Deum possunt, quam putatis nunc ei<sup>n</sup> gratum fieri quod intra hos sacros parietes ad audiendum de se deque sanctis suis sermonem frequentes convenistis? Delectant siquidem Deum homines (si passionibus eum ullis agi existimamus) cum quid erga se pie, iuste, sancte, ac religiose factum videt. Quod quam iure quamque merito a nobis faciendum sit hinc licet accipiamus.<sup>o</sup> Si enim tanta pro patria, pro parentibus, pro liberis, si pro domo, fortunis, rebusque nostris<sup>p</sup> tanta sponte nostra<sup>q</sup> patimur tamque difficiles et periculosos labores subimus, quantum debemus eniti ut ea quae ad interiorum salutem attinent sedulo exequamur? Nemo est nostrum qui non summo studio incolumitatem suam aut praesentem tueri aut amissam recuperare molitur; nemo qui<sup>r</sup> vitam quam perbreve et communem cum brutis habet non studeat omni nixu,<sup>s</sup> viribus omnibus<sup>t</sup> servare, tenere, et, quoad<sup>u</sup> licuerit,<sup>v</sup> prorogare. Ne igitur incolumitatem<sup>w</sup> animae quam sacrae res efficiunt, ne ipsam perpetuam vitam parvo labore consequi studeamus?

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<sup>j</sup> fidem *om. E R*

<sup>k</sup> et *B C E R*

<sup>l</sup> res colueritis] res recol- *V N*

<sup>m</sup> ut *om. Tp*

<sup>n</sup> ei *om. Tp*

<sup>o</sup> aucupemur *N: experiamur Tp*

<sup>p</sup> nostris] tanta . . . Amen *om. B*

<sup>q</sup> nostra *om. Tp*

<sup>r</sup> qui *interl. V*

<sup>s</sup> nisu *V Tp*

<sup>t</sup> omnibus viribus *N Tp C E R*

<sup>u</sup> quoad *in ras. V*

<sup>v</sup> decuerit *C E R*

<sup>w</sup> incolumitatem *ex incon- corr. V: columitatem Tp*

moderation, fidelity, and they have become objects of universal acclaim for some time now. Although you have devoted yourselves with the greatest enthusiasm to very noble concerns throughout your lives, you have always awarded a place of primacy, nevertheless, to the sacred duties and ceremonies of religion.

But if, then, Thales was right to feel that we cannot hide our deeds or words nor even our thoughts from God,<sup>1</sup> will you all not agree that your having come together now in great numbers within these sacred walls to hear a sermon about God and his saints is quite gratifying to God? Human beings do give pleasure to God (if we are right in thinking that God is affected by any emotion) when God sees that some action is directed toward the divinity with due loyalty and pious trust. You can get some idea just how legitimate and deserved our actions will be in this instance from what follows. If we choose to endure so much to protect our country, our parents, our children, if we undergo very difficult and dangerous trials to defend our household, our possessions, and our business activities, how much effort should we exert to perform with the utmost care those tasks which regard our interior health? There is not a single one of you who does not apply himself with the greatest energy to protect the security you have attained or recover the security you have lost. Everyone of you puts forth every effort and strength to safeguard, maintain, and, insofar as it is possible, prolong this most ephemeral existence, which we share in common with wild beasts. Will we not strive, then, to attain the security for our souls that religion produces? or to attain through minimal expense of energy eternal life itself?

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Diogenes Laertius 1.1. In the Middle Ages, a Latin epitome of the Greek original was published and then used in texts like that attributed to Walter of Burley. See Ps. Walter of Burley, . . . *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum mit einer altspanischen Übersetzung der Eskurialbibliothek*, ed. Hermann Knust (Tübingen, 1886; repr., Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1964), 10; and Remigio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci ne' secoli XIV e XV*, Biblioteca storica del Rinascimento 4 (1905-14; repr., Florence: G. Sansoni, 1967), 2:262-63. Thales of Miletus was one of the "Seven Wise Men," and many aphorisms are attributed to him.

Solebant vetusto tempore hi quos vulgato nomine gentiles dicimus, ut crebro res veterum legens animadverti (quod id etiam nunc<sup>x</sup> facere opinor eos, si pristinae religionis suae apud se morem tenent, qui nondum in veritatem religionis nostrae venerunt)—solebant, inquam, attentissima cura et diligentissimo studio sacra celebrare et ne minimum quidem impune praetermittere quod ad divina pertineret, quibus tamen nondum persuasum erat esse post mortem corporis victuram animam aut ex his meritis beari posse. Quanto igitur magis id facere nos<sup>y</sup> decet, qui et veram professionem assecuti sumus et sine ambiguitate ulla certum tenemus esse immortalem animam atque ex piis operibus vitae, orationibus, sacrificiis, votis felicem post mortem animam fieri in beato loco.

Semper itaque probavi, ut ex diebus hebdomadarum prima atque ex horis matutina ab homine quovis et quantumvis occupato rebus divinis daretur. Reliquos dies reliquasque dierum partes mundanum opus habeat. Nunc autem vespere a me evocati<sup>z</sup> convenistis, propterea quod hanc ipsam horam diurnis negotiis et laboribus vestris,<sup>aa</sup> tum et<sup>bb</sup> cotidiano officio, quod in his sacris altaribus agitur, minus incommodam arbitratus sum. Venistis itaque audire de ea re,<sup>cc</sup> quam vellem ego tam bene dicere me posse quam libenter<sup>dd</sup> audituri vos estis.<sup>ee</sup> De gloriosissimo Hieronymo et laudibus eius sermonem facturus sum. Quis est vestrum,<sup>ff</sup> obsecro, qui non ad huius nomen recordationemque et aures et animum arrexerit?<sup>gg</sup> Nam cui et vivus et vita defunctus non profuit? Quod hominum genus, qui sexus, quae aetas beneficiorum eius expers est? Quare non vereor me incomposite aut inornate dicere posse quod cum summa aviditate audituros vos scio.<sup>hh</sup>

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<sup>x</sup> quod id etiam nunc] quod id et nunc *N E*. quod etiam nunc *Tp*. quod id etiam *R*  
<sup>y</sup> igitur . . . facere] ergo magis id facere nos *V*. igitur magis id nos facere *Tp E*. igitur (*interl.*) id nos magis facere *R*  
<sup>z</sup> vespere a me evocati] vesperi a me convocati *R*: vespere vocati a me *Tp*  
<sup>aa</sup> vestris *om. R*  
<sup>bb</sup> tum etiam *C R*: tam et *E*  
<sup>cc</sup> ea de re *Tp*  
<sup>dd</sup> libenter *om. E*  
<sup>ee</sup> estis] De gloriosissimo . . . merita attinet *om. C R*. De gloriosissimo . . . Amen *om. E*  
<sup>ff</sup> nostrum *V*  
<sup>gg</sup> qui . . . arrexerit] qui ad huius nomen recordationemque aures et animum non arrexerit *Tp*  
<sup>hh</sup> scio] Communi . . . ei omnes *om. N*

In ancient times, the pagans (as we call them in common parlance) were accustomed, as I have frequently noticed while reading the history of that era (I am of the opinion that even today those, who have not yet come into the truth of our religion, still conduct themselves in this way, if they have retained among themselves the traditions of their primitive religion)—they were accustomed, I was saying, to celebrate sacred rites with the most intent concern and assiduous zeal. If they neglected even the slightest matter which pertained to the gods, they were held accountable. They took such care even though they were not yet convinced that the soul will live on after the death of the body or that they are able to attain a heavenly reward in keeping with their merits. How much more fitting it is, then, that we conduct ourselves in this way, for we have attained the true profession of faith and firmly believe that the soul is immortal and that it achieves true happiness in a blessed place after death in keeping with the pious works of one's life, the prayers, sacrifices, solemn promises.

Thus, I have always felt that all human persons, no matter what their job, should dedicate the first day of the week and the first hour of the morning to divine matters. They can use the other days of the week and the other hours of the day for secular activities. Now, however, I have summoned you to assemble in the evening because I thought that this time of day was less inconvenient, given your daytime activities and labors and particularly that daily recitation of the Divine Office, which you pray around this sacred altar. Thus, you have come to hear about that subject, which I wish that I were able to address with a skill commensurate with the willingness with which you will listen. I am about to deliver a sermon on the praises of the most glorious Jerome. Which one of you here present, I wonder, did not pay closer attention at the mere mention of Jerome's name? For is there anyone whom Jerome has not assisted either during his lifetime or after his death? What type of person, what gender, what age-group has not partaken of his services? That is why I am not afraid of speaking in a disorderly fashion or without sufficient embellishment. I have every confidence that you will listen to what I say with the greatest interest.

Communi enim quadam devotione astringuntur ei omnes; omnes sanctitatem memoriamque laeti venerantur. Ego vero<sup>ii</sup> singulari studio praecipuaque indulgentia affectus ei sum, cum<sup>jj</sup> vetusta religione meorum maiorum, tum plurimis, maximis, atque evidentissimis beneficiis et in me et in familiam nostram collatis. Quare ingratus mihi videri possem, si non tantis meritis aliquid quod industriae studiisque meis conveniret grati animi signum redderem. Solebant parentes mei, dum fortuna laetaeque res starent,<sup>kk</sup> atque id a suis fieri solitum commemorabant perpetuo hoc ipso festo die, cum sacra ritu debito et solito more peracta essent, sollemne convivium pauperibus facere<sup>ll</sup>—his quidem primum, tum et amicis, familiaribus, atque domesticis hominibus—quo et in illos pietas et in hos<sup>mm</sup> alacritas funderetur. Omnes enim, quoad poterant et facultates suae ferre sustinebant, gaudii sui studebant participes facere. Dies hic et foris et domi<sup>nn</sup> laetus agebatur. Nunc vero, postquam bellis fragoribus inimica fortuna res arbitrio suo vertit, mansit animus, cessit mos. Ego autem, qui nihil maius in tanta egestate quod tribuam habeo, decrevi singulo anno dum vixero laudes Hieronymi et praeclara merita in conventu optimorum recensere. Si quando tamen fortuna placido vultu faverit, ne vetustum quidem morem familiae nostrae praetermittam.

At vero nunc debitum meum iam<sup>oo</sup> promissione consignatum ut exolvam praefixus a me dies exigit.<sup>pp</sup> Verum cum in<sup>qq</sup> tam ampla rerum area difficile sit initium dicendi facere,<sup>rr</sup> aliquanto difficilius erit exitum orationi invenire. Unde enim quis in tot tantisque rebus aut principium<sup>ss</sup> ordietur aut ubi sistat orationem inveniet? Clara, magna, praecipua sunt quaecumque de eo dici possunt, neque opinione neque verbis aut exaugeri aut minui possibilia; quorum unumquodque se primum dici principiumque sermonis esse se postulat.

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<sup>ii</sup> tam Tp: *om. N*

<sup>jj</sup> tum V Tp

<sup>kk</sup> res starent *ex restarent corr. interl. V*

<sup>ll</sup> facere] his quidem . . . Amen *om. N*

<sup>mm</sup> et in illos pietas et in hos] et illos pietas et hos Tp

<sup>nn</sup> et domi et foris V

<sup>oo</sup> tum Tp

<sup>pp</sup> exigitur V

<sup>qq</sup> in *om. Tp*

<sup>rr</sup> facere] aliquanto . . . enim *om. V*

<sup>ss</sup> aut principium] auriet principium (*ordietur . . . non est ita om.) Tp*

As a matter of fact, all persons are bound to Jerome by a certain common devotion, all joyfully venerate the memory of his sanctity. Yet, I am touched by a particular devotion and special affection for Jerome, which springs from the enduring piety of my ancestors and even more from the extremely numerous, significant, and obvious services extended to me personally and to my entire family. Therefore, I would consider myself ungrateful, if I did not respond to such great merits and give some sign of the gratitude I feel which puts my diligence and education to good use. After my parents had attended the sacred rites celebrated in the appropriate and conventional manner, they were accustomed for as long as their resources permitted to offer a solemn banquet for the indigent of the city. Moreover, they had clear memories that their own ancestors had consistently performed the same service on this feast day. They first took care of the poor and then welcomed friends, relatives, and domestic servants, thereby expressing their loyalty to the latter and their compassion toward the former. As long as my parents had the resources to cover the costs of such a celebration, they eagerly desired to make all the others share in their own joy. We celebrated the feast day in public and private rituals. Now, however, after hostile fortune turned against us and unleashed war's destructive furies, only the intention remains. The celebration itself has ceased. Nevertheless, although I regret having nothing greater to offer in my state of poverty, I have vowed that, as long as I live, I will review the praises and excellent merits of Jerome in a speech before an assembly of the best citizens. If ever fortune will look upon me and smile once again, I will not hesitate to revive that ancient custom of our family.

In all honesty, my debt at this moment is already registered in a promissory note, and the date on which I have to repay it has arrived. If it is hard to find a way to begin my speech as I gaze over such an extensive range of possibilities, it will be that much harder for me to find a way to end it. For among so many substantial matters, who could find a topic to use in organizing the exordium or one to use in concluding the oration? No matter what you say about Jerome, it constitutes distinguished, great, unique subject matter, and you really cannot significantly embellish or diminish the possible topics, no matter what you choose to say. Each one of those topics virtually demands to be the first one mentioned and thereby become the focus of the sermon's exordium.

Nam cum animadverto res ipsas<sup>u</sup> quas [ut] dicere non tam potens quam volens et debens aggressus sum, geminum in laudibus ei <u> s iter mihi propositum video, quorum utrumque longe lateque supra vires ingenii est. Primum enim si dicere instituerō de his in quibus praesentes et saeculares homines gentilesque etiam laudare solemus—puta de litteratura, de moribus, de summa honestate vitae—abundantem ac fere inexplicabilem dicendi materiam nactus sum, ut<sup>uu</sup> ad quod secundum est hoc ordine, re autem primum, nullo pacto exequi posse me sperem. Quis enim sanctitatem, fidem, religionem, caritatem, spem, tum maxime innumerabiles res gestas atque infinita miracula et mortuo et vivente ab eo confecta verbis consequi possit? Omnia et credulitatis et orationis modum excedunt.

Nam, ut maiora omittam et ea primum attingam in quibus mediocres etiam viri laudem sibi vindicare possunt, quis ei (ne superiorem dicam) litteris par? quis praestantior virtute? quis usu vitae moderatior? Trium linguarum peritissimus extitit, Hebraicae, Graecae, et Latinae; omnis generis doctrina <m> complexus est interpretator vehementissimus. Quo adeo magnum adiumentum fidei nostrae dedit, ut nihilo uteretur<sup>vv</sup> Latina ecclesia quod ipse non transtulerit. Sed quam ornatus, obsecro, viri doctissimi; ipsum medius fidius Ciceronem mihi legere videor cum libros Hieronymi lego. Tanta inest maturitas orationi, tanta festivitas comitasque sermoni. Solis profecto rebus de quibus agunt distant a se; stilus prope par est.

Sed quid de sacris litteris? Cum enim dici soleat, legi Dei deesse quicquid contingit ignorare Hieronymum, ego prompte id dico, superflua et inutilia esse legi Dei quae Hieronymus ignoravit. Ea enim sic

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<sup>u</sup> scripsi: suas V

<sup>uu</sup> scripsi: cum V

<sup>vv</sup> scripsi: utar? V



When I ponder the topics that not so much from ability as from desire and obligation I now plan to address, I see two parallel paths that I can follow in this panegyric. Each of them exceeds far and wide my intellectual aptitude and physical strength. If I will have resolved to speak first about the topics that customarily motivate us to praise men of our own age who are engaged in the business of the world and to praise the pagans as well—topics like one's literary expertise, one's morals, the supreme integrity of one's life—I have procured material so abundant that I could almost never cover it in a speech. Consequently, I would have to abandon all hope of being able to do what comes next in my overall plan but has priority in terms of importance. For who could adequately cover in words his holiness, faith, piety, charity, hope, and even more so the countless deeds and infinite miracles that he performed during his lifetime or after his death? They all exceed any degree of plausibility and manner of speaking.

I will postpone for now the more important topics and begin by touching upon those which make it possible even for ordinary men to win acclaim. For who was ever the equal of Jerome in letters (to call anyone superior is out of the question)? who was more eminent in virtue? who was more temperate in his manner of living? He became most fluent in three languages—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin.<sup>2</sup> He was a most energetic translator and embraced learning of every sort. That is why Jerome gave such great assistance to our faith: he personally translated virtually everything that the Latin Church still utilizes. But what command of style, I beg you, most learned men; I swear to God that I seem to read Cicero himself when I read the books of Jerome. There is such great maturity in his prose, so much elegance and harmony in his language. To tell the truth, those men differ only in the substance of the matters that they treat; as to style, they are virtually the equal of each other.

But what about sacred letters? A familiar saying tells us that whatever Jerome did not happen to know is not part of God's law.<sup>3</sup> I would go further and claim that the things which Jerome did not know are utterly superfluous and without relevance to God's law. Thus, he con-

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Contra Rufinum* 3.6 (CCL 79:79).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ps. Augustinus, "Epistola de magnificentia," 253.

ignoravit quia voluit;<sup>ww</sup> nihil autem quod penitus scire vellet latere tantum acumen ingenii potuit. Multa, ut dixi, ex linguis transtulit, sed quam multa, oro, per se scripsit, quam multa in confirmandis fidelibus quamque multa in redarguendis haereticis? Neminem vere possem dicere praestantiorum virum. At certe magis necessarium neminem habuit ecclesia: talem siquidem tum primum adolescens tumque primum oriens alumnum sibi expetebat, tam solidum cui inniteretur cardinem, tam fortem qui se tueretur patronum. Quem profecto non casu aliquo sed summa Dei providentia atque aeterno consilio illi tempori datum existimandum est, ut esset qui teneram et invalidam atque a multis adversariis impetitam ducatu, monitis, praesidioque suo protegeret.

Indignari possunt tempora nostra proque<sup>xx</sup> gravissima sibi execratione ducere quod nullos huiusmodi iam parturiant viros, cum idem saeculum tres summos et prope coevos tulerit. Fuerunt una atque iisdem diebus tria nondum clarissima lumina, certissimi nascentis ecclesiae praeceptores, Ambrosius, Augustinus, et, qui utrique sine eorum invidia anteposendus est, Hieronymus. Fuere et nonnulli alii eodem tempore clari viri, quorum extant et opera et crebra memoria; sed multo<sup>yy</sup> post Gregorius exortus est, qui quartus ab his connumerari solet et ipse vir non parvae litteraturae neque mediocris vitae sanctitatis. His quattuor veluti firmissimis basibus ecclesia Dei nixa subsistit. Quorum non est

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<sup>ww</sup> voluit ex noluit corr. V

<sup>xx</sup> scripsi: pro qua V

<sup>yy</sup> scripsi: multa V

sciously chose not to know them; nothing, however, would go unexamined by his very great perspicacity of intellect if he desired to explore it. He translated many things from other languages, as I have already stated; but how many things, I beg you, did he write of his own accord, often to confirm the faithful and just as often to refute the heretics? I could honestly say that the church never had a more eminent member. But I am sure you would all agree that the church never had a more indispensable member. For indeed, just after the church had come into existence and then entered her adolescence, she was looking for a disciple, who was such a solid hinge that she could rely on him,<sup>4</sup> such a courageous defender that she could feel safe. We have to conclude that Jerome was given to the church at that time not by pure chance but through the greatest providence and eternal plan of God, so that Jerome might use his leadership, his warnings, and his protection to shield that frail church, which was assailed by so many adversaries at a tender age.

Our own times are able to feel indignation and consider themselves under a very serious curse because they have not produced men of this sort, whereas the same century produced three outstanding individuals who were, practically speaking, contemporaries. One and the same epoch produced three lights who became most brilliant, three teachers who proved most reliable for the church early in her existence: Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome, who should be esteemed more highly than the other two without any jealousy on their part. There were also other distinguished men of that era, and their extant works remind us of their important contribution. Years later, Gregory was born, who is usually considered the fourth member of that group<sup>5</sup> because he was an individual of significant literary accomplishment and one whose life was marked by a sanctity beyond the norm. The church of God survives because it rests upon those four as though they were most solid pedestals

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<sup>4</sup> Punning upon the Latin word *cardo*, Vergerio alluded to the tradition that Jerome was a cardinal. See *Sermon 3*, n. 3 above.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the decretal of Boniface VIII (20 September 1295) in *Corpus Iuris Canonici, Liber Sextus Decretalium*, III, tit. XXII, cap. 1 (cited by Eugene Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* [Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1985], 218–19 n. 1); and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 2 (cited by Joseph Klapper, "Aus der Frühzeit des Humanismus: Dichtungen zu Ehren des heiligen Hieronymus," in Ernst Boehlich and Hans Heckel, eds., *Bausteine: Festschrift für Max Koch zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht* [Breslau, 1926], 257–58). In addition to Jerome, the other three doctors of the Latin Church are Ambrose (ca. 339–97) who became bishop of Milan in 374, Augustine (354–430) who became bishop of Hippo Regius around 396, and Gregory I (ca. 540–604) who became bishop of Rome in 590.

mihi animo gloriam beataeque vitae munera invicem comparare, utpote qui et beatitudinis gradus illorum caelestium civium ignorem et unumquemque supra quam existimari possit humano animo beatum credam. Sed quoad disciplinarum doctrinas atque huius vitae merita attinet, nemo est qui Hieronymum neget ceteris<sup>zz</sup> antefendum, qui modo vel tenuiter quae ipse scripsit quaeque de eo scripta sunt viderit. Praestiterunt enim fortasse alii voluminibus et numero librorum; at qui<sup>aaa</sup> magis mature, magis graviter magisque commode, et, quod non minima pars est, magis necessaria scripserit<sup>bbb</sup> nemo est. Sed de litteris iam satis multa; quantum brevitatis sermonis patiebatur dictum est.

De vita vero et morum integritate quid dicam? Nondum enim ad illud<sup>ccc</sup> veni, ut de his dicerem quae ut sanctus, ut vere Catholicus, ut caelo dignus egit. Nam et multa scribere, etiam<sup>ddd</sup> de sacra religione, et bene atque<sup>eee</sup> secundum virtutem vivere mundano homini etsi non vitioso, at saltem infideli et irreligioso<sup>fff</sup> commune est. Quis igitur, ut propositum sequar, eo modestior fuit, quis iustior, quis prudentior, quis omni genere virtutum ornatio, quis fortior in adversis tolerandis, in<sup>ggg</sup> repellendis obsistentibus, in laboribus obeundis, inque opprobriis et persecutionibus, quibus saepenumero affectus est, magno fortique animo ferendis? Quam abstinens, oro, quam frugi, quam pudicus, quam aequus, quam vigil, quam sollicitus in bonis studiis, quam in rectis operationibus sagax: omnia supra solitum modum habuit.

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<sup>zz</sup> ceteris] -ris ex -tis? corr. V

<sup>aaa</sup> atque V

<sup>bbb</sup> scripsit V

<sup>ccc</sup> id C

<sup>ddd</sup> et V

<sup>eee</sup> bene atque om. R

<sup>fff</sup> irreligioso] -ioso ex -iose corr. C: religioso V

<sup>ggg</sup> in om. V

of support. It is not my intention to make some odious comparison about the relative glory and quantity of heavenly gifts that each of them has attained. As you might well have guessed, I do not know the level of beatitude accorded those citizens of heaven, though I certainly believe that each of them is blessed beyond anything that the human mind can imagine. But if we are speaking about the mastery of disciplines and the merits of life here on earth, no one would dispute that Jerome must be given precedence over the others, provided that he has only cursorily examined what Jerome wrote and what is written about him. Perhaps others have surpassed him in the size and the number of books; but there is no one who wrote with greater maturity, with greater influence and greater timeliness, and, what is certainly not least significant, with a greater sense of urgency. Nonetheless, I think that I have already said enough about letters, for I have dealt with that topic to the extent that the appropriate length of a speech allows.

But what shall I say about his life and the integrity of his character? For I have not even reached the part of the sermon where I am to speak about the matters which Jerome accomplished as a saint, as one authentically Catholic, as one worthy of heaven. If a person engaged in secular activity is not evil (which means that he could be an infidel or a non-believer), he shares with Jerome the capacity to write extensively, even about religious belief, and the capacity to live well by adhering to the norm of virtue. In order that I follow my stated plan, let me ask who was more temperate than that man, who more just, who more prudent, who more appealing for practicing every type of virtue, who was more courageous in bearing adverse circumstances, in driving back those offering resistance, in undergoing labors with a decidedly resolute spirit, and in enduring the abusive insults which repeatedly tormented him? How self-restrained, I beg you, how thrifty, how chaste, how balanced, how alert, how dedicated to good studies, how wise in making the upright choice: he possessed all of those qualities to an unusual degree.

Sed vereor, optimi patres, ne parum me deceat hoc studium meum, quo tam vehemens sum in explicandis sanctissimi viri laudibus. Videor enim fortasse existimare me tot tantasque res aut amplecti opinione aut comprehendere posse sermone,<sup>hhh</sup> sed non est ita. Neque enim aut de rerum magnitudine aut de<sup>iii</sup> ingenii mei<sup>jjj</sup> linguaeque imbecillitate fallor; verum affectione quae in me maxima erga hunc est impulsus, non possum in tam patenti laudum suarum campo dicendi impetum continere.

Sciebam satius esse, idque<sup>kkk</sup> mihi a principio constitueram, ut, cum<sup>lll</sup> pauca dixissem, finem orationi facerem et vos tacitus in ceterorum admiratione dimitterem,<sup>mmm</sup> praecipue cum is ipse de quo loquor in epistola quadam dicat omnem humanum sermonem inferiorem esse caelesti laude. Quod et<sup>nnn</sup> fecissem ut conceperam,<sup>ooo</sup> sed, cum in ipso procurso sermonis viderem vos audiendi avidos neque antehac quemquam vestrum aut oculos aut aures alio detorsisse, crevit mihi voluptas desideriumque dicendi. Neque parum placere vobis arbitratus sum quod cum tanta attentione audiretis. Ut itaque et vobis et animo meo morem gererem, coeptum dicendi cursum sequi destinavi. Sed quoniam hae virtutes de quibus dixi fidei religionique iunctae id efficiunt quod postremo mihi dicendum restabat, ad illud nunc venio, et me in patentissimum mare, ex quo nullus quantumvis doctus enatare tuto possit,<sup>ppp</sup> sponte conicio. Periculi tamen prudens<sup>qqq</sup> non procul a litoribus abero.<sup>rrr</sup>

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<sup>hhh</sup> opinione ... sermone] opinionem ... sermone *V.* opinionem ... sermonem *C*

<sup>iii</sup> de *om.* *R*

<sup>jjj</sup> mei *om.* *Tp*

<sup>kkk</sup> id quod *V*

<sup>lll</sup> cum *om.* *Tp*

<sup>mmm</sup> facerem et ... dimitterem] facere et ... dimittere *Tp*

<sup>nnn</sup> et *in ras.* *V*

<sup>ooo</sup> fecissem ut conceperam] fecisse conceperam *V*

<sup>ppp</sup> posset (sponte conicio ... Amen *om.*) *Tp*

<sup>qqq</sup> providens *V*

<sup>rrr</sup> aberro *V*

But I fear, most honest fathers, that the enthusiasm, which makes me so eager to expound upon the praises of that most holy man, may now violate proper decorum. For I may well give you the impression that I think I can mentally comprehend so many substantial matters or treat them in words, but that is not the case. I do not underestimate the magnitude of those affairs or the feebleness of my talent and my tongue. Yet, I am urged on by the affection which I feel so strongly toward that man, and I cannot hold myself back from entering that vast field of his praises.

I was aware that it would be more than enough to say only a few things, and I had determined to do so from the start. Once I had said them, I intended to bring the oration to a conclusion and then be silent, as I sent you off to reflect privately on the rest. That seemed especially fitting because the very person about whom I am speaking affirms in one of his letters that all human utterance cannot adequately extol what is of heaven.<sup>6</sup> And I would have done as I had planned, but I see that you continue to listen attentively as I go on with the sermon. To this point, not a single one of you has turned his eyes or ears away from me. Thus, my enjoyment of what I am about and my desire to continue speaking have grown at the same rate. I never really entertained the possibility that you would listen with such rapt attention to something that you did not enjoy. In order that I behave in a way that conforms to your wishes and my own intentions, I have therefore decided to extend the course of speaking that I have begun. But since the virtues which I have mentioned can be joined to pious faith and yield the results that I planned to discuss in the final portion of the speech, I now come to that topic, and, by my own choice, I throw myself into the widest expanse of ocean from which no one, no matter how skilled, is able to swim safely to shore. Cognizant of the danger, however, I will not wander far away.

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<sup>6</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 1.1 (CSEL 54:1).

Quis enim de eo dicturus de quo mihi nunc sermo est—taceo fervorem fidei, ardentissimos caritatis affectus,<sup>sss</sup> indefessam rerum aeternarum spem—quis, inquam, omnia sanctitatis opera singulaque monumenta virtutum exacta in diuturna vita et longa aetate, quae nonagesimum quidem annum transgressa est, comprehensurum sermone se speret? Quis denique omnia<sup>ttt</sup> miraculorum exempla et praeclara beneficia iam ferme per mille annos continuato cursu in<sup>uuu</sup> tempora nostra delapsa, quorum bona magnaue pars in vobis<sup>vvv</sup> atque in me evidentissime deprehensa est, credat se unius diei oratione posse complecti? Ego vero id non aggredior qui impar sum tantae rei. Satis enim est<sup>www</sup> mihi de his carptim et perfunctorie et, ut aiunt, summis labiis attingere.

In quo tamen et<sup>xxx</sup> multa dicta sunt et dicenda sunt multa: multa quidem cum ad dicentem referri volumus, sed pauca si ad ea referantur quae dicenda, si quis prosequi velit, superessent. Non enim verer me in hac re posse nimium dicere in qua nihil potest esse nimium. Nam si diem verbis egero noctemque et menses et annos una iunxero,<sup>yyy</sup> pauca dicam eorum collatione quae dici iam possent. Itaque perfunctorie magis et quam breviter rem sequar.

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<sup>sss</sup> effectus C

<sup>ttt</sup> omnia *om.* R

<sup>uuu</sup> et V

<sup>vvv</sup> nobis C

<sup>www</sup> est enim C R

<sup>xxx</sup> et *om.* R

<sup>yyy</sup> vixero V



For what person, intending to address the topic which my sermon will now treat—I pass over in silence the intensity of faith, the most impassioned feelings of charity, the unwavering hope for eternal rewards—what person, I say, would realistically expect to cover in a sermon all the works of sanctity and the single monuments of virtue that are scattered across the entire span of Jerome’s life right into old age, which in his case clearly went beyond the ninetieth year?<sup>7</sup> What person, accordingly, would be so rash as to believe that he could cover in a single day’s oration all the exemplary miracles and splendid services, which for almost a thousand years now have flowed down to us in a steady stream; a substantial portion of them have evidently affected you and me. I frankly will not undertake so great a task, for I prefer to acknowledge that I am unequal to it. As a matter of fact, I feel that it is sufficient to touch upon these things selectively and in a perfunctory way and only let you taste them, as they say, with the tip of the tongue.<sup>8</sup>

All the same, many things have been said and many things ought to be said on this topic: the expression “many things” accurately reflects the situation if we want to refer to the person speaking, but those “many things” are actually few when compared to the matters that still remain to be discussed, should someone ever wish to exhaust the topic. I really should not be afraid to say too much on this subject, given that no treatment could be excessive. For if I will have filled the entire day and night with my words and then continued on for months and years, I will only have addressed a few from the vast array of topics one might address. Therefore, I will go on with my presentation in rather schematic fashion and be as brief as I can.

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<sup>7</sup> The following authors described Jerome as at least 90 years old at his death: Anon., “Vita Divi Hieronymi (inc: Plerosque nimirum),” 2:36; Nicolò Maniacoria, “Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi vita,” *PL* 22:200; Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 657; Ps. Eusebius, “Epistola de morte,” 41; and Giovanni d’Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 19–20.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 125.14 (CSEL 56:133): “. . . ut non levi citatoque sermone et—ut ita loquar—summis labiis hospites invitemus.”

Primum id dico quod, cum scripta Hieronymi video, quae semper scribentis animum et mores redolent, cumque historiam lego, quae<sup>zzz</sup> dicta factaque sua quantum fieri<sup>aaaa</sup> commode potuit continentur, confingo mihi mente virum<sup>bbbb</sup> cuius effigiem crebro in animum revoco:<sup>cccc</sup> senio gravem qualis tunc erat cum ultimos et morti proximos annos ageret, canum barba capilloque, austum facie, acrem studiosumque et<sup>dddd</sup> permodestum, cui non ornatio cultus, non splendida toga, ut eorum qui praelati nobis sunt, cui non pinguedine marcida venter tumens, sed moderata facies, validiori tamen macie parumper castigata, vetus attritumque vestimentum ad necessitatem non ad voluptatem comparatum. Huiusmodi effictio tum iucunda, tum et<sup>eeee</sup> perutilis est mihi. Quotiens enim libet devotissimum mihi patronum meum<sup>ffff</sup> coram induco; quo praesente, ne dicere quidem aut facere, ac ne cogitare quidem quicquam mali audeo. Sed, hortante<sup>gggg</sup> eo, in bona studia et bonas spes laetus erigor.

Quid ni erigar? Non solum enim verbo et scriptis sed re et exemplo docuit quid bono viro, quid vere Catholico faciendum esset, quidque ex his sperandum. Hic cum esset in amplissimo gradu dignitatis, cum Romae optimus et doctissimus celebraretur, abiit potius et monasterii parietibus se inclusit,<sup>hhhh</sup> fugiens (quod tunc pulcherrimum et praecipuum in orbe erat) Romam, secessit in desertam solitudinem, ubi quae passus sit non alio quam suo verbo, quod crebro a me cum fit sermo de Hieronymo repetitum est, libet explicare. "O quotiens," inquit, "in eremo constitutus,<sup>iiii</sup> in illa vasta solitudine, quae exusta solis ardoribus horridum monachis praestat<sup>jjjj</sup> habitaculum, putavi me Romanis interesse deliciis! Sedebam solus quia amaritudine repletus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformi, et squalida cutis situm Aethiopicarum<sup>kkkk</sup> carnis

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<sup>zzz</sup> qua] de causa *add.* V

<sup>aaaa</sup> fieri *om.* C R

<sup>bbbb</sup> mentem virum V

<sup>cccc</sup> reveho C

<sup>dddd</sup> studiosum et C

<sup>eeee</sup> et *om.* C

<sup>ffff</sup> mecum V

<sup>gggg</sup> hortante] h- *interl.* V

<sup>hhhh</sup> reclusit C

<sup>iiii</sup> constitutus] et cetera *add.* (in illa . . . currimus *om.*) R

<sup>jjjj</sup> praestabat C

<sup>kkkk</sup> Aethiopissae C

First, I say that, when I see the writings of Jerome, which are always evocative of the spirit and the behavior of their author, and when I read a historical account, which records his sayings and deeds insofar as any biography can adequately do so, I can see a picture of him in my imagination that I often call back to mind: a wise old man as he appeared in the years just before he died, with gray beard and hair,<sup>9</sup> gaunt face, feisty and learned and extremely temperate. Jerome did not have fashionable attire, no luxurious toga like those typically worn by prelates in our day, nor was his stomach swollen and drooping from obesity. He was of average build, though he disciplined his body and lost much weight, and he had tattered old clothing acquired to meet his needs and not his fancy.<sup>10</sup> I find an image of that sort enjoyable and extremely useful. For whenever I have a chance, I summon up my most loyal patron before me; and when I am in his presence, I do not dare to say or do or even to think of something that is evil. In keeping with his exhortations, I am joyfully encouraged in my pursuit of the good arts and in my optimism about the future.

And why should I not be encouraged? For not only through his written words but also through his exemplary activity, Jerome taught what a good man, what an authentically Catholic man must do, and what one should hope to accomplish thereby. Although Jerome had already achieved the widest respect and was acknowledged to be the best and most learned citizen living in Rome, he preferred to leave the city and shut himself within the walls of a monastery; fleeing Rome (which was then the most beautiful and important place on earth), he withdrew into the solitude of the desert. I know of no better way to explain the things Jerome suffered in that place than to cite his own words, as I often do when I preach on him. "Oh, how often," he says, "when I was living in the desert, in that lonely waste, scorched by the burning sun, which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place, how often did I fancy myself surrounded by the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone; for I was filled with bitterness. My unkempt limbs were covered in shapeless sackcloth; my skin through long neglect had become as rough and black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 52.1 (CSEL 54:414: "... nunc iam cano capite et arata fronte ..."); *Comm. in Amos* 2.Prol. (CCL 76:256: "... cano iam mecum capite ..."); and *Contra Rufinum* 1.30 (CCL 79:30: "... nunc cano et recalvo capite ...").

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 43.2 (CSEL 54:319): "Vestes non ad usum tantum, sed ad delicias conquiruntur."

obduxerat. Cottidie lacrimae, cottidie gemitus et, si quando repugnantem somnus imminens oppressisset, nuda humo ossa vix haerentia<sup>llll</sup> collidebam. De cibis vero et potu taceo, cum etiam languentes monachi aqua frigida utantur et coctum aliquid accepisse luxuriae sit. Ille igitur ego, qui ob gehennae metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum, saepe choreis intereram puellarum. Pallebant ora ieiuniis et mens desideriis aestuabat in frigido corpore<sup>mmmm</sup> et ante hominem suum iam carne praemortua sola libidinum incendia bulliebant.

Itaque omni auxilio destitutus ad Iesu iacebam pedes, rigabam lacrimis, crine tergebam, et repugnantem carnem hebdomadarum inedia subiugabam.<sup>nnnn</sup> Non me pudescit infelicitas mea,<sup>oooo</sup> quin potius plango non esse, quod fuerim. Memini me clamantem diem crebro iunxisse<sup>pppp</sup> cum nocte nec prius a pectori[bu]s cessasse verberibus, quam rediret Domino increpante tranquillitas. Ipsam quoque cellulam meam quasi cogitationum mearum consci[enti]am pertimescebam et mihimet iratus et rigidus solus deserta penetra-  
bam. Sicubi concava vallium, aspera montium, rupium prae-rupta cernebam, ibi meae orationis locus erat, illud miserrimae carnis ergastulum; et, ut mihi ipse testis est Dominus, post multas lacrimas, post caelo oculos inhaerentes nonnumquam videbar mihi interesse agminibus angelorum et laetus gaudensque cantabam: post te in odorem unguentorum currimus.”

An vos ista, viri praestantissimi,<sup>qqqq</sup> et quae sub<sup>rrrr</sup> his comprehensa intelligi possunt magna iudicatis? Solet quippe indoctum vulgus existimare non posse magnas res fieri nisi caede, bello, armis, militia, obsidione urbium, captione, eversione, sed fallitur. Longe enim praestantius est se quam hostem vincere, multo praeclarius subicere se rationi quam urbes et regna sibi. Quare magna et egregia videri debent quae hic ob cultum verae et Catholicae religionis spemque aeterni regni et egit et

<sup>llll</sup> *scripsi*: horrentia C V

<sup>mmmm</sup> corde V

<sup>nnnn</sup> subiugabam] et cet. *add.* (Non me . . . currimus om.) C

<sup>oooo</sup> *scripsi*: meae V

<sup>pppp</sup> *scripsi*: vix- V

<sup>qqqq</sup> praestantissimi] viri *add. et expung.* V

<sup>rrrr</sup> sub om. V

sleep ever overcame my resistance and fell upon my eyes, I bruised my restless bones against the naked earth. Of food and drink I will not speak. Hermits have nothing but cold water even when they are sick, and for them it is sinful luxury to partake of cooked dishes. But though in my fear of hell I had condemned myself to this prison-house, where my only companions were scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself surrounded by bands of dancing girls. My face was pale with fasting; but though my limbs were cold as ice my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead.

And so, when all other help failed me, I used to fling myself at Jesus' feet; I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair; and if my flesh still rebelled I subdued it by weeks of fasting. I am not ashamed to admit my misery, nay, rather, I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember that often I joined night to day with my wailings and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned to me at the Lord's behest. I used to dread my poor cell as though it knew my secret thoughts. Filled with stiff anger against myself, I would make my way alone into the desert; and when I came upon some hollow valley or rough mountain or precipitous cliff, there I would set up my oratory, and make that spot a place of torture for my unhappy flesh. There sometimes also—the Lord Himself is my witness—after many a tear and straining of my eyes to heaven, I felt myself in the presence of the angelic hosts and in joy and gladness would sing: 'Because your anointing oils are fragrant we run after you.'"<sup>11</sup>

Will you not agree that those were heroic deeds, most eminent men, along with everything else that you can infer once you are aware of them? The uneducated masses are especially prone to believe that a person cannot accomplish heroic deeds without resorting to slaughter, warfare, arms, and troops and without besieging, capturing, and pillaging cities. However, they are mistaken in that assumption. For it is far better to conquer oneself than to conquer an enemy, it is much more splendid to subject oneself to reason than to subject cities and kingdoms to oneself. For that reason, the things Jerome accomplished and the things he suffered because he practiced the true Catholic faith and hoped

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<sup>11</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152–54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 67–69.

passus est. Fugit urbes, fugit homines, fugit se, fugit denique omnia quae cara hominibus esse<sup>ssss</sup> solent, ut ea quae sibi cara essent consequeretur. Domuit carnem, maceravit, afflixit ne spiritui rebellis esset utque docta servire rationis imperium facilius ferret.

Sed quid ego longior sum? Quid frustra conor praestringere<sup>tttt</sup> quod amplecti nullis viribus possem? Saepe fateor dicendo, revocavi impetum, orationi finem facturus, ut, quoniam<sup>uuuu</sup> non possem dicere quantum est, id dicerem quod sat est. Verum ille impatiens habenae et cohiberi nescius crebro manus effugit. Nunc vero iam<sup>vvvv</sup> tandem sistatur cursus dicendi, et orationi modus esto.<sup>wwww</sup> Si enim omnia quae retro supersunt pertinax consecrari perseverem, neque umquam finem dicendi faciam, neque umquam<sup>xxxx</sup> id consequar ut omnia penitus dicam. Quare<sup>yyyy</sup> satius est, ut iam desinam.

Sed memini me, cum in principio rem ordire, ita constituisse ut aliqua ex illustrioribus miraculis quae Hieronymus egit sub finem sermonis dicerem. Quae quoniam omnia praeclarissima sunt neque possem desiderii mei conscius pauca dicere, praeterrittam illa simulque ne oratione longior fastidium ingeram desino. Etsi timendum non sit vobis haec audientibus accidere id posse, attamen aequum<sup>zzzz</sup> est esse me eum qui studeat ne taedium aut ulla molestia quovis modo oboriatur vobis. Taceo itaque infinitas res et miracula sine numero, mansuefactas feras, validatos aegros, conservatos peregrinos, resuscitados denique a morte homines, et omne genus rerum in quo sentire<sup>aaaaa</sup> beneficia solent aut possunt.

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<sup>ssss</sup> quae cara esse hominibus C: quae esse cara hominibus R

<sup>tttt</sup> perstringere C R

<sup>uuuu</sup> quoniam] "aliter quando" in marg. C

<sup>vvvv</sup> iam om. R

<sup>wwww</sup> est V

<sup>xxxx</sup> umquam om. V

<sup>yyyy</sup> quam C

<sup>zzzz</sup> aequum om. C R

<sup>aaaaa</sup> sentire] homines add. C R

for the eternal kingdom ought to seem especially illustrious. He fled cities, he fled human beings, he fled himself, he fled all things, finally, which human beings customarily prize, in order that he might attain those things which he himself prized. He subjugated the flesh, he weakened it, he tormented it to prevent its rebelling against the spirit and to teach it to obey more readily the rule of reason.

But why do I go on any longer? Why do I attempt in vain to narrate briefly matters I could never treat in full, no matter how strong I was physically? Frequently when I give a speech, I say that I have "called off the attack" at the point when I am about to bring the speech to a close. I use that phrase to acknowledge that I cannot fully explain something and therefore say only what suffices. But Jerome bristles at the reins and does not know how to be held back, and he often slips out of my grasp. Now let me keep my word and terminate the flow of my words, and let me set a precise limit to the speech. For if I should stubbornly continue to pursue all the things that still remain, I will never bring the oration to a close and I will never accomplish my goal of addressing all the topics in depth. For that reason, I feel that I have said more than enough, and I should now cease and desist.

But I just remembered that the outline I gave you early on indicated that I would address some of the more celebrated miracles that Jerome worked as I neared the end of the sermon. Since all of those miracles are extremely worthy of note and I would not be able to control my enthusiasm and simply treat a few of them, I will pass them over in silence and simultaneously bring things to a close. I do not want to lengthen the speech and thereby cause you annoyance. Although it would be wrong for me to fear that you could ever be annoyed while you are listening to a speech on these matters, it is still right that I should be careful not to cause you boredom or bother you in any way whatsoever. Thus, I will not mention the countless accomplishments and the miracles without number, the beasts tamed, the sick healed, the pilgrims protected, the persons raised from the dead, and every sort of difficulty which customarily affords us an opportunity to experience human goodness.

Et hoc solum postremo dico quod egregio auctore suo munitum<sup>bbbb</sup> ipsaque re mirabile non patitur se praeteriri. Cum enim Hieronymus gravis ulteriori senio mortique, quam non refugiebat, proximus evocaretur ad felicia praemia, ea ipsa<sup>cccc</sup> hora qua gloriosa anima e corpore migrabat vidit eam (ita enim scribit is ipse qui nescit mentiri) Augustinus, grandi terrarum spatio ab eo tunc distans. Neque solum ipse sed et multi sanctissimi viri viderunt vera certaue animi et sensuum praesentia comitatam angelis, ut par erat, ferri in beatam caelorum sedem, digna praemia<sup>dddd</sup> quibus tanta integritas vitae honoratur.<sup>eeee</sup> Gratias, viri praestantissimi atque optimi patres, et ea premia quae de gloriosissimo Hieronymo commemoravi ipsius meritis et precibus nobis reddat et tribuat, qui vivit et regnat per infinita saecula benedictus. Amen.

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<sup>bbbb</sup> munitum *om.* R

<sup>cccc</sup> ipsa ea ipsa V

<sup>dddd</sup> praemia] recepturam *add.* (quibus tanta . . . Amen *om.*) R

<sup>eeee</sup> *scripsi:* donaretur C V. Paduae 1392 *add.* (Gratias . . . Amen *om.*) C



And, as I conclude, I will only mention this one miracle, which I cannot pass over in silence because it is authenticated by a very credible source and is a source of great wonder on its own. When Jerome was well along in age and nearing the end of his life, he did not try to flee death because he felt that he was about to be called to the rewards of beatitude. At the precise hour when Jerome's glorious soul was migrating from his body, Augustine saw it (for he so testifies in writing and he did not know how to lie), even though a vast expanse of land at that time separated him from Jerome. And along with Augustine, several other men of great holiness used the utterly reliable assistance of their spiritual senses to see Jerome's soul accompanied by angels, a fitting escort who carried his soul to a blessed seat in the heavens.<sup>12</sup> What worthy rewards to honor such great integrity of life! Through the merits and prayers of Jerome, may God shower graces on us, and may God bestow on us rewards like those I have just commemorated in the case of that most glorious saint, the God who lives and reigns as blessed for ever and ever. Amen.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Ps. Eusebius, "Epistola de morte," 213-17; Ps. Augustinus, "Epistola de magnificentia," 255-72; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 21, 26-27.

## *Sermo 6 pro Sancto Hieronymo*<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts:* B, fol. 89 (fragm.); C, fols. 144–46v; Pa, part 1, 218–21; PM, fol. 150 (fragm.); R, fols. 51–54.

*Edition:* Sal, 4–7 (fragm.).

**G**loriosi doctoris<sup>b</sup> ac patris nostri Sancti Hieronymi dies natalis adest, quo ille mundo<sup>c</sup> mortuus natus est caelo et nostrae mortalitatis servitute liberatus in aeternae vitae coepit throno regnare. Itaque gaudeamus, et diem festum in hilaritate mentis ac bonorum operum studio peragamus. Nam etsi hoc officium sanctis omnibus<sup>d</sup> debeamus, ut eos veneremur in terris quos Deus in regno caelorum honorare dignatus est et eorum celebremus natales qui multo melius moriendo nati sunt quam nascendo, praecipue tamen nos, huius regionis incolae, speciali quadam cura ac propensiore<sup>e</sup> diligentia natale Sancti Hieronymi celebrare debemus, ut qui loco terrestri illius regionis vicini sumus eius meritis et precibus caelestis suae originis consortes efficiamur.

Monstratur enim in proximo Sdregna, rus tenue ac paucis incolis habitatum, unde<sup>f</sup> lumen hoc ortum memorant quod longe lateque fidem Christianam illustravit. Credibilem rem efficit<sup>g</sup> vulgaris opinio a maioribus quasi per manus tradita et nominis corrupti, ut dicunt, similitudo

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<sup>a</sup> Petripauli Vergerii Oratio pro Sancto Hieronymo R. Eiusdem Pro eodem C. Oratio VI pro Sancto Hieronymo Pa

<sup>b</sup> Gloriosi doctoris . . . graves patiebatur om. B PM Sal

<sup>c</sup> modo R

<sup>d</sup> hominibus R

<sup>e</sup> perpensiore C

<sup>f</sup> inde R

<sup>g</sup> effecit R

## *Sermon 6 for Saint Jerome*

**T**he day of birth of the glorious doctor and our father, Saint Jerome, is now upon us, the day on which he died to the world to be born into heaven and was freed from the slavery of our mortality to begin to reign on the throne of eternal life. Let us therefore rejoice, and let us observe this feast-day with joy in our hearts and zeal for good works. Although we on earth have a duty to venerate all the saints whom God has deemed worthy to honor in the kingdom of heaven and to celebrate the birthday of those who enter into life much more effectively by dying than being born, nevertheless it is especially incumbent upon us, as inhabitants of this region, to celebrate the birthday of Saint Jerome with special regard and greater attention. By doing so, those of us who live near the location of his earthly residence may be made members of his heavenly lineage through his merits and prayers.

People locally identify Sdregna, a small village with few inhabitants, as the place where they believe that this light was born, a light that eventually illumined far and wide the Christian faith. The weight of public opinion has even made this identification credible among the better educated, who base themselves upon an apparent similarity in

quaedam, tametsi cetera parum convenient. Nam ex oppido Stridonis historiae natum perhibent quod olim Dalmatiae Pannoniaeque confinia tenuit et a Gothis eversum est. Utrumque habet se veritas, nos<sup>h</sup> famam hanc veterem cupide amplexati tanto coindigena<sup>i</sup> gloriamur, et speramus ex hoc magis propitium illum habere apud Deum patronum quod terrena qualisqualis cognatio<sup>j</sup> et locorum vicinitas intercessit.

Verum enimvero non ortus propinquitas,<sup>k</sup> non coniunctio sanguinis, non ulla mundialis necessitudo, sed honestas morum, vitae sanctitas,<sup>l</sup> ac mentis devotio sanctis Dei acceptabiles nos reddit et gratos. Per ea etenim<sup>m</sup> sola placere ipsis possumus<sup>n</sup> per quae et ipsi Deo placuerunt. Qui vero ex aliis causis aut Dei clementiam aut sanctorum patrocina sibi sperant vel advocant frustra laborant, et, ut malefaciendo confidunt, ita confidendo perduntur. Argumentum<sup>o</sup> autem sumere vel ab ipso sancto possumus,<sup>p</sup> cuius hodie festum celebramus. Nam, ut dictum est, aut hic in proximo aut certe non multo procul hinc natus est.<sup>q</sup> Amore tamen patriae teneri non potuit, quin originis locum linquens eo<sup>r</sup> proficisceretur ubi melior atque eruditior fieri posset; patriaeque Romam praetulit, non quia maior<sup>s</sup> illa esset aut clarior, sed quia ad perficiendum<sup>t</sup> eum magis erat idonea, quippe qui non illud potissimum quaerebat unde natus esset aut vitam ubi duceret sed quo post mortem esset abiturus.

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<sup>h</sup> nos ex non? corr. R

<sup>i</sup> condigena R

<sup>j</sup> cognitio R

<sup>k</sup> propinquitatis R

<sup>l</sup> sanctitatis C

<sup>m</sup> etenim ex est enim? corr. R: Praeterea ut re Pa

<sup>n</sup> possimus C

<sup>o</sup> argumento C

<sup>p</sup> possimus C

<sup>q</sup> est om. C

<sup>r</sup> et R

<sup>s</sup> melior R

<sup>t</sup> proficiendum R

name that would have undergone slight changes as it passed from generation to generation. But the identification with Sdregna does not fit the other information well. Historical sources indicate that Jerome actually came from the town of Stridon, which formerly stood at the border between the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia and was destroyed by the Goths.<sup>1</sup> Whatever the truth may be, those among us who have warmly embraced this ancient tradition now boast about such a great fellow citizen, and on that basis we hope to have a more gracious patron before God, seeing that some vague sort of earthly relationship and proximity of location join us together.

But indeed, neither proximity of birth, nor blood relationship, nor any earthly bond renders us acceptable and gratifying to the saints of God; only moral integrity, sanctity of life, and spiritual devotion can do that. As a matter of fact, we can only please the saints by doing the same things that made the saints themselves pleasing to God. Those who for any other reason expect or petition the mercy of God or the patronage of the saints do so in vain. While they place their trust in harmful deeds, they will likely perish because of their mistaken trust. We can supply further proof from the very experience of Saint Jerome, whose feast we celebrate this day. For local rumor has it that Jerome was born in the immediate vicinity of this place or certainly not far from it. Nevertheless, he could not be held back by love for his country; he abandoned his place of origin and set out for a place where he could become a better and more learned person. He preferred Rome to his own country, not because Rome was greater or more illustrious, but because it was more suitable for bringing him to perfection. It is evident that he was not primarily concerned with the place where he had been born or the place where he was living; he was concerned with the place where he would go after his death.

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<sup>1</sup> Hieronymus *De viris illustribus* 135 (PL 23:755): "Hieronymus, patre Eusebio natus, oppido Stridonis quod, a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit." Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 16: "... locus, quo sepulti sunt parentes Hieronymi, hodie vocatur Sdregna in dioecesi Triestina et ibi est ecclesia Beati Hieronymi tamen pauperrima et dicitur quod olim vocabatur Strido." The tiny town (*oppidulum*) of Sdregna is located to the southeast of Capodistria, in the center of the Istrian peninsula, between Pinguente and Portole. The exact location of Stridon is still a mystery. See Kelly, *Jerome*, 3-5; and Giuseppe Cuscito, *Cristianesimo antico ad Aquileia e in Istria*, Fonti e studi per la storia della Venezia Giulia: Studi, n.s., 3 (Trieste: Deputazione di storia patria per la Venezia Giulia, 1977), 233-38.

Eodem itaque proposito postquam coepit Roma quieti animi eius adversari et esse mora ibi ut sibi iam parum utilis, ita aemulis suis quos ibi<sup>u</sup> multos virtus paraverat valde nociva,<sup>v</sup> in Graeciam ad Gregorium Nazianzenum sanctum episcopum et doctissimum virum se contulit, illiusque et exemplis et doctrina confirmatus ac non parum prove[he]ctus Hierosolymam navigavit, atque inde<sup>w</sup> in eremum Deo militaturus perrexit. Nihil igitur apud eum aut amor patriae aut attinentium caritas domusve aut vitae prioris consuetudo valuit quin pro eremo patriam, pro monasterio domum, pro monachis attinentes et notos, vitamque civilem pristinam pro austerissima eremo commutaret.

Quae qualis fuerit quaeque ipse ibi bella pertulerit opere pretium est eum ipsum audire in epistola quam ad Eustochium scribit de virginitate servanda. "O quotiens," inquit, "in eremo constitutus et in illa vasta solitudine, quae exusta solis ardoribus horridum<sup>x</sup> monachis praestat<sup>y</sup> habitaculum, putavi me Romanis interesse deliciis! Sedebam solus, quia amaritudine plenus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformi[s], et squalida cutis situm Aethiopicae<sup>z</sup> carnis obduxerat. Cottidie lacrimae, cottidie gemitus et, si quando repugnantem somnus imminens oppressisset, nuda<sup>aa</sup> humo<sup>bb</sup> ossa vix haerentia collidebam.<sup>cc</sup> De cibis vero et potu taceo, cum etiam languentes monachi aqua frigida utantur et coctum aliquid accepisse luxuriae sit. Ille igitur ego, qui ob gehennae metum<sup>dd</sup> tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum, saepe choreis intereram puellarum. Pallebant ora ieiuniis et mens desiderii aestuabat in frigido corpore et ante hominem suum<sup>ee</sup> iam carne praemortua sola libidinum incendia bulliebant.

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<sup>u</sup> sibi C

<sup>v</sup> nocuit R: novit Pa

<sup>w</sup> inde om. R

<sup>x</sup> horridum] hor- ex al. litt. corr. R

<sup>y</sup> praestabat C

<sup>z</sup> scripsi: Aethiopissae C R

<sup>aa</sup> nude C

<sup>bb</sup> humi R

<sup>cc</sup> collidebam] [-9-] C

<sup>dd</sup> metu (ex metum corr.) R

<sup>ee</sup> et . . . suum] [-18-] R

With that goal in mind, then, once Jerome found that Rome upset his peace of mind and that remaining in Rome would be of little use to himself and positively harmful to the jealous rivals whom his virtue had procured in large numbers there, he sailed for Greece and put himself at the disposition of Gregory of Nazianzus, a holy bishop and most learned man.<sup>2</sup> After Jerome had been strengthened by the examples and teaching of Gregory and had made no little progress, he sailed to Jerusalem, and from there set out for the desert where he might do battle on God's behalf. Thus, neither love for his country nor the affectionate embrace of his relatives nor his previous way of life had such power over him that he could not exchange his country for the desert, his home for a monastery, his friends and relatives for monks, and his previous civic activity for the most barren desert.

To comprehend the sort of place he chose and the wars he engaged in while living there, it is worthwhile to hear his own words recorded in the letter he wrote to Eustochium to advise her on ways to protect her virginity. "Oh, how often," he says, "when I was living in the desert, in that lonely waste, scorched by the burning sun, which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place, how often did I fancy myself surrounded by the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone; for I was filled with bitterness. My unkempt limbs were covered in shapeless sackcloth; my skin through long neglect had become as rough and black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if sleep ever overcame my resistance and fell upon my eyes, I bruised my restless bones against the naked earth. Of food and drink I will not speak. Hermits have nothing but cold water even when they are sick, and for them it is sinful luxury to partake of cooked dishes. But though in my fear of hell I had condemned myself to this prison-house, where my only companions were scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself surrounded by bands of dancing girls. My face was pale with fasting; but though my limbs were cold as ice my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead.

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<sup>2</sup> See *Sermon 1*, n. 5 above. Cf. M. Tullius Cicero *Inu.* 1.1.1.

Itaque omni auxilio destitutus<sup>ff</sup> ad Iesu iacebam pedes, rigabam lacrimis, crine tergebam, et repugnantem carnem hebdomadarum inedia subiugabam. Non enim erubesco confiteri infelicitatis meae miseriam, quin potius plango non esse, quod fuerim.<sup>gg</sup> Memini me clamantem diem crebro iunxisse cum nocte nec prius a pectoris cessasse verberibus, quam rediret Domino increpante tranquillitas. Ipsam quoque cellulam meam quasi cogitationum mearum consciam<sup>hh</sup> pertimescebam et mihi met iratus et rigidus solus<sup>ii</sup> deserta penetrabam. Sicubi concava vallium, aspera montium, rupium praerupta cernebam, ibi meae orationis locus erat, illud miserrimae carnis<sup>jj</sup> ergastulum; et, ut mihi testis est Dominus, post multas lacrimas, post caelo oculos inhaerentes nonnumquam videbar mihi interesse agminibus angelorum et laetus gaudensque cantabam: in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus.” Haec ille.

Merito igitur post talia victa certamina triumphat victor in caelis. Merito post tot merita colitur memoria eius cum laudibus in terris. Ex quibus non tamquam de nostrae nationis<sup>kk</sup> sancto viro gloriari, sed nostrae fidei sanctum doctorem ac duces ad imitandum conari debemus. Quotiens enim vitam ipsius<sup>ll</sup> legimus, quotiens laudes meritorum audimus, nisi plane desides atque hebetes sumus,<sup>mm</sup> ad imitandum merito provocamur.

Sed heia nunc credat<sup>nn</sup> quispiam inter delicias<sup>oo</sup> tutum<sup>pp</sup> esse posse ab insidiis hostis antiqui, quandoquidem Hieronymus in tanta austeritate vitae tam graves patiebatur incursus? Putet quis adhaerere posse Deo

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<sup>ff</sup> destitutus] d- ex s-? corr. R

<sup>gg</sup> fueram R

<sup>hh</sup> conscientiam C

<sup>ii</sup> solus om. C

<sup>jj</sup> carnis] r interl. R

<sup>kk</sup> nationis] -nis ex -ns corr. R

<sup>ll</sup> ipsius vitam R

<sup>mm</sup> simus R

<sup>nn</sup> certat R

<sup>oo</sup> delicias ex -ciis corr. C

<sup>pp</sup> tantum C



And so, when all other help failed me, I used to fling myself at Jesus' feet; I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair; and if my flesh still rebelled I subdued it by weeks of fasting. I do not blush to confess my misery, nay, rather, I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember that often I joined night to day with my wailings and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned to me at the Lord's behest. I used to dread my poor cell as though it knew my secret thoughts. Filled with stiff anger against myself, I would make my way alone into the desert; and when I came upon some hollow valley or rough mountain or precipitous cliff, there I would set up my oratory, and make that spot a place of torture for my unhappy flesh. There sometimes also—the Lord Himself is my witness—after many a tear and straining of my eyes to heaven, I felt myself in the presence of the angelic hosts and in joy and gladness would sing: 'Because your anointing oils are fragrant we run after you.'<sup>3</sup> These are his own words.

Jerome truly deserves, then, to enter heaven in triumph after he won conflicts of that sort. He also deserves to have his memory extolled here on earth after he accomplished so much. On the basis of these considerations, we should not restrict ourselves simply to boasting about a holy man of our own ethnic group, but we ought to make every effort to imitate that holy doctor and leader of our faith. As a matter of fact, as often as we read the life of Jerome, as often as we hear a panegyric of his accomplishments, we are right to feel roused to imitate him, unless we are nothing but lazy sluggards.

But is there anyone who really believes that he can be safe from the traps set by our ancient enemy while he lives in the midst of many comforts, when Jerome clearly suffered such dangerous incursions while he was immersed in a life of great austerity? Does anyone think that he

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<sup>3</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152-54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 67-69.

tractando quae mundi sunt, quando<sup>qq</sup> Hieronymus, relicto mundo omnique occupatione mundana a se abducta, tanta vi abstrahebatur a Deo? Ipse autem mortificando carnem et calcando mundum se ipsum exinaniens in humilitate spiritus cuncta superabat. Qui tantae humilitatis<sup>rr</sup> fuit atque modestiae ut, cum,<sup>ss</sup> mortuo Liber <i> o Papa, a cunctis dignus summo sacerdotio duceretur ac crederetur, ipse se vix dignum monasterio iudicaret. Non multo post ex presbytero urbis Romae eremi monachum se fecit. Sciebat enim non posse quempiam<sup>tt</sup> Deo placere sibi ipsi<sup>uu</sup> placendo, nec magnum fieri apud Deum<sup>vv</sup> posse nisi in propriis oculis parvus fieret. Itaque cum et doctissimus esset ac doctor plane ab omnibus haberetur, tamen denuo coepit esse discipulus ac tam diu discere voluit, donec inveniret qui docere se posset. Non enim quod aderat sed quod deerat sedulo cogitabat, ideoque et vita et doctrina summus evasit.

Multisque propterea<sup>ww</sup> ac paene innumerabilibus et in vita et post mortem miraculis claruit, quae nedum explicare sed nec vel attingere facile quisquam posset, ut plane liceat quam acceptus sit is<sup>xx</sup> Deo, per quem tot miracula facta sunt, tot beneficia tantaeque<sup>yy</sup> gratiae populis conferuntur. Eius igitur precibus ac meritis detur nobis ita innocenter ac sancte in hoc mundo vivere ut post mortem ad ipsius consortium pertinere et cum eo in aeternum vivere mereamur, praestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat per infinita saecula benedictus.<sup>zz</sup>

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<sup>qq</sup> quando] d *add. et del.* C

<sup>rr</sup> humanitatis R

<sup>ss</sup> eum C

<sup>tt</sup> quempiam non posse B

<sup>uu</sup> ipse C R

<sup>vv</sup> eum R

<sup>ww</sup> praeterea R

<sup>xx</sup> is *om.* R

<sup>yy</sup> tot R

<sup>zz</sup> benedictus] Amen *add.* R

can cling to God while engaged in the activities of this world, when Jerome felt himself powerfully drawn away from God after he had withdrawn from the world and all its activity? Jerome himself, however, by mortifying his flesh and treading upon the world, so emptied himself in true humility of spirit that he overcame all obstacles. The humility and modesty of that man were so great that, at the moment when Pope Liberius died and everyone considered Jerome worthy of the supreme pontificate and expected his election,<sup>4</sup> he felt that he was hardly worthy to enter a monastery. Shortly thereafter, he transformed himself from a presbyter in the city of Rome to a monk in the desert. For he knew that you could not please God by seeking your own pleasure, nor could you become great in the eyes of God unless you became small in your own eyes. Therefore, although he was most learned and widely regarded as such by all, he nevertheless began anew to be a disciple, and he wished to keep learning as long as he could find someone capable of teaching him. As a matter of fact, he did not concentrate on what he had attained but paid special attention to what he still needed to do. It should come as no surprise that he turned out to be outstanding in his life and learning.

On top of that, he became renowned for so many miracles during his lifetime and after his death that they can hardly be counted. It is therefore not possible to explain them in any detail, nor would it be possible even to mention them in passing. That does make clear, however, how gratifying God found Jerome because God worked so many miracles and conferred so many benefits and favors to a variety of people through him. By the prayers and merits of Jerome, then, may we be permitted to live with such innocence and holiness in this world that, after we die, we will deserve to join the company of Jerome himself and to live with him forever, through the intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ, who lives and reigns with the Father and the Holy Spirit as blessed for ever and ever.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 654 (cited verbatim in Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 17). Only these biographies include the mistaken detail about Liberius, who was pope from 352–66. Vergerio slightly reworded the sources to conform more closely to Jerome's statement.

## *Sermo 7 pro Sancto Hieronymo*<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts:* B, fol. 90 (fragm.); Pa, part 1, 221–25;

PM, fols. 151–52 (fragm.); R, fols. 54–57v.

*Edition:* Sal, 19–24 (fragm.).

**P**raestantissimi patres,<sup>b</sup> ecclesiastica nos doctrina salubriter admonet et ratio certe convincit ut sanctos, quorum meritis et exemplis caritate ac spe vivimus, in vera fide miremur.<sup>c</sup> Ingrati enim et iniqui plane Deo hominibusque videremur, si eruditorum ac fortium gentilium memoriam cum honore celebrantes Catholicos viros et fidei Christianae bases negligereamus. Laudamus namque illos et ingentibus praeconiis attolimus, propterea quod aut fortiter operando virtutis exempla aut scribendo bene vivendi doctrinam reliquerunt, et ob haec dignos eos sempiterna memoria ducimus. Sed quanto magis sancti et religiosi viri esse in honore apud nos debent qui, dum viverent in hoc saeculo in sacrosancta fide militantes, modestiae, castitatis, continentiae, ceterarumque virtutum omnium exemplarem nobis normam dederunt, sed potissimam fidei, caritatis, et spei, sine quibus non licet cuiquam ad aeternam gloriam aspirare. Post vero vita defuncti, quam aut martyrio aut laudabili mortis genere terminarunt, apud aeternum omnium patrem pro nobis et salute nostra iugiter deprecantur.

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<sup>a</sup> Petripauli Vergerii Pro Divo Hieronymo oratio R. Oratio VII pro Sancto Hieronymo Pa

<sup>b</sup> Praestantissimi patres . . . quod antea om. B PM Sal

<sup>c</sup> scripsi: morimur R

## *Sermon 7 for Saint Jerome*

**M**ost eminent fathers, the teaching of the church advantageously warns us and our powers of reason surely convince us that we should admire the saints in true faith, just as we live our lives in charity through their example and in hope through their merits. For we would plainly seem ungrateful in the eyes of God and unfair in those of our fellow men, if we were to celebrate the memory of learned and courageous pagans with the proper respect and then disregard those Catholic men who supplied the foundations for the Christian faith. As a matter of fact, we praise and exalt the pagans in lengthy panegyrics, principally because they have left us examples of virtue by what they did so courageously or instruction in ethical conduct by what they wrote; on the basis of those contributions, we consider them worthy to be remembered forever. But how much the more ought holy and pious men to receive recognition among us, for they gave us a normative example of modesty, chastity, continence, and all the other virtues while they were living in this world and waging war on behalf of our venerable faith. Above all, they gave us an example of faith, hope, and charity; without those virtues, no one can aspire to eternal glory. And once the saints have ended their lives through martyrdom or some other praiseworthy type of death, they continue to intercede before the Eternal Father for us and for our salvation.

Habet enim fides nostra<sup>d</sup> viros quales esse in unamquamque republicam bene dispositam convenit. Nam, ut illis sunt praestantes quidam homines et primores urbium ad agendas legationes circuendasque provincias et populos in pace et societate confirmandos instituti, ita<sup>e</sup> in ecclesia nostra apostoli < hoc > locum obtinent. Sunt item alii magno spiritu excellentique robore corporis qui, cum mortem non exhorreant, ad tuendas armis defendendasque viribus urbes dati sunt. Quo loco sunt in fide nostra martyres qui, grandi animo et fidei fervore dotati, innumera-bilia ac paene intolerabilia supplicia passi sunt.

Sunt et alio ordine docti quidam viri qui prudentia ceteris antecel-lant, infirmi fortasse corporis imbecillumque virium, qui de publicis commodis, de iustitia et aequitate consultant. Ex quibus sunt qui ad cor-rigendum populum, ad animandos oratione milites singulosque pro sa-lute publica adhortandos constituti sunt, qui etiam, ut posteritati consu-lant, salubria documenta litterarum monumentis tradunt. Horum primi sunt confessores sancti, qui recte ac pie viventes non cessarunt in vitam saluti omnium monitis et orationibus sacris consulere. Alii vero doctores<sup>f</sup> peritissimi, sollempnissimi, et fidei nostrae lumina, qui, ne ulla pars vitae suae inutilis nobis esset, die ac nocte, negotio et quiete, scribendo praedicandoque nobis profuerunt. Qui etsi non subierint martyrrium pro fide Christi, nonnullos tamen existimo et optasse et cum caelesti adiuto-rio potuisse fortiter ferre. Quia tamen persecutiones passi non sunt, con-fessores obierunt, quemadmodum et animosis militibus contingit ut in pace et sine vulnere moriantur, qui tamen nec vulnera nec mortem<sup>g</sup> pro salute patriae recusarent. Quorum omnium sunt aliqui praestanti nobili-tate praediti ut in fide nostra virgines, alii mediocri ut viduantes, alii

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<sup>d</sup> nostra] pro nobis et salute nostra iugiter deprecantur habet enim fides nostra *add. et expung. R*

<sup>e</sup> scripsi: ut *R*

<sup>f</sup> doctores] solent *add. et del. R*

<sup>g</sup> scripsi: mortes *R*

I contend that our faith has men who are similar to those who serve any republic that is well organized. For instance, in those republics there are some prestigious individuals who belong to the highest social class in the city and therefore are designated to conduct diplomatic embassies and circulate among the peoples of the provinces in order to confirm them in peaceful harmony; in our church the apostles performed a similar service. There are likewise other men endowed with a courageous spirit and superior bodily strength who are commissioned to use their arms to protect their cities and to use their strength to defend them, since they do not fear the prospect of dying. The martyrs performed an analogous service for our faith, for they were endowed with such great courage and ardor for the faith that they suffered countless and almost unbearable torments.

In another social class, there are a certain number of learned men who surpass others for their practical wisdom, even though they may well have frail bodies and little strength; those men give advice about matters of public expediency, about equal justice under the law. Among their number are those who are designated to give speeches which admonish the common people, those to motivate soldiers and urge individuals to preserve the common good; with an eye toward future generations, the same men also hand on beneficial lessons that they have inscribed in the monuments of letters. The first of these correspond to the church's holy confessors, who conducted their entire lives in upright and pious fashion and never ceased to work for the salvation of all through their admonitions and pious prayers. The others are actually like the most learned doctors, men of great reverence and lights of our faith, who, day and night, at work or at rest, aid our cause through their writing and preaching, lest any moment of their lives not be of service to us. Although those doctors did not undergo martyrdom for their belief in Christ, I still think that some of them longed to give their lives and would have been able to bear such suffering courageously with assistance from heaven. Since they did not suffer persecution, they died as confessors; but the same thing can happen to fearless soldiers who end up dying in peacetime without ever being wounded, even though they never tried to avoid a potentially fatal wound when called upon to defend the safety of their country. Within each of those groups, there are some endowed with the status of nobility who are like the virgins in our faith, some of middle-class standing like our widows, some finally of

vero plebeia ut in coniugali statu degentes. Horum igitur meritis et gloria impulsus tenemur eorum nomen sacramque memoriam venerari et dies eorum festos intentione devotissima celebrare.

Sed inter omnes gloriosum Hieronymum, cuius hodie sollemnitatis est, debemus praestantissimis verbis laudare et sacra devotione complecti. Qui fuit inter apostolos<sup>h</sup> non alienus; nam et apostolus quidem dici iure potest. Apostolus enim idem quantum<sup>i</sup> missum sonat. Ut igitur illi Christi voce per universum orbem missi sunt ut praedicarent evangelium omni creaturae, ita et a Spiritu Sancto missus et instinctus est ut sacras litteras fidemque Christianam praesens voce, absens litteris et epistolis praedicaret.

Qui etiam fuit inter doctores summus, inter virgines praecipuus, inter confessores primus, inter monachos egregius, inter eremitas notissimus, et, quod prius dicendum erat, inter martyres eximius. Si enim martyres sunt qui tormenta passi semel pro confessione Christiani nominis mortui sunt, quanto martyres dicendi sunt qui cottidie carnem suam pro Christo macerantes, se ipsos exinanientes affectusque suos fid<sup>e</sup>i fervore domantes, ut cum Deo viverent, per omnem vitam mortui mundo sunt? Nescio quis sanae mentis neget hunc venerabilem patrem Hieronymum iure martyrem dici posse, cum animadvertat quas aemulorum persecutiones passus sit, quas insidias diaboli, quos labores in eremo, quas vigiliis quosque sudores in sacris studiis tulerit, quas in domando adversantem carnem passiones. Libet igitur nunc, ut alias solitus sum, aliqua perstringere quae ipse non ad iactantiam sed ad sanctum exemplum praebendum posteris de se scribit.

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<sup>h</sup> apostolos] ap- ex app- corr. R

<sup>i</sup> scripsi: quanto R. qui Pa



commoner status like those among us living in the state of marriage. Inspired therefore by the glorious merits of these heroes, we feel an obligation to venerate the holy memory of their name and to celebrate their feast-days with the most intent devotion.

But among all those saints, we ought to praise the glorious Jerome with the finest speech and embrace him with holy reverence on this day set apart as his feast. He is not out of place among the apostles, for there is a certain sense in which we can use that designation for him. I say that because the word "apostle" means "one sent." As the apostles were once sent through the entire world by the command of Christ in order that they preach the Gospel to every creature,<sup>1</sup> so Jerome was sent and even driven by the Holy Spirit that he preach sacred letters and the Christian faith to those in his presence through his voice and to those far away through his written letters.

Jerome should also be ranked as the greatest among doctors, unique among virgins, first among confessors, eminent among monks, highly renowned among hermits, and, what must be emphasized above all, extraordinary among martyrs. For if those persons are martyrs who only once suffered torments and were then put to death for confessing the name of Christ, to what extent are persons to be called martyrs, who mortify their own flesh every day for the sake of Christ, who empty themselves in humility and make their personal desires subservient to their fervor for the faith, and who pass their entire lives as though dead to the world in order to live for God alone? I know of no one of sound mind who would deny that this venerable father, Jerome, can justly be labeled a martyr, provided that he have some awareness of the persecution that Jerome suffered at the hands of his jealous rivals, the snares he faced at the hands of the devil, the struggles he bore to live in the desert, the sleeplessness and fatigue he put up with to engage in sacred studies, the sufferings he endured to subdue his rebellious flesh. Therefore, as I have often done on other occasions, I take pleasure now in citing a few words that Jerome wrote to supply an example of holiness for future generations and not to boast about himself.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Marc. 16:15.

“O quotiens,” inquit, “in eremo constitutus, in illa vasta solitudine, quae exusta solis ardoribus horridum monachis praestat habitaculum, putavi me Romanis interesse deliciis! Sedebam solus, quia amaritudine plenus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformi, et squalida cutis situm Aethiopicae carnis obduxerat. Cottidie lacrimae, cottidie gemitus et, si quando repugnantem imminens somnus oppressisset, nuda humo ossa vix haerentia collidebam. De cibis vero et potu taceo, cum etiam languentes monachi aqua frigida utantur et coctum aliquid accepisse luxuriae sit. Ille igitur ego, qui ob gehennae metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram, scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum, saepe choreis intereram puellarum. Pallebant ora ieiuniis et mens desiderii aestuabat in frigido corpore et ante hominem suum iam carne praemortua sola libidinum incendia bullieba <n> t.

Itaque omni auxilio destitutus ad Iesu iacebam pedes, rigabam [os] lacrimis, crine tergebam, et repugna <n> tem carnem hebdomadarum inedia subiugabam. Non enim erubescio confiteri infelicitatis meae miseriam, quin potius plango non esse, quod fueram. Memini me clamantem diem crebro iunxisse cum nocte nec prius a pectoris cessasse verberibus, quam rediret Domino increpante tranquillitas (et reliqua).”<sup>j</sup> Haec igitur, praestantissimi patres, quisquis intelligat, non iure dicet eum vivendo martyrem fuisse? Taceantur reliqua quae, cum ipse de se scriberet, alii plenissime tradiderunt.

Verum quia non solum ferendo passiones sed magis praestando beneficia gloriosus quis est, vellem, si possem, connumerare breviter eorum rationem. Dico igitur in omne genus hominum beneficia sua extare amplissima: in utrumque sexum, in omnem aetatem, in nobiles et plebeios, scholasticos et indoctos, urbanos et rusticos, divites et egenos, peregri-

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<sup>j</sup> reliqua] quae cum ipse de se scriberet *add. et expung. R*

“Oh, how often,” he says, “when I was living in the desert, in that lonely waste, scorched by the burning sun, which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place, how often did I fancy myself surrounded by the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone; for I was filled with bitterness. My unkempt limbs were covered in shapeless sackcloth; my skin through long neglect had become as rough and black as an Ethiopian’s. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if sleep ever overcame my resistance and fell upon my eyes, I bruised my restless bones against the naked earth. Of food and drink I will not speak. Hermits have nothing but cold water even when they are sick, and for them it is sinful luxury to partake of cooked dishes. But though in my fear of hell I had condemned myself to this prison-house, where my only companions were scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself surrounded by bands of dancing girls. My face was pale with fasting; but though my limbs were cold as ice my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead.

And so, when all other help failed me, I used to fling myself at Jesus’ feet; I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair; and if my flesh still rebelled I subdued it by weeks of fasting. I do not blush to confess my misery, nay, rather, I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember that often I joined night to day with my wailings and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned to me at the Lord’s behest (and so forth).<sup>2</sup> Therefore, if anyone carefully considers these matters, most eminent fathers, will he not admit that Jerome can justifiably be called a “living martyr?” Let us pass over in silence the rest of the story, which others have treated exhaustively by drawing upon his own account.

But since any person achieves glory not only for bearing sufferings but even more so for bestowing favors, I would like to go over briefly the entire record of his services, if that were possible. I will at least say that Jerome bestowed the most substantial favors to every type of human being: toward both sexes, toward persons of every age, toward the nobility and the common people, the educated and the uneducated, those who dwell in the cities and those in the countryside, the rich and the poor, those who travel and those who stay home, those engaged in

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<sup>2</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152–54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 67–69.

nantes et incolas, negotiatores et otiosos, gentiles quoque et infideles, in religiosos et saeculares, in homines et bruta, in aegrotos pariter et defunctos, cum his vitam, illis sanitatem restitueret, feras mansuefaceret, infideles converteret, fideles et religiosos in sancto proposito conservaret, aliis opes et custodiret et adiceret, incolis pacem, peregrinantibus portum redderet, doctrinam doctis atque indoctis adderet, omnem conditionem, omnem statum tutum ac integrum precibus et meritis suis praestaret.

Hieronymus enim interpretatur sacrum nemus—nemus, inquam, virtutum et scientiarum omnium—vel sacra lex, lex siquidem et norma sancte et honeste vivendi, vel diiudicans elocutiones, et sane diiudicatur. Elocutionum ac diversarum linguarum interpretis extitit hic gloriosus sanctus, qui Latino, Graeco, et Hebraeo sermone doctissimus universam sacram scripturam, libros novi ac veteris testamenti, interpretatus est. Totum divinum officium, quod antea incertum erat, de mandato summi pontificis qui tunc ecclesiae praerat ordinavit. Homilias, sermones, epistolas, et libros edidit. Omne denique tempus vitae in sacris litteris et<sup>k</sup> studiis scientiarum virtutumque consumpsit.

Quamobrem et vivus et mortuus infinitis miraculis claruit. Quae omnia quoniam exarare non possum propter eorum multitudinem et temporis<sup>l</sup> brevitatem, supersedeo invitus<sup>m</sup> tamen et omitto resuscitatos mortuos, sanatos<sup>n</sup> aegros, defensum ab infamia et errore Silvanum, ligneum factum haereticum, custoditos a morte et insidiis peregrinos,

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<sup>k</sup> litteris et *om.* *B*

<sup>l</sup> temporis] parvitatem *add. et expung.* *R*

<sup>m</sup> invictus *B*

<sup>n</sup> sanctos *B*

business and those in retirement, even pagans and unbelievers, toward the religious and the laity, toward human beings and animals, toward the sick as well as the dead. As a matter of fact, Jerome restored the dead to life, the sick to good health, he tamed wild beasts, he converted unbelievers, he sustained believers and members of religious orders in their holy commitment, he safeguarded and added to the riches of some, he brought peace to those who stayed home and offered protection to those who traveled, he helped the educated and the uneducated to progress in learning, he kept persons of every class and condition safe from harm through his prayers and his merits.

The word "Jerome" means "a sacred grove"—a grove, I would suggest, of every virtue and branch of knowledge. Or it can mean "a sacred law," a law in the best sense and a norm of holy and moral living. Or it can mean "one determining the meaning of expressions," and they were sensibly determined.<sup>3</sup> This glorious saint became prominent as a translator of expressions in diverse languages; because he was most fluent in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, he translated the entire Holy Scripture, all the books of the New and Old Testaments. He was commissioned by the supreme pontiff who then presided over the church to organize the whole Divine Office; until that time it was not clearly arranged in any precise order.<sup>4</sup> He published homilies, sermons, letters, and other books. Finally, he kept himself busy throughout his life by studying sacred letters and matters related to knowledge and virtue.

As a consequence, he was distinguished by countless miracles during his lifetime and after his death. Since I am not able to plough them all up, seeing that there are so many and I have so little time at my disposal, I reluctantly refrain from mentioning the dead resuscitated to life, the sick healed, Silvanus shielded from disgrace and error, a heretic turned into wood, travelers protected from mortal ambush, brigands converted,

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Anon., "Vita Divi Hieronymi (inc: Plerosque nimirum)," 2:31; Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, 653; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 16.

<sup>4</sup> See *Sermon 2*, n. 5 above. Among the possible sources, Vergerio's phrasing is closest to Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, Ottob. lat. 480, 11–12: "Si de divinis officiis loquitur, nonne ipse, quia prius quisque ad libitum dicebat officium, mandato Damasi sancto(?) hoc per primum Theodosium requisiti ordinavit officium. . . ."

latrones conversos, protectos eos qui in eo<sup>o</sup> fidem et devotionem haberent. Haec omnia cum omittam, unicum eius miraculum retexam, et post dicendi finem faciam.

Mortuo hoc glorioso sancto et corpore eius in Bethlehem sepulto, quemadmodum<sup>p</sup> tanta sanctitas exactae vitae requirebat, innumerabilibus miraculis memoria sanctitatis eius clarescebat in dies. Quapropter divulgatis his per universum orbem, sicut plurimi aliarum gentium, ita<sup>q</sup> et<sup>r</sup> duo Constantinopolitani<sup>s</sup> iuvenes, infideles tamen et Christianae religionis ignari, ad haec videnda miracula quae undequaque praedicabantur ire disponunt. Constantinopoli discedunt, et<sup>t</sup> Alexandriam veniunt, pedestre iter inde facturi; a qua cum discederent ignorantia<sup>u</sup> viarum et ductorum inopia in obscurum et periculosum nemus introeunt, ubi dux quidam praedonum cum plurima comitiva latebat in specula. Quos ille cum vidisset errantes, misit protinus quosdam ex suis qui eos praedarentur et vita privarent.

Illi mandato sui ducis obsequentes ad hos veniunt, cumque proximi fiunt, videtur eis numerosam fortium armatorum turbam praeunte duce procedere. Ob quam rem territi ad suos ire disponunt, cumque aliquanto se elongassent, iterum illos esse duos iudicant, et tamquam falso illusi,<sup>v</sup> ad exequendum iniquum propositum iter flectunt, cumque adhuc appropinquarent, priore<sup>w</sup> imagine territi ad ducem suum divertunt narratione singula <ri>.<sup>x</sup> Dux tamquam ignavos redarguens maiori numero alios destinat ad hoc opus, quibus et idem missis accidit.

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<sup>o</sup> se *B*

<sup>p</sup> quemadmodum] exacta? *add. et del. R*

<sup>q</sup> sic *R B PM*

<sup>r</sup> et *om. B*

<sup>s</sup> Constantinopoli *ex Constantinopolitani corr. (Constantinopolitani . . . disponunt om.)*  
*R*

<sup>t</sup> et *om. R*

<sup>u</sup> ignoravit *B (ignorantia ex ignoravit corr. PM)*

<sup>v</sup> timent falso illudi *R*

<sup>w</sup> prima *R*

<sup>x</sup> Narrant ei singula *R*

those safeguarded who had a faithful devotion toward Jerome.<sup>5</sup> I therefore make no mention of all the other miracles and will only describe one at any length before I bring my speech to a close.

After this glorious saint had died and his body had been buried in Bethlehem, his reputation for sanctity grew stronger by the day due to countless miracles, which were virtually a foregone conclusion based upon the impressive holiness of the life he had led. Once the report of those miracles had circulated widely through the entire world, two young men from Constantinople, following the lead of a host of others from various places, decided to take a trip in order to see for themselves the miraculous events that were then a topic of conversation everywhere. They did so even though they were not believers and were unfamiliar with the tenets of Christianity. The pair embarked from Constantinople and arrived in Alexandria; from there, they planned to continue their journey on foot. Upon leaving Alexandria, they wandered off into a dark and dangerous forest because they did not know the route and had no guide. The leader of a band of thieves, in the company of his large entourage, was hiding up on a cliff in the forest. When the leader spotted the young men wandering aimlessly, he at once sent some of his men to rob and then kill them.

Those men obeyed his order and approached the young men; when they had gotten close to them, they thought that they saw a large group of armed soldiers, who marched in close formation at the command of their general. They were frightened by what they saw and decided to return to their companions. When they had retreated a short distance, they turned around and saw only the two travelers again. At that point, convinced that they had somehow been misled by an optical illusion, they reversed their path in order to carry out their evil plan. And when they came up close a second time, they were frightened away by what they had seen before and went back to their leader to tell him their remarkable story. The leader rebuked them for their cowardice and designated a greater number of men for the task. But the same thing happened to them.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ps. Eusebius, "Epistola de morte," 221-24; Ps. Cyrillus, "Epistola . . . de miraculis Beati Hieronymi ad Sanctum Augustinum," in Joseph Klapper, ed., *Hieronymus: Die unechten Briefe des Eusebius, Augustin, Cyrill zum Lobe des Heiligen*, part 2 of *Schriften Johannis Neumarkt, Vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* 6 <Berlin, 1932>, 292-512; and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 28-40.

Quare et ipse demum<sup>y</sup> ire constituit. Ut primum vera esse cognovit, tum demum deposito nocendi animo, ob tale miraculum ad peregrinos sese convertit, qui subito bini apparuerunt solum, sciscitatusque an ullos in illa solitudine vidissent et quo tenderent, subintulere postquam a via aberrassent praeter eos vidisse neminem et, Hieronymi fama perciti, ad eius visitandum sepulcrum in Bethlehem tendere. Quibus auditis illi in intimo corde<sup>z</sup> compuncti, priorem<sup>aa</sup> vitam deponere et beati una<sup>bb</sup> Hieronymi sepulcrum visitare contendunt, venientesque in Bethlehem, isti baptizati sunt; illi claustra et eremum subierunt.

Sic<sup>cc</sup> igitur hic gloriosus sanctus in gentiles et nefarios homines tam pronus tamque beneficus extitit; quanto magis in Christianos et vere Catholicos, si nomen suum venerabuntur, existet? Suis ergo meritis et precibus pro nobis impleret ut in hoc mundo bene viventes per gratiam, in futuro gaudeamus per gloriam ad quam nos perducatur (etc.).<sup>dd</sup>

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<sup>y</sup> demum] esse? *add. et del. R*

<sup>z</sup> cordis *B*

<sup>aa</sup> primam *R*

<sup>bb</sup> una beati *B*

<sup>cc</sup> Si *B*

<sup>dd</sup> perducatur (etc.)] etc. *B*



Therefore, the leader finally decided to go himself. As soon as he realized that his men were telling the truth, he finally abandoned his intention to commit the crime. Dumbfounded by such a great miracle, he turned his attention to the travelers, who at once appeared to be only the original pair. When he asked whether they had seen anyone else in that wilderness and where they were going, they responded that they had seen no one except the leader and his men after they had gotten lost. They added that they were spurred by the fame of Jerome to go to Bethlehem and visit his tomb. When the thieves heard their answers, they were stung in the depths of their hearts. They firmly resolved to abandon their previous way of life and to join the two young men in visiting the tomb of Blessed Jerome. Once they reached Bethlehem, the two young men were baptized; the robbers entered the cloistered life of a monastery.<sup>6</sup>

This is how that glorious saint showed that he was quite ready to assist pagans and criminals; how much the more will he be ready to assist Christians and especially Catholics if they will venerate his name? May Jerome use his merits and prayers to beseech that we lead an ethical life in this world through the power of divine grace and then rejoice in the world to come through the power of that glory, toward which God now guides us (etc.).

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<sup>6</sup> See Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 32–33, which is a summary of the longer account of the miracle in Ps. Cyrillus, “Epistola de miraculis,” 370–80. Vergerio’s dependence on the text of Giovanni d’Andrea in this case seems clear (Ottob. lat. 480, 33): “Apprehendit illos timor, stupor, et admiratio, et ad mittentem reddere coeperunt. Elongati autem et retroversi solum illos duos esse viderunt, et se putantes illusos, ad illos reddeunt, quibus propinquantes multitudinem viderunt ut prius et sic amplius stupefacti ad suum principem reddierunt.” Vergerio’s assertion that the two young men hailed from Constantinople is not found in the sources. The following miracle (Ps. Cyrillus, *ibid.*, 381–91) spoke of two Romans who were wrongly condemned for murder at Constantinople while on their way to Bethlehem. When the sources indicated that the robbers thereafter led “a praiseworthy life,” Vergerio interpreted that to mean that they became monks. The sources say that the two travelers, after converting to Christianity, entered a monastery.

## Sermo 8 pro Sancto Hieronymo<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts:* *A*, fols. 437v-39; *Ar*, fols. 87-92; *Bp*, 138-43; *Br*, fols. 131-33v; *C*, fols. 141-44; *Gn*, fols. 319-20v; *MB*, fols. 153-57v; *S*, fols. 171v-74v; *T*, fols. 60-63; *Tp*, fols. 128-29; *Tr*, fols. 121v-25; *Z*, fols. 115-18v.

*Editions:* 1, Hieronymus, *Epistolae* <Rome, 1468>; 2, <Rome, ca. 1468>; 3, <Rome, 1470>; 4, (Rome, 1476-79); 5, (Venice, 22 January 1476); 6, <Parma, 1480>; 7, (Venice, 1488); 8, (Venice, 1490); 9, (<Venice>, 1496); 10, (Venice, 1496); *Vall*, (Verona, 1734-42); *PL*, (Paris, 1845-46).

Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae Hieronymum, cuius<sup>b</sup> dies sollemnis adest, ita mihi dari cupio recte<sup>c</sup> laudare ut in eo laudando laudem ipse meam non quaeram, sed sit ei quemadmodum sermo, ita et mens perpetua<sup>d</sup> intentione dedicata, quamquam quid sperandum sit laudis locuturo non video ubi magnitudine rerum eloquentiae vis omnis<sup>e</sup> obruitur et excellentiae meritorum omnis impar est sermo. Me vero minime omnium sperare id convenit, ac si quid talium mentem subeat, plane desipio qui, cum obire quot annis munus hoc laudum soleo, sem-

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<sup>a</sup> Sermo pro Sancto Hieronymo Petripauli Vergerii *Bp*. Petripauli Vergerii Oratio in honorem gloriosi Hieronymi *Tp*. Oratio Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani S. Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius 1 Z 2 5 *Tr*. Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Sermo de laudibus Beati Hieronymi habitus in anniversario natalis eius *Br*. Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Sermo de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri habitus in anniversario natalis eius 3 4 6 *A*. Sermo de Sancto Hieronymo eiusdem C. Oratio de laudibus Divi Hieronymi *m. rec. MB*

<sup>b</sup> eius 1

<sup>c</sup> recte] eum *add. 1*

<sup>d</sup> propria Π

<sup>e</sup> omnis *om. S*

## *Sermon 8 for Saint Jerome*

When I praise the most holy doctor of our faith, Jerome, as part of the solemnity we observe this day, I am adamant about not wanting to seek my own praise by my praise for him. I would much rather dedicate the sermon to him and focus my attention on him alone at every moment. I say that even though I cannot imagine what praise one who is about to speak here should expect, for the magnitude of the subject matter overwhelms all force of eloquence and the entire sermon can never approach the excellence of its subject's merits. It is especially inappropriate that I should harbor such fantasies. If I should entertain any idea of the sort, I would clearly be acting like a fool, seeing that I have regularly fulfilled the duty of praising Jerome for the last several years. As I have gained experience in delivering this panegyric, I have

per tamen, posteaquam id coepi, ita deinceps per annos affectus sum ut augeri mihi desiderium sentiam, minui facultatem.

Evenit autem hoc fortasse, sive quod nondum satis sunt mihi<sup>f</sup> vires ingenii mei perpensae qui subire tanti oneris<sup>g</sup> causam non verear quod quantum sit et intellexi tantisper dudum et in dies perspicio magis; sive quod illius merita apud plurimos quidem parum diligenter<sup>h</sup> animadversa, a me vero etiam summo studio considerata quo magis elucescunt, eo magis affectum mentis alliciunt et a consequendi spe ingenii acumen magis magisque deterrent; sive quod prae desiderio meo studioque religionis in illum tanto mihi retardari facultas videtur ingenii quanto praecurrit studium voluntatis. Quarum equidem<sup>i</sup> rerum ut subesse utramque primarum non nego, ita adesse postremam magnopere mihi cupio. Nam officio quidem<sup>j</sup> ille meo aut cuiusquam alterius in reddendis de se laudibus nihil indiget, ac non delectatur,<sup>k</sup> opinor, nisi boni profectusque<sup>l</sup> nostri gratia, cum per se ipse infinito proprio bono in beata illa aeternaque vita fruatur. Devotione vero, cultu, religione, pietate, ac fide cum in hunc, tum in<sup>m</sup> reliquos caelites nos ipsi nostra causa indigemus, atque imprimis ego, qui meritis huius sancti gloriosi multa magnaque saepenumero beneficia apud Deum immortalem consecutum manifesta fide me deprehendi et difficillimis temporibus fuisse de gravissimis periculis eius ope atque intercessionem liberatum.

Quod si antehac devotionis ullum studium a me<sup>n</sup> debebatur, multo certe nunc amplius adhibendum est mihi ut parentis nuperrime diem functi qui erat devotissimus tibi, sancte pater Hieronymus, vicem hic referam; cuius apud te preces mea causa plurimum valuisse sum crebro

<sup>f</sup> sunt mihi] sint mihi Bp Tp S (ex mihi sint corr.) I

<sup>g</sup> oneris ex hon- corr. Tp Ar Z: honoris I

<sup>h</sup> diligenter parum Bp Tp S Π

<sup>i</sup> quidem C MB

<sup>j</sup> qui I

<sup>k</sup> scripsi: non delectat Bp. ne delectatur Tp C MB. nec delectatur S. non delectari Π

<sup>l</sup> profectusque Bp

<sup>m</sup> in om. Tp

<sup>n</sup> a me om. S

found myself increasingly troubled by the experience. I now have the distinct impression that my desire to praise him has grown greater through the years even as my ability to praise him has diminished.

Maybe that has happened because I have not yet gauged accurately the strength of my own abilities, and consequently I am not afraid to try and lift such a heavy weight. For some time now, I have honestly assessed how heavy that burden really is, and I have the impression that it gets heavier by the day. Or maybe the explanation should be sought in Jerome's merits. The vast majority of people regard those merits with far too little attention whereas I reflect on them with the greatest interest. As they increase in intensity, they make a greater impression on the mind and increasingly dissuade a judicious intellect from the illusion of ever doing them justice. Or maybe the explanation lies in my affection and pious devotion to Jerome, which seem to cause the functioning of my intellect to slow down and the eagerness of my will to rush ahead. I will not dispute in the least that the first two explanations apply in my case, and I would wish with all my heart that the final one may apply to me too. For Jerome surely has no need of my commitment to extol him—or that of anyone else—nor does he derive any pleasure from it, I suspect, unless it should serve to spur our own sound progress. On his own merits, Jerome now partakes of a beatitude that by its nature is boundless because it brings a life of eternal happiness. Rather, it is for our own sake that we have need of devotion, worship, piety, loyalty, and faithfulness toward this man and the other citizens of heaven. That holds especially in my case, for his loyalty to me has been obvious. I realize that I have frequently attained many great favors from the immortal God through the merits of this glorious saint, and in the most difficult moments I have been freed from extremely serious dangers through his powerful intercession.

But if in the past I felt an obligation to practice fervent devotion to Jerome, I surely feel an even greater need to cling to it now. I say that because of my recent loss: just a few days ago my father, who was most devoted to you, holy father Jerome, passed away.<sup>1</sup> I have frequently experienced how extremely influential his prayers to you on my behalf

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<sup>1</sup> Vergerio's father, Vergerio de' Vergeri, made his will on 18 July 1406 and died sometime between that date and the feast of Jerome on 30 September. Early in 1407, Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna mentioned the death of Vergerio's father in a letter to him; see *Epist.*, 299–300 n. 1, 301.

expertus ut, quemadmodum praeclari huius instituti familiarisque devotio-  
nis discipulus viventi<sup>o</sup> fui,<sup>p</sup> ita et ei quoque<sup>q</sup> defuncto sim heres, et  
quod mihi patrociniū in illo erat, nunc omne sit in me ipso, quam-  
quam eum<sup>r</sup> confido tuis meritis atque precibus, praeterea quod rectus  
homo erat et timens Deum, excedentem ex hac luce in ea loca deductum  
ubi et<sup>s</sup> a te et per te multo facilius<sup>t</sup> consequi quidvis possit.

Quod igitur ad me attinet, quemadmodum devotio animi conser-  
vanda augmentandaque<sup>u</sup> est, ita munus hoc annum<sup>v</sup> reddendarum  
laudum nullatenus est<sup>w</sup> negligendum, in quo qualisqualis sit<sup>x</sup> sermo,  
dum mens sit integra ac penitus illi devota, non magnificandum arbi-  
tror quod in eum magis esse gratus cupio<sup>y</sup> quam disertus. Nec me fallit  
eum qui laudare quempiam ex illustribus accedat (maxime vero quod ad  
rem divinam attineat)<sup>z</sup> debere et ipsum quoque laude dignum esse labe-  
que omni carere, ne dicentis vitam reprehendat oratio verbisque specio-  
sis mores sordidi fidem abrogent. Quod, ut in me<sup>aa</sup> sit, boni tamen  
piiue ingenii solet esse argumentum laudare studiose virtutem et rebus  
sacris cultum adhibere praecipuum. Quod si ex me quispiam<sup>bb</sup> quaerat  
quam huius sancti gloriosi primam potissimamque laudem existimem,  
hanc scilicet incunctanter respondebo, quod meo quidem iudicio non  
possit digne<sup>cc</sup> humano ore laudari, deinde quod<sup>dd</sup> in unoquoque ge-  
nere laudum earum quae ad doctum rectumque hominem ac plane reli-  
giosissimum Christianum pertinent laudari eximie de singulis potest.

<sup>o</sup> viventis Π

<sup>p</sup> fui] [...] *Tp. om. S*

<sup>q</sup> quoque et ei *MB T*

<sup>r</sup> eum] cum *Bp Tp: om. S*

<sup>s</sup> et *om. Bp Tp S Π*

<sup>t</sup> multo facilius *om. S*

<sup>u</sup> et servanda et augmentanda Π

<sup>v</sup> annum *om. S*

<sup>w</sup> est *om. Π*

<sup>x</sup> qualisqualis sit] qualis sit *Tp S. qualiscumque sit Π*

<sup>y</sup> cupio *om. S*

<sup>z</sup> attinet *S C MB*

<sup>aa</sup> me] non *add. Π*

<sup>bb</sup> quisquam *MB*

<sup>cc</sup> digno *Bp*

<sup>dd</sup> quod *om. S*

have proven to be. I learned from his noble instruction and the devotion he practiced at home throughout his life, and I have now become the heir to that devotion after his death. The advocacy that he practiced on my behalf now falls entirely to me, although I am confident that, once he withdrew from this light, he was led back through your merits and prayers to a place where it is all the easier for him to have you do something or see that it is done. I am especially confident of that because I know he was an upright man and one who was fearing God.<sup>2</sup>

My own obligations are clear: I have to maintain and increase the devotion in my soul, and I must likewise never neglect my annual duty to deliver a panegyric. In performing that service, I do not think that much should be made of the sermon, no matter what its style, as long as the heart is of a single purpose and entirely devoted to Jerome. As a matter of fact, I consider it a greater achievement to prove gratifying to Jerome than to be learned. Nor am I unaware that the person who steps forward to praise somebody famous (and this has particular relevance in the case of religion) ought to be worthy of praise himself and be without any shortcoming. Otherwise, the oration may seem at variance with the life of the one speaking, and the speaker's immoral behavior may undermine the credibility of his flashy words. In order that my integrity seem genuine, I remind you that we customarily take it as evidence of a good and holy disposition if one enthusiastically praises virtue and attends with special reverence to sacred matters. But if someone should ask me what I consider the principal and most prominent reason to praise this glorious saint, I will respond without any hesitation. In my opinion, there is no human tongue that can worthily utter Jerome's praises; moreover, among all the accolades that are appropriate to a learned and upright person and are obviously appropriate to a most devout Christian, you could choose any one of them and praise Jerome at length.

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Job 1:8.

Quod si iam<sup>ee</sup> in eo laudando coepero litterarum peritiam commemorare, diversarum experientiam linguarum, orationis facundiam, tectos<sup>ff</sup> fabularum sensus, multam historiarum memoriam, naturalium rerum cognitionem moraliumque sermonum, tum vero scripturae sacrae veraeque theologiae perceptionem,<sup>gg</sup> non videbor forsitan aliquid magnum dicere, quod haec ipsa malis etiam hominibus possunt advenire; neque enim<sup>hh</sup> ista bonos faciunt, sed eruditos. Aut si praeterea continentiam, fortitudinem, prudentiam, constantiam, mansuetudinem, patientiam, benignitatemque in illius<sup>ii</sup> laudibus recognovero, ne<sup>jj</sup> sic quidem<sup>kk</sup> forsitan<sup>ll</sup> magnopere eum ornare iudicabor, quod et his virtutibus plurimi gentilium praediti fuere, suntque hae laudes, ut debitae quidem viro bono, ita plane non propriae homini Christiano. Postremo si fidem constantem,<sup>mm</sup> spem certam, caritatem incensam,<sup>nn</sup> omnemque sanctioniam et caerimoniarum cultum religionisque studium demonstravero, ne<sup>oo</sup> sic quoque fortassis laus erit eximia, quod haec ipsa debet unusquisque de se rectus fidelisque Christianus exhibere.

At vero si haec omnia et quaecumque<sup>pp</sup> his nominibus aut omnino virtutis nomine continentur in eo fuisse universa contester<sup>qq</sup> eaque ipsa non mediocriter aut vulgari quodam summotenus modo sed excellentissime atque incomparabiliter affuisse constet, nonne<sup>rr</sup> hoc divinum quiddam<sup>ss</sup> in homine videri necesse est? Ego sane cum trita vulgo ista<sup>tt</sup> vocabula eruditionem, eloquentiam, fortitudinem, prudentiam, fidem, ac

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<sup>ee</sup> iam] *in marg. S: om. Ar*

<sup>ff</sup> rectos *Tp S Π*

<sup>gg</sup> perceptorem *C MB*

<sup>hh</sup> enim *om. S*

<sup>ii</sup> illis *I*

<sup>jj</sup> nec *S Π*

<sup>kk</sup> quidem *om. MB T*

<sup>ll</sup> forsitan *om. 4*

<sup>mm</sup> constantiam *MB*

<sup>nn</sup> intensam *Π (immensam ex intensam corr. Tr)*

<sup>oo</sup> ne *ex nec corr.? C: nec MB S Π*

<sup>pp</sup> quaecumque] quod *add. 5 Tr*

<sup>qq</sup> contester *Tp S MB*

<sup>rr</sup> non *Bp Tp S: num C MB*

<sup>ss</sup> quoddam *MB*

<sup>tt</sup> vulgo ista] vulgo *in marg. MB: ista vulgo Bp Tp S Π (illa vulgo Ar)*



If I will already have begun my praise for him by commemorating his expertise in letters, his fluency in diverse languages, his eloquence in speech, his interpretation of poetry's hidden meanings, his vast recall of history, his knowledge of natural phenomena and of moral principles, combined with his understanding of Holy Scripture and authentic theology, I probably will not seem to say anything worthy of note, given that evil persons as well can achieve all of those things. For those sorts of accomplishments do not make you good, only learned. But if, in addition to them, I will have certified that temperance, courage, prudence, loyalty, kindness, patience, and affability figure among Jerome's claims to distinction, not even in that case will I probably feel that I have greatly embellished his reputation, given that the vast majority of pagans have also been endowed with those virtues. I would grant that such praises are surely owed to a good man, but they are not expressly characteristic of a Christian. If I will have finally produced evidence for his firm faith, his secure hope, his ardent charity, and his consummate holiness and reverence for sacred ceremonies and zeal for religion, not even at that point will the praise be extraordinary, given that every upright and faithful Christian ought to display those qualities in his life.

But truly, if I should prove that he possessed all of those qualities and whatever else is implied comprehensively by the words or summarily by the one word "virtue" and then I make a sound case that he did not possess those things in an ordinary or common manner but to the maximum degree and without peer, will we not have to conclude that there was something divine about that human being? When I consciously use those words from the vocabulary of the common people and commemorate his learning, eloquence, courage, prudence, faith, and

caritatem et cetera huiusmodi<sup>uu</sup> commemoro, talia quaedam dicere mihi videor qualia solent in communi hominum vita reperiri et non eminentissimas illas virtutes, quas in excellentissimis viris paucis illis quidem omni aetate fuisse constat. Quamobrem aegre ferre soleo et<sup>vv</sup> Latinae orationi indignari, quod propriis atque exquisitis nominibus exquisitissimas laudes efferre non licet, quae tantum paene a communibus distant virtutibus quantum ferme virtus a vitio.

Verum quod orationi deest, oro, suppleat audientis intellectus, et non quod dicam sed quod<sup>ww</sup> dicere velim accipiat. Quod et hinc quoque licebit intelligere. Nam solent pauca horum aut singula quidem,<sup>xx</sup> dum intenso<sup>yy</sup> gradu cupiam<sup>zz</sup> adsunt, magnum virum constituere, admirabilisque<sup>aaa</sup> videri qui plura ex his<sup>bbb</sup> sit assecutus. Quid ergo is debet existimari, qui omnium virtutum cunctarumque bonarum artium cumulum non perfunctorie<sup>ccc</sup> quidem<sup>ddd</sup> sed<sup>eee</sup> ad summum in se collegisset, cuius vita totius sanctitatis exemplum fuit,<sup>fff</sup> eloquentia stupor, doctrina miraculum? Itaque non tam sanctum nomen habuit, quod ipsum<sup>ggg</sup> denotat Hieronymi vocabulum, quam ipsam in se habuit sanctitatem. Nam cum<sup>hhh</sup> duabus rebus fundata est in initio sacra religio, praedicatione scilicet apostolorum et sanguine martyrum, cum, quod<sup>iii</sup> illi sermone docebant, hi per carceres et tormenta ac denique mortem ipsam astruerent,<sup>jjj</sup> in utrorumque locum suo tamen<sup>kkk</sup> gradu subierunt sancti doctores, qui, quod illi compendiose docuerunt,<sup>lll</sup> latius explicarent, quodque martyres sanguine suo testati sunt, hoc isti sancti-

<sup>uu</sup> huiusmodi] *ce-interl. MB: huiusmodi T Π (huiusce- Ar)*

<sup>vv</sup> et] *atque S: om. 2*

<sup>ww</sup> quod dicam sed quod] *quid dicam sed quod Tp C: quid dicam sed quid S MB*

<sup>xx</sup> quaedam Π

<sup>yy</sup> incenso *Bp*

<sup>zz</sup> cupiam *Tp 1*

<sup>aaa</sup> admirabilisque] *excellentiae eum add. Π*

<sup>bbb</sup> iis 1

<sup>ccc</sup> perfunctorie *in ras. C*

<sup>ddd</sup> quidem] *de? S: om. Π*

<sup>eee</sup> sed *om. Tp S*

<sup>fff</sup> fuit *om. Π*

<sup>ggg</sup> quod ipsum] *quod ipsum ipsum Tp. quidem ipsum 1 Ar Br 2 4. quid enim Z. quod quidem ipsum 3 5 Tr 6 A Gn*

<sup>hhh</sup> in *MB*

<sup>iii</sup> cumque *Z 5 Tr 6 A Gn*

<sup>jjj</sup> astrueret *S. astruerunt C MB*

<sup>kkk</sup> suo tamen] *imo tamen MB. suo tantum Bp. suo cum S. suo (tamen om.) Π*

<sup>lll</sup> docuerant *Bp Tp S Π*

charity and other things along those lines, I have the impression that I am speaking about the sorts of things that are customarily found in the ordinary life of human persons and not about those most notable virtues, which we all agree are characteristic of an elite group of men in every age. That explains why I am accustomed to feel a certain regret and to consider a Latin oration inadequate because I am not permitted to proclaim the most extraordinary praises in appropriately extraordinary words. For his virtues are almost as far from the ordinary as virtue is from vice.

But whatever may be lacking in the oration, I hope and pray that the intelligence of those of you listening will compensate for it; may you intuit what I would like to say and not restrict yourselves to what I will say. You will be free to understand exactly what that is from what follows. For just a few of these qualities or even one of them by itself normally make a man great, as long as the person possesses them to an extraordinary degree, and anyone who has acquired a number of them perforce earns our admiration. How then must we appraise Jerome, who amassed within himself all the virtues and mastered all the liberal arts and did so not in some superficial manner but to the maximum degree? His life has been an example of all holiness, his eloquence a cause of amazement, his learning a veritable miracle! Therefore, it is not simply the case that he had a holy name, which is what the word "Jerome" means,<sup>3</sup> but that he made himself holy in a real sense. In the beginning, our sacred religion was founded on two things: the preaching of the apostles and the blood of the martyrs. I say that because the latter through imprisonment and torments and, ultimately, death itself were exemplifying in their deeds what the former were teaching in their words. In terms of responsibility, the holy doctors succeeded both of those groups, and yet we assign them their own rank. What the apostles taught in succinct fashion, the doctors explained more fully, and what the martyrs witnessed to by shedding their own blood, the doctors cor-

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<sup>3</sup> Vergerio gives a correct interpretation of the Greek etymology of Hieronymus that is not found in the sources; see Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 1, 24-25.

monia vitae confirmarent atque adversus omnem haeresim omnemque vitiorum labem pro fide iustitiaque consisterent iidemque et<sup>mmm</sup> militum vices gererent et doctorum.<sup>nnn</sup>

Multa autem variaque Hieronymus uti fortis miles in hac vita bella sustinuit. Cum mundo quippe<sup>ooo</sup> gessit et vicit, quando sacerdos iam factus et summo sacerdotio dignus habitus ab urbe cessit pompisque saeculi et<sup>ppp</sup> omni ambitioni<sup>qqq</sup> mundanorum honorum<sup>rrr</sup> renuntiavit; cum carne ac daemonibus, cum in illa trans mare vasta solitudine, quae, ut ipse ait, “exusta solis ardoribus horridam monachis habitationem praestabat,”<sup>sss</sup> carnem quidem ieiuniis frangeret, spirituales autem hostes orationibus effugaret; cum improbis atque aemulis, in quos saepe per prologos, saepe per epistolas scribendo invectus est; cum haereticis, quos libris tractatibusque scribendis saepenumero de<sup>ttt</sup> diversis convicit erroribus disputandoque vi rationum superavit.

Doctoris ergo nomen ut habet, ita et officium studiosissime vivens gessit, praesentes voce et exemplis erudiens, absentes scriptis, utrosque<sup>uuu</sup> vero tam suae aetatis quam posteros voluminibus diversi idiomatis viros interpretatione linguarum ad<sup>vvv</sup> eruditionem adiuvens, rudiores historia delectans, acutiores instruens arcanis sacrae scripturae sensibus explicandis. Eloquentiam certe iam eius<sup>www</sup> laudare temptarem, quae tamquam rivus limpidissimus leniter<sup>xxx</sup> defluens et aspectu et sono delectat, nisi ipsa<sup>yyy</sup> se multo melius quam quod<sup>zzz</sup> a me fieri elegantia sua legentibus commendaret; ad quam<sup>zzza</sup> digne praedicandam

<sup>mmm</sup> iidem et *Bp Tp S Π* (iidemque et *Aγ*)

<sup>nnn</sup> vices gererent et doctorum] vires gererent et ductorum *Π* (doct- *Aγ*)

<sup>ooo</sup> quippe] bellum *add. Π* (quippe malum & quidem bellum *A*)

<sup>ppp</sup> et *om. S*

<sup>qqq</sup> ambitione *2 4 5 Tr 6 A Gn*

<sup>rrr</sup> bonorum *Bp*

<sup>sss</sup> horridam . . . praestabat] horridam monachis praestabat habitationem *MB*. horridum monachis habitaculum praestabat *Π* (praest- hab- *Z*)

<sup>ttt</sup> de *om. S*

<sup>uuu</sup> utroque *Π* (utros- *Aγ*)

<sup>vvv</sup> viros . . . ad] varia interpretatione linguarum vivorum doctorum *Π* (virorum doctorum *Aγ*)

<sup>www</sup> eius *om. MB T*

<sup>xxx</sup> leviter *C MB*

<sup>yyy</sup> ipse *Π*

<sup>zzz</sup> quod *om. Π*

<sup>zzza</sup> ad quam . . . detereret *om. S*

roborated by the holiness of their lives. Moreover, the doctors took up positions in defense of faith and justice by combatting every heresy and sinful vice. Thus, the same persons were fulfilling the respective duties of a soldier and a teacher.

Jerome, however, brave soldier that he was, engaged in a great variety of wars in this life. First and foremost, he waged war against the world and was victorious: after he had already been ordained a priest and was considered worthy of the supreme pontificate, he withdrew from the city and renounced the affectations of the world and all ambition for worldly honors. He waged war against the flesh and the demons and was victorious: in that lonely waste across the sea, which, as he himself says, "scorched by the burning sun, was affording to monks a savage dwelling,"<sup>4</sup> he subdued his flesh by means of fasting and also put his spiritual enemies to flight by means of prayer. He waged war against wicked men and jealous rivals and was victorious: he often attacked them in the prologues and the letters that he wrote. He waged war against heretics and was victorious: more than once, he proved them guilty of a variety of errors in the books and treatises he composed, and he defeated them in debate by the sheer force of his arguments.

Thus, he has now attained the title of doctor, and that is because he fulfilled to the utmost the duties thereby implied while he was alive, instructing those in his presence by means of his words and deeds, instructing those far away by means of his writings, assisting the work of scholars of his own era and those of generations to come by translating volumes written in foreign languages, amusing the less educated by narrating past events, teaching the better educated by explaining the hidden meanings of passages in Holy Scripture. At this point, I would certainly attempt to praise the eloquence of Jerome, which flows smoothly like a most limpid river and gives delight by its appearance and sound,<sup>5</sup> if the elegance of his prose were not readily apparent to those who read his works and come across much more effectively there

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<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 36.14, 58.10 (CSEL 54:280, 539); and Paul Antin, "'Hilarius Latinae eloquentiae Rhodanus' (Jérôme, *In Gal.*, prol. 2)," in *Recueil sur saint Jérôme*, Collection Latomus 95 (Brussels: Latomus, 1968), 259–69. Paraphrasing Cicero (*Or.* 11.39), Vergerio described his ideal for oratorical prose in similar terminology in a letter that he wrote in 1396 (*Epist.*, 178): "Sit sermo non scaber aut horridus, non praeruptus, non praeceps, sed lenis et planus, apricique in morem rivi continuo mollique cursu defluens. . . ." See further Ronald G. Witt, "Still the Matter of the Two Giovanni: A Note on Malpaghini and Conversino," *Rinascimento*, n.s., 35 (1995): 194–95.

eius ipsius eloquentia opus esset. Nec me deterreret<sup>aaaa</sup> quod damnatus fuerit<sup>bbbb</sup> eius studii aliquando<sup>cccc</sup> Hieronymus, cum<sup>dddd</sup> extatica visione tractus ad iudicis aeterni tribunal et quinam esset<sup>eeee</sup> interrogatus, pro Christiani nomine quod inter metum trepidationemque profitebatur Ciceroniani sibi nomen obici audivit. Neque enim res ipsa damnata est (sed fortassis eius studium vehementius) sine qua profecto vix<sup>ffff</sup> sacrae litterae, certe non tanta cum voluptate, legerentur.

Haec igitur, ut et<sup>gggg</sup> ceterae quoque dotes quas strictim commemoravi, multos acerbissimosque<sup>hhhh</sup> illi aemulos comparavere. Quorum ut improbitati cederet, Roma migravit, et, qui doctor late clarissimus habebatur, Gregorio Nazianzeno in disciplinam se tradidit. Postque studia, cum de frequentissima urbe cessisset, ad eremum se transtulit, et, qui in urbe omnium urbanissima homines perpressus erat bestiales, in desertissima eremo bestias est expertus humanas. Ibiq̄ue leo natura saevissimus imperium eius<sup>iiii</sup> pertulit, cum hic homo natura mitis in se saeviret. Roma igitur Bethlehem permutavit, divitique<sup>jjjj</sup> ex urbe non stam pulsus quam cedens, elegit ibi pauper vivere ubi pauper<sup>kkkk</sup> Christus est natus, et inde salutem petere unde ortus<sup>llll</sup> est auctor ipse<sup>mmmm</sup> salutis. Quid enim<sup>nnnn</sup> adversus malignitatem tutum uspiam esse poterit, quando tanta virtus persecutore non caruit? Quod siquid nobis tale accidat, ex eius casu consolari nos ipsos debemus, interea vero maledicos benefaciendo vincere et eorum in nos odium virtute patientiae mansuetudinisque superare, illo praestante, qui vivit et regnat per omnia saecula (et cetera).<sup>oooo</sup>

<sup>aaaa</sup> deterreret] deterret Π

<sup>bbbb</sup> quod . . . fuerit *interl.* MB

<sup>cccc</sup> aliquando] causa *add.* MB T

<sup>dddd</sup> cum] in *add.* C MB T

<sup>eeee</sup> esset *om.* S

<sup>ffff</sup> vix *om.* S

<sup>gggg</sup> et *om.* MB T Tp S Π

<sup>hhhh</sup> -que *om.* S

<sup>iiii</sup> eius *om.* S

<sup>jjjj</sup> divesque MB

<sup>kkkk</sup> pauper *om.* MB T

<sup>llll</sup> unde ortus est] unde est ortus C MB

<sup>mmmm</sup> ipse *om.* 6 A Gn 7 8 9 10

<sup>nnnn</sup> Quid enim] Quid autem C MB

<sup>oooo</sup> per omnia saecula (et cetera)] per omnia saecula Amen MB. in saecula benedictus Bp. in saecula saeculorum Amen Π

than in anything I could say. To do justice to that subject in a sermon, you would need the eloquence of Jerome himself. Nor would the fact that Jerome was once censured for his zeal deter me from treating the subject. That happened when Jerome was dragged in an ecstatic vision before the judgment seat of the eternal judge, who asked him what sort of person he was. He responded that he was a Christian, and he gave the response with much fear and trembling. Then he heard the name of Ciceronian thrown back at himself.<sup>6</sup> You must understand that the fact of being a Ciceronian was not the cause for his censure; it is far more likely that his zeal had become too intense. If you were not a Ciceronian, you could barely read sacred letters and you certainly would not read them with the same enjoyment.

These gifts, therefore, and the others that I have briefly recounted for you, earned for Jerome many rivals who were extremely jealous of him. In order that he leave their wickedness behind, he departed from Rome, and, although he was widely considered to be the foremost teacher of the era, he gave himself over to Gregory of Nazianzus for further training.<sup>7</sup> After studying with Gregory and after definitively abandoning the most populous city on earth, Jerome went to live in the desert. The man who had patiently endured the savagery of human beings in that most cosmopolitan of cities now became acquainted with the humaneness of beasts in that most barren desert. In that place, a lion, who was by nature most fierce, obeyed his command,<sup>8</sup> while a human being, who was so gentle by nature, fiercely disciplined himself. He therefore exchanged Rome for Bethlehem, but he was not really driven from that prosperous city so much as he left of his own free will. He then chose to live in poverty at Bethlehem where Christ was born in poverty and to seek his own salvation in the place where the very source of salvation was born. For what person could ever be safe from harm, if so virtuous a person could not avoid persecution? But if anything of the sort should befall us, we ought to console ourselves by recalling the case of Jerome. And we should also try to defeat those who slander us by doing good toward them and overcome their hatred by practicing the virtues of patience and kindness,<sup>9</sup> through the intercession of God, who lives and reigns for ever (etc.).

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.30 (CSEL 54:190). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 127.

<sup>7</sup> See *Sermon 1*, n. 5 above.

<sup>8</sup> For the story of the lion, see *Sermon 2*, n. 8 above.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Matt. 5:44.

## Sermo 9 pro Sancto Hieronymo<sup>a</sup>

*Manuscripts:* C, fols. 149–52v; Ra, fols. 33–35; S, fols. 168–71;  
*Tp*, fols. 116–17v.

Quotiens, reverendissimi<sup>b</sup> patres fratresque carissimi, dies advenit reddendi<sup>c</sup> sermonis pro meo annuo more de laudibus Sancti Hieronymi, quod<sup>d</sup> ipso natali eius die facere sum solitus, semper mihi singulis annis videor minus esse solvendo<sup>e</sup> minusque praestare posse quod<sup>f</sup> debeo, non quemadmodum quantitibus evenit ut, quo pluries fit deductio, certum sit semper<sup>g</sup> minus esse quod<sup>h</sup> restat, sed quod<sup>i</sup> magis in dies et debitum ipsum intelligo quantum sit<sup>j</sup> et facultates meae quam sint exiles agnosco. Nam<sup>k</sup> quid ego de me dicam, qui nec omnes quidem homines quicumque sunt aut umquam fuerunt<sup>l</sup> satis idoneos arbitror ad

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<sup>a</sup> Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani In laude Beati Hieronymi oratio feliciter incipit acta Senis m. cccc. viij. S. Praeclarissimi omnium virtutum et scientiarum monarchae domini Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Sermo ornatissimus in honore Sancti Hieronymi Senis per ipsum editum < sic > 1408 *Tp*. Praeclarissimi omnium virtutum et scientiarum monarchae domini Petripauli Vergerii Iustinopolitani Sermo ornatissimus in honorem Sancti Hieronymi Senis per ipsum editi < sic > 1408 *Ra*

<sup>b</sup> reverendi C

<sup>c</sup> reddendi] -endi ex -endudi corr. C

<sup>d</sup> quid *Ra*: id C

<sup>e</sup> solvendae C

<sup>f</sup> quid *Ra*

<sup>g</sup> semper om. S

<sup>h</sup> esse quod] est quid *Ra*: esse om. S

<sup>i</sup> quod om. S *Tp*

<sup>j</sup> scripsi: est codd.

<sup>k</sup> Nam] N- ex q- corr. *Tp*

<sup>l</sup> fuerint *Tp*



## *Sermon 9 for Saint Jerome*

**N**o matter how often, most reverend fathers and most beloved brothers, the day arrives when I deliver a sermon on the praises of Saint Jerome, something I have committed myself to do every year and usually do on the actual birthday of that man, over the years I find that I have fewer resources to liquidate the debt and pay back what I owe. My experience does not follow the pattern of mathematical quantities, where the more often something is subtracted from a sum, it is certain that what remains will always be less. On the contrary, I understand how much greater the debt that I owe becomes by the day, and I realize how meager my resources are to repay it. Yet, why should I only speak about myself? I do not think that the entire human race, everyone who is alive today or has lived in the past, is sufficiently endowed to praise

hunc sanctum digne laudandum, sive quod tantum est eius<sup>m</sup> meritum quod<sup>n</sup> quidem esse maximum nemo negat, sive quod tanta<sup>o</sup> est mea erga eum<sup>p</sup> devotio ut nihil ad id humanarum virium opinor posse sufficere? Quam quidem, quantacumque<sup>q</sup> est mea devotio, augeri semper et cupio<sup>r</sup> vehementer et studeo. Neque enim<sup>s</sup> habeo aliud<sup>t</sup> maius<sup>u</sup> aut melius, quod ei praestare queam aut quod<sup>v</sup> a me ipse requirat, nisi affectionem animi gratam et promptum reddendae<sup>w</sup> laudis obsequium, ac ne id quidem. Quo sancti Dei humana egeant laude, qui extra<sup>x</sup> omnem necessitatem ambitionemque constituti sunt? Sed eorum laudando virtutes imitari discamus quod<sup>y</sup> praedicamus in eis.

Quod si aliquis vel ad laudandum materiam amplam expetit sibi dari<sup>z</sup> vel ad imitandum in omni genere virtutum exemplar insigne quaerit, non facile alibi usquam<sup>aa</sup> reperiet aut latiore aream colligendarum<sup>bb</sup> laudum aut speculum ad quod se componere quis valeat magis illustre. De iis<sup>cc</sup> rebus loquor<sup>dd</sup> quae ad religionem et<sup>ee</sup> sanctitatem ac Deo dicatam vitam<sup>ff</sup> pertinent, non de<sup>gg</sup> saecularibus studiis et his<sup>hh</sup> quae vanitas hominum et vulgi caecitas suspensa miratur, quamquam et in saecularibus litteris apprime fuerit eruditus. Nihil eum sive de historiis quae quidem cognitu dignae videntur, sive de figmentis poetarum

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<sup>m</sup> eius] debitum *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>n</sup> quid *Ra*

<sup>o</sup> tanta *ex tantaim corr. C: tantae Tp*

<sup>p</sup> illum *C Ra*

<sup>q</sup> quantacumque] quanta- *ex quantum-? corr. S*

<sup>r</sup> cupio] *s add. et del. S*

<sup>s</sup> enim] neque *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>t</sup> aliud *om. S*

<sup>u</sup> maius] magis *Ra. h add. et del. S*

<sup>v</sup> quod ei . . . aut quod] quid ei . . . aut quid *Ra*

<sup>w</sup> reddere *S Ra*

<sup>x</sup> extra *in marg. S: ex Ra*

<sup>y</sup> quid *Ra*

<sup>z</sup> dare *Tp Ra*

<sup>aa</sup> usque *S Tp*

<sup>bb</sup> colligendarum] virtutum *add. et del. S*

<sup>cc</sup> his *S*

<sup>dd</sup> loquar *S*

<sup>ee</sup> vel *S Tp*

<sup>ff</sup> vitam] pertirent *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>gg</sup> de *om. S Tp*

<sup>hh</sup> iis *Ra*

this saint worthily. There are two ways to explain this: there is no one who disputes that Jerome's accomplishments rank among the greatest ever, and I am personally so devoted to him that I assume that no skill within the grasp of man can ever suffice to discharge the appointed task. And no matter how great my devotion is, I constantly desire and vehemently strive to have it become even greater. Other than the grateful affection of my soul and a firm commitment to extol him, I do not have anything more noble or honorable that I can offer for his sake or that he himself requires of me, and even that is not really necessary. Why do the saints of God have need of human praise, if they have been granted a place beyond all need and ambition? Rather, we should praise the saints so that we learn to imitate the virtues we accentuate in their lives.

But if someone were to demand abundant material that he could praise or if he were to ask for an outstanding exemplar of every kind of virtue that he could imitate, he will be hard-pressed to find a more vast field in which he may harvest reasons for praise or a more lucid mirror according to which he may shape his own conduct. I am going to speak about those matters which pertain to belief and to the holiness of a life dedicated to God, not about secular studies and the things which the vanity of human persons and the blindness of the common people hold up for admiration. Even so, I would never deny that Jerome was exceedingly learned in secular letters as well. Nothing from antiquity escaped his notice, whether it was recorded in the histories which genuinely seem worthy of our investigation or in the figurative speech of poets

latuit<sup>ii</sup> in quibus antiquitas evanescebat. In cognitione praeterea naturae rerum atque his disciplinis quas liberales appellant praeclare fuit institutus. Indicant elegantissima eius scripta quae edidit varie his referta.

Teste est et<sup>jj</sup> illud imprimis vulgatum quod ipsemet scribit iudicium de se<sup>kk</sup> habitum; quod commentum forsitan videri posset, nisi tam certum auctorem haberet et<sup>ll</sup> tam probatum<sup>mmm</sup> qui de se ipso non de alio facta testetur. Cum enim is (ut ait) ceteras a se mundanas delectationes abdicasset solaque quae una manserat<sup>nn</sup> legendi saeculares libros ac praecipue Ciceronem voluptate teneretur, acutissima aliquando<sup>oo</sup> febre correptus est quae brevi ita invaluit<sup>pp</sup> ut intra paucos dies<sup>qq</sup> ad<sup>rr</sup> extrema perduxisse eum<sup>ss</sup> videretur.<sup>tt</sup> Iam itaque parabantur exequiae, omnisque de sepultura et efferendo funere cura erat, cum interea visus est sibi ad iudicis aeterni<sup>uu</sup> tribunal astare. Atque ab eo cum interrogaretur quisnam esset,<sup>vv</sup> Christianum se esse<sup>ww</sup> respondit. Tunc ille: “Minime,” inquit, “sed Ciceronianus es,”<sup>xx</sup> iussitque eum graviter flagellis caedi. Qui inter verbera flens identidem iurabat, “Domine, si umquam saeculares libros habuero, si legero, te negavi.” Ac diu flagellatus, intercedentibus tandem<sup>yy</sup> qui aderant sub eius iuramenti<sup>zz</sup> fide<sup>aaa</sup> quod praestiterat dimissus est, et ex eo coeperunt in illo apparere signa vitae ac subinde salutis.

<sup>ii</sup> latuit] quae quidem *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>jj</sup> et *om. S*

<sup>kk</sup> de se *ex desse corr. Ra*

<sup>ll</sup> et] *i add. et del. S*

<sup>mmm</sup> probum *S Tp*

<sup>nn</sup> quae una manserat] quae una? remanserant *S. quae una reliqua manserat C. una reliqua manserat Ra*

<sup>oo</sup> aliquando] *fre add. et del. Tp*

<sup>pp</sup> invaluit] *ac? add. et del. Tp*

<sup>qq</sup> dies] *ab add. et del. Ra*

<sup>rr</sup> ad] *exteram? add. et del. Tp*

<sup>ss</sup> perduxisse eum] *eum om. S: eum perduxisse C*

<sup>tt</sup> *scripsi: videret codd. (ex videretur corr. Ra)*

<sup>uu</sup> iudicis externi *Tp. iudicis extremi S: aeterni iudicis Ra*

<sup>vv</sup> esset] *p add. et del. Tp*

<sup>ww</sup> Christianum se esse *in marg. Tp*

<sup>xx</sup> es *ex est corr. Ra*

<sup>yy</sup> tamen *S Tp*

<sup>zz</sup> iuramenti *ex -tis corr. S: iurata Ra*

<sup>aaa</sup> fide *ex fides corr. Ra*

which betrays a more ephemeral side of ancient thought. On top of that, Jerome was very well trained in natural philosophy and in the disciplines which they call liberal. The very elegant writings which he published reveal in myriad ways his mastery of those disciplines.

I can offer further proof mainly by citing that famous trial which involved Jerome directly and which he personally described in a letter. The trial could perhaps seem a fiction, were it not reported by so reliable and so esteemed a source, who gives testimony about matters in which he, and not someone else, was involved. For when (as he says) he had cut himself off from other worldly delights and his energy was absorbed by the one pleasure that still remained of reading secular authors and especially Cicero, he was sometime thereafter struck down by a very high fever, which in a matter of days so weakened him that people thought he was fast coming to the end of his life. Thus, preparations were already being made for his funeral and great care was expended on arranging his burial and planning the rites, when suddenly Jerome had the impression that he was standing before the judgment seat of the eternal judge. And when he was asked what sort of person he was, he responded that he was a Christian. Then the judge said, "That is outwardly the case, but you are really a Ciceronian," and he ordered him to be handed over for a painful scourging. Weeping amidst the blows, Jerome swore over and over, "Lord, if ever again I possess worldly books, if ever again I read them, I have denied you." And after the scourging had gone on for some time, the bystanders at last intervened on his behalf, and he was sent away under guarantee of the oath he had sworn. At that very moment, he began to show signs of life and then of a full return to health.

Non fuisse autem hoc somnium aut visionem incertam argumentum<sup>bbb</sup> affert quod, cum post huiusmodi visionem moveri sentireque iam coepisset,<sup>ccc</sup> suffusus lacrimis<sup>ddd</sup> oculos et liventis<sup>eee</sup> plagis habere se scapulas reperit, ut constaret se vere<sup>fff</sup> atque in ipso corpore passum esse. Sed fuerit haec correptio<sup>ggg</sup> non peritiae<sup>hhh</sup> maioris<sup>iii</sup> argumentum<sup>jjj</sup> sed studii fortasse vehementioris quam deceret, ut, quoniam ille saeculares libros nimia voluptate<sup>kkk</sup> legendi tenebatur atque ideo sacrae scripturae studium negligebat, idcirco divino iudicio correptus sit. Illud tamen negari non potest magnae eruditionis argumentum esse, quod postea, cum a saecularium scripturarum lectura se perpetuo abstinisset,<sup>lll</sup> tamen scribens, quotiens ex eo genere convenire aliquid suo proposito visum est, scriptis<sup>mmm</sup> inserere non dubitavit. Quae tanta eorum copia, tam decenti varietate ac fide tam certa distinxit, ut habere plane omnia et<sup>nnn</sup> memoriter et prompte videretur.

Haec autem extra laudem sunt viri sancti. Peritia vero sacrarum litterarum, quae res non est a sanctis viris aliena, quanta in eo fuerit non aliunde magis constare potest quam quod quicquid litterarum sacrarum<sup>ooo</sup> habemus, omne novum vetusque testamentum ipsius opera studioque translatum est; quicquid ferme in ecclesia Dei<sup>ppp</sup> legitur praeter pauca, eo derivante aut tractante aut exponente, ad nos devenit.

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bbb argu(u)ntur *S Tp*

ccc incepisset *S*

ddd lacris (os *add. et del.*) *Ra*

eee liventis *ex livetins corr. Tp. liventes Ra: [ . . . . . ] C*

fff vere se *C Ra*

ggg correctio *S C*

hhh [ . . . . . ] *Ra*

iii maiore *Tp C*

jjj argumentum] quidem *add. et del. S*

kkk nimia voluptate saeculares libros *C Ra*

lll perpetuo se abdicasset *Ra*

mmm scripturis *S*

nnn et *om. S Ra*

ooo sacrarum litterarum *S*

ppp Dei *om. Ra*

That was not, however, some imaginary dream or vision; we have the compelling evidence that Jerome appeared with eyes suffused by his tears and shoulders black and blue with welts when he regained his senses and began to move about after a vision of this sort. We can therefore conclude that he himself truly suffered these things in the flesh.<sup>1</sup> Still, Jerome's punishment does not prove that he was wrong to improve his scholarly expertise; it is more likely that he was wrong to allow his study to become so engrossing that it was no longer decorous.<sup>2</sup> Since Jerome was consumed by an excessive desire to read worldly books and was consequently neglecting the study of Holy Scripture, he was punished by divine judgment. No one can deny, however, that the episode ultimately supplies proof of great erudition on Jerome's part. It is accurate to say that Jerome consistently refrained from reading secular works after the event. Nonetheless, he did not hesitate to insert citations from those sources in his own writings whenever a citation seemed germane to his overall purpose. He punctuated his texts with so many references, such a variety of material cited word for word, that he actually seemed to have memorized it all and kept it ready at hand.<sup>3</sup>

These matters, however, take us beyond the praise of a holy man. To get an accurate idea of the extent of his expertise in sacred letters, which is not a topic unrelated to the question of sanctity, you cannot adduce better proof than the fact that whatever we now possess in the realm of sacred letters, the whole of the New and Old Testaments, was translated through the energetic labor of Jerome himself. Practically everything that is read in the church of God, except for a tiny number of items, has come down to us after he had written it or discussed it or commented upon it.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.30 (CSEL 54:189-91). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 125-29.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 24.1 (CSEL 54:214): "... et in arguendis malis sit correptio ceterorum et in optimis praedicandis bonorum ad virtutem concitentur."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jerome's comments later in life on the oath he swore during the dream (*Contra Rufinum* 1.30, CCL 79:29): "De futuro sponsio est, non praeteritae memoriae abolitio."

Et quoniam peritia ad vitae meritum non<sup>qqq</sup> videtur attingere, ad ea veniamus quae mores contingunt. Imprimis autem continentissimae vitae fuit et austeritatis<sup>rrr</sup> in victu prope extremae eo maxime tempore quo per aetatem et validitatem caro adversus spiritum acerrime<sup>sss</sup> rebellabat. Quid vero pugnas praedicamus armatorum? Quid victores exercitus admiramur? Una gravissima pugna est qua secum homo confligit, una gloriosa victoria qua ratio<sup>ttt</sup> sensum superat et repugnantem<sup>uuu</sup> sibi subiugat carnem. Stupor est audire vel legere quae sit olim Sanctus Hieronymus in eremo passus. Quae quoniam aliter melius dici non possent, eius ipsius verba subiciam quae ad Eustochium scribit.<sup>vvv</sup>

“Quotiens,” inquit, “in eremo constitutus, in illa vasta solitudine, quae exusta<sup>www</sup> solis ardoribus horridum<sup>xxx</sup> monachis praestat habitaculum, putavi me<sup>yyy</sup> Romanis interesse deliciis! Sedebam solus, quia amaritudine plenus eram. Horrebant sacco membra deformi[s], et<sup>zzz</sup> squalida cutis situm Aethiopicae<sup>aaaa</sup> carnis obduxerat. Cottidie lacrimae, cottidie gemitus et, si quando repugnantem somnus imminens oppressisset,<sup>bbbb</sup> nuda<sup>cccc</sup> humo ossa vix haerentia collidebam. De cibis vero et potu taceo, cum etiam languentes<sup>dddd</sup> monachi<sup>eeee</sup> aqua frigida utantur<sup>ffff</sup> et coctum aliquid<sup>gggg</sup> accepisse luxuriae sit. Ille igitur ego, qui ob<sup>hhhh</sup> gehennae<sup>iiii</sup> metum tali me carcere ipse damnaveram,

<sup>qqq</sup> non] etiam *add.* S

<sup>rrr</sup> austeritate (*in ras.*) Ra

<sup>sss</sup> acerrime *om.* C

<sup>ttt</sup> victora <*sic*> est qua (*re add et del.*) ratio Ra

<sup>uuu</sup> repugnationem  *Tp.* repugantem <*sic*> Ra

<sup>vvv</sup> quae ad Eust- scribit *om.* Ra

<sup>www</sup> exusta] s *interl.* C

<sup>xxx</sup> horridum *ex-dudum corr.* Ra

<sup>yyy</sup> me] rationis *add. et del.*  *Tp*

<sup>zzz</sup> et] e Ra: *om.* S

<sup>aaaa</sup> Aethiopicarum] et Haethiopicarum Ra: Aethiopsarum S  *Tp* C

<sup>bbbb</sup> oppressisset *in marg.* S

<sup>cccc</sup> nude S  *Tp* (*habet add. et del.*)

<sup>dddd</sup> languentes] maci *add. et del.*  *Tp*

<sup>eeee</sup> monachi] monach- *ex monach- corr.*  *Tp*

<sup>ffff</sup> utebantur (*ex utantur corr. in marg.*) C

<sup>gggg</sup> aliquid coctum Ra

<sup>hhhh</sup> zeche *add. et del.* Ra

<sup>iiii</sup> [ . . . . ] C



Nonetheless, since Jerome's scholarship does not seem wholly relevant to the merit of his life, let us move on to those matters which have a direct bearing upon his morals. Above all, however, he led a most chaste life and practiced an almost extreme asceticism in what he ate, especially at a time in his life when his physical development led the flesh to rebel most violently against the spirit. Can anyone tell me why we extol the battles of armed men? Why do we admire the victories of armies? The single most consequential battle is that in which a human person struggles with himself, the single glorious victory is that in which reason subdues passion and subjugates a rebellious flesh to itself. It is amazing to hear or read the things that Saint Jerome suffered long ago in the desert. I will cite the very words which he wrote to Eustochium, since there is no better way to tell you what happened.

"How often," he says, "when I was living in the desert, in that lonely waste, scorched by the burning sun, which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place, how often did I fancy myself surrounded by the pleasures of Rome! I used to sit alone; for I was filled with bitterness. My unkempt limbs were covered in shapeless sackcloth; my skin through long neglect had become as rough and black as an Ethiopian's. Tears and groans were every day my portion; and if sleep ever overcame my resistance and fell upon my eyes, I bruised my restless bones against the naked earth. Of food and drink I will not speak. Hermits have nothing but cold water even when they are sick, and for them it is sinful luxury to partake of cooked dishes. But though in my fear of hell I had condemned myself to this prison-house, where my only companions

scorpionum tantum socius et ferarum, saepe choreis intereram<sup>jjj</sup> puellarum. Pallebant ora ieiuniis et mens desiderii aestuabat<sup>kkkk</sup> in frigidocorpore et ante hominem suum iam carne praemortua sola libidinum incendia<sup>lll</sup> bulliebant.

Itaque omni auxilio destitutus ad Iesu iacebam pedes, rigabam lacrimis, crine tergebam, et repugnantem carnem hebdomadarum inedia subiugabam. Non<sup>mmmm</sup> enim<sup>nnnn</sup> erubesco confiteri infelicitatis meae miseriam, quin potius plango non esse quod fuerim. Memini me clamantem diem crebro iunxisse cum nocte nec<sup>oooo</sup> prius a pectoris cessasse verberibus, quam rediret Domino increpante tranquillitas. Ipsam quoque cellulam meam<sup>pppp</sup> quasi cogitationum mearum consciam pertimescebam et mihimet iratus et rigidus solus deserta penetraabam. Sicubi concava vallium,<sup>qqqq</sup> aspera montium,<sup>rrrr</sup> rupium praerupta cernebam, ibi meae orationis locus erat, illud miserrimae carnis ergastulum; et,<sup>ssss</sup> ut mihi testis est Dominus, post multas lacrimas, post caelo oculos inhaerentes nonnumquam videbar mihi interesse<sup>tttt</sup> agminibus angelorum et laetus gaudensque cantabam: in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus.”

Huiusmodi itaque secum et interius<sup>uuuu</sup> pugnas ille<sup>vvvv</sup> substulit. Exterius vero et cum aliis ne utique expers fuit, sive quas intulit ipse, sive quas ab aliis passus est. Aemulos namque quos sibi sua<sup>wwww</sup> insignis virtus pepererat<sup>xxxx</sup> usque adeo sensit inimicos, ut numquam cessarent donec<sup>yyyy</sup> commentis variis urbe ubi magna veneratione habebatur eum pepulissent.<sup>zzzz</sup> Erant enim nonnulli ex<sup>aaaa</sup> clericorum monachorumque ordinibus qui suae professionis immemores parum

<sup>jjj</sup> intereram] int? *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>kkkk</sup> aestuabat desiderii *S Tp*

<sup>lll</sup> incendia] bulliebant . . . inedia *om. S Tp*

<sup>mmmm</sup> Non] em *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>nnnn</sup> enim *om. S*

<sup>oooo</sup> nec] *ex al. litt. corr. S: om. Tp*

<sup>pppp</sup> meam *om. S Tp*

<sup>qqqq</sup> vallium] et *add. C*

<sup>rrrr</sup> montium] rupi? *add. et del. Ra*

<sup>ssss</sup> et *om. Ra*

<sup>tttt</sup> interesse] adh *add. et del. (-h ras.) Ra*

<sup>uuuu</sup> interdum *C*

<sup>vvvv</sup> ille *om. S Tp*

<sup>wwww</sup> sua *om. S Tp*

<sup>xxxx</sup> reperat *S*

<sup>yyyy</sup> donec] conventis? *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>zzzz</sup> repulissent *S Ra*

<sup>aaaa</sup> ex *interl. Ra*

were scorpions and wild beasts, I often found myself surrounded by bands of dancing girls. My face was pale with fasting; but though my limbs were cold as ice my mind was burning with desire, and the fires of lust kept bubbling up before me when my flesh was as good as dead.

And so, when all other help failed me, I used to fling myself at Jesus' feet; I watered them with my tears, I wiped them with my hair; and if my flesh still rebelled I subdued it by weeks of fasting. I do not blush to confess my misery, nay, rather, I lament that I am not now what once I was. I remember that often I joined night to day with my wailings and ceased not from beating my breast till tranquillity returned to me at the Lord's behest. I used to dread my poor cell as though it knew my secret thoughts. Filled with stiff anger against myself, I would make my way alone into the desert; and when I came upon some hollow valley or rough mountain or precipitous cliff, there I would set up my oratory, and make that spot a place of torture for my unhappy flesh. There sometimes also—the Lord Himself is my witness—after many a tear and straining of my eyes to heaven, I felt myself in the presence of the angelic hosts and in joy and gladness would sing: 'Because your anointing oils are fragrant we run after you.'<sup>4</sup>

Those are the sorts of battles, then, that this man waged within himself. That does not mean, however, that he never fought battles against external enemies; there were times when he started the fight and times when he suffered the aggression of others. For his remarkable virtue had produced a large group of jealous rivals, who eventually became so hostile that they never stopped spreading various lies about him in a city where he was held in high esteem until at last they succeeded in driving him away. At that time, there were individuals in the ranks of the clergy and religious who led their lives with too little

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<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152-54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 67-69.

decenter vitam agebant. Hi sustinere eum<sup>bbbb</sup> bene monentem non poterant, tantoque odio insecuti sunt<sup>cccc</sup> ut non aliter saluti eorum consuli posse sperarent quam si eis cederet. Qui tamen effugiens effugere ipsos non valuit. Nam etiam absentem et, ut ipse ait, latentem detractionibus et maledictis perpetuis lacerabant. Quorum in suis scripturis meminit et obiurgando confutat, ne forsitan de malo opere sibi valde placerent.<sup>dddd</sup>

Haereticos vero sponte<sup>eeee</sup> insectatus est ubicumque terrarum esse ullum<sup>ffff</sup> audierat. Cum eo pugnam calami scripturaeque conserebat,<sup>gggg</sup> complures haereses et nascentes extinxit et antea natas extirpavit, tantaque erat auctoritatis et fidei ut nonnulli haeticorum post eius obitum<sup>hhhh</sup> libros quos ipsi<sup>iiii</sup> composuerant Hieronymo ascriberent, quasi nemo ausurus esset improbare quod ipse comprobasset, sive forsitan ut convictus de haeresi qui vivens eos damnaverat ipse<sup>jjjj</sup> mortuus damnaretur. Sed deprehensis erroribus, certum erat non fuisse Hieronymi quod errorem<sup>kkkk</sup> in se aliquem contineret aut saperet. Pleraque etiam miraculo diiudicata sunt.

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<sup>bbbb</sup> eum sustinere C Ra

<sup>cccc</sup> sunt] un? *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>dddd</sup> placeret C *Tp?*

<sup>eeee</sup> sponte] insectatos *add. et del. Tp*

<sup>ffff</sup> ullum esse S. nullum (*ex nullus corr.*) esse *Tp*

<sup>gggg</sup> conserebat *ex -bant corr. Ra*

<sup>hhhh</sup> obitum eius *Ra*

<sup>iiii</sup> ipsi *ex ipse corr. Ra*

<sup>jjjj</sup> ipse *ex al. litt. corr. S*

<sup>kkkk</sup> errorum *S*

regard for the profession that they had publicly made.<sup>5</sup> Those men could not tolerate Jerome's salutary admonishment, and they pursued him with such venomous hatred that they were actually hoping that he could not assist their salvation unless he were to withdraw from their presence. Even though Jerome did leave the city, he was not able to leave their attacks behind.<sup>6</sup> With their slanders and their relentless insults, they harassed him even though he was no longer there and, as he himself says, had gone into hiding.<sup>7</sup> He dealt with those men in his own writings and frustrated their efforts by rebuking them, lest they gain some lasting sense of satisfaction for their evil deeds.

On his own initiative, moreover, he reproached the heretics no matter where on earth he heard they were present. He joined battle with them and fought them with reed-pen and script; he extinguished several heresies as they burst into flame and eradicated others even before they took root. As a matter of fact, Jerome had become such a reliable authority that, after his death, a few of the heretics attributed to his authorship books that they themselves had written. They acted on the assumption that no one would dare to disapprove what he himself had approved, or maybe they hoped that the one who had condemned them during his lifetime might be judged guilty of heresy and condemned after his death.<sup>8</sup> But once the errors in those books were exposed, people were certain that Jerome was not their author. He could not be responsible for writing something that had errors of its own or cited something erroneous. Several cases were actually resolved by means of a miraculous intervention.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.28 (CSEL 54:185-86); and Giovanni d'Andrea, *Hieronymianus*, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 480, 17: "... sed dum quorundam clericorum et monachorum lasciviam increparet cuius rei fiduciam a conscientiae puritate sumebat. ..."

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 16.2 (CSEL 54:69): "... ita me incessabilis inimicus postergum secutus est, ut maiora in solitudine bella nunc patiar."

<sup>7</sup> The exact reference is uncertain. Cf. Hieronymus *Vita Malchi* 1 (PL 23:55: "... et si vituperatores mei saltem fugientem me et inclusum persequi desierint ...").

<sup>8</sup> Works of Sabinianus, Origen, Pelagius, and Rufinus were attributed to Jerome; cf. Ps. Cyrillus, "Epistola de miraculis," 340-50 (re Sabinianus); and Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*, 45-46. One may find an exhaustive list of works attributed to Jerome in Bernard Lambert, *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana Manuscripta: La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de saint Jérôme*, Instrumenta patristica 4 (Steenbrugge, Belg.: in abbatia S. Petri, 1969-72), 3A-B (no. 301-807); see esp. 3B:411-16, 433 (no. 504-7, 517), for works written against heretics.

Nec mirum vero immunem<sup>lllll</sup> fuisse eum ab erroribus quantum sinit humana fragilitas, qui tantae modestiae fuerit ut, cum doctissimus et<sup>mmmmm</sup> esset et haberetur dignusque cunctorum iudicio summo sacerdotio crederetur, tamen<sup>nnnnn</sup> in disciplinam<sup>ooooo</sup> se traderet. Urbe enim cedens Gregorio Nazianzeno discendi gratia conversatus est, cumque doctor plane ab omnibus<sup>ppppp</sup> haberetur<sup>qqqqq</sup> denuo coepit esse discipulus, ac more Platonis, cum semper se ad addiscendum pauperem credit, ad docendum se fecit locupletem. Vere itaque doctor evasit qui tam diu discere voluit, dum esset qui docere se posset. Non enim quod habebat sed magis quod deerat cogitabat, nec vero<sup>rrrrr</sup> minus<sup>sssss</sup> ei<sup>ttttt</sup> studium fuit meritis vitae crescere quam laudibus disciplinae, sciens apud Deum mores magis quam<sup>uuuuu</sup> peritiam existimari multoque damnabilius eruditos peccare quam rudes. Itaque sic postea docuit, ut quod verbo monstrabat confirmaret<sup>vvvvv</sup> exemplo nec a vita discreparet oratio.

Unde fuisse eum Deo acceptissimum tenor vitae suadet, et miracula quae per eum facere Dominus dignatus est confirmant. Quae quoniam multa magnaque se dicenti offerunt nec possibile est omnia attingere aut facile vel pauca narrare, narratione omissa, pro conclusione preces porrigam Deo, ut meritis intercessionequae Sancti Hieronymi, cuius hodie festa celebramus, dignos nos gratia sua<sup>wwwww</sup> reddat, qui vivit et regnat per infinita saecula benedictus.<sup>xxxxx</sup>

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lllll vero immunem in ras. Ra

mmmmm et] interl. Tp: om. S

nnnnn tum S

ooooo disciplinis S Tp (ex disciplina? corr.)

ppppp plane ab omnibus] ab (h- add. et del.) omnibus plane Tp

qqqqq haberetur ex -entur corr. Ra

rrrrr vero om. S Tp

sssss minus] interl. S: om. Tp

ttttt eius S

uuuuu quam] rudes add. et del. Ra

vvvvv confirmaretur S Tp

wwwww sua] d add. et del. Tp

xxxxx saecula benedictus] Amen add. Tp. Senis 1408 add. C: saecula saeculorum Amen  
Deo gratias Ra

It is really not that surprising that Jerome was immune from error to the extent that the imperfection of our nature allows, for he was an extremely modest person. Although he was so learned that he was worthy of the supreme pontificate and was universally considered to be such,<sup>9</sup> he nevertheless decided that he had to get further training at that point in his life. He therefore left the city and went to live with Gregory of Nazianzus so that he could learn even more.<sup>10</sup> At a moment when all clearly considered Jerome a master, he resumed the life of a disciple. After the manner of Plato, he became well endowed to teach because he always focused upon his need to learn.<sup>11</sup> Truly, then, the one who for so long a time wished to learn, long enough to become the sort of person who could teach himself, turned out to be a skilled pedagogue. For he did not concentrate on what he possessed but what he still needed, and he was no less zealous to add to the merits of his life than he was to add to his reputation as a scholar. He knew that God's reckoning counts ethical behavior for more than scholarly expertise, and he appreciated that the learned deserve far greater blame for sinning than the uneducated. Therefore, he taught in such a way afterwards that he confirmed by his example what he emphasized in his speech, and he never advocated anything publicly that contradicted his own manner of life.<sup>12</sup>

The very quality of his life ought to convince us that God found Jerome most gratifying, and the miracles which the Lord deigned to work through him confirm us in that conviction. Since anyone who speaks on Jerome can choose from among many significant miracles and cannot possibly treat them all or easily rehearse even a few of them, I will omit their treatment. By way of conclusion, I will offer prayers to God, that by the merits and intercession of Saint Jerome, whose feast we celebrate today, God may render us worthy of his grace, the God who lives and reigns as blessed for ever and ever.

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<sup>9</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 45.3 (CSEL 54:325). See also *Sermon 1*, n. 4 above.

<sup>10</sup> See *Sermon 1*, n. 5 above.

<sup>11</sup> The precise reference is uncertain. See *Sermon 1*, n. 3 above.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Cato's description of the ideal orator (cited in authors like L. Annaeus Seneca *Contr.* 1.Pr.9 and M. Fabius Quintilianus *Inst.* 12.1.1): "vir bonus dicendi peritus"; and Hieronymus *Ep.* 23.2 (CSEL 54:212): "... comites suas plus exemplo docuisse quam verbo."

## *Sermo 10 pro Sancto Hieronymo*

*Manuscript: C, fols. 157v-58v (fragm.).*

Veni ad vos, religiosi ac sancti viri, ut huius vestrae beatae conversationis, qua favemini semper quaeque vobis est arra ac pignus quoddam<sup>a</sup> futurae gloriae, aliquid gustarem simul et ut gloriosi Hieronymi laudes, cuius vitae imitatores facti estis, vobiscum hac die quae sollemnis est celebrarem. Sed vereor ne sensus mei saeculi voluptatibus infecti has veras delicias sentire non possint, ne ille, quem iubemur in sanctis suis laudare, ex ore peccatoris emissas in se laudes abhorreat. Verum spero me vestris sanctis precibus impetraturum et eius misericordia, qui neminem repellit ad se venientem, ut utrumque mihi hodie liceat: ut et vestrae pacis tantisper sim particeps et hoc anniversarium munus in commemoratione meritorum gloriosi Hieronymi volente Deo peragam.

Scio vos quidem, fratres, abundantia caritatis quae in vobis est optare ut omne vestrum bonum mihi communicetis, ut omnis mihi gloria vestra pateat. Scio et illud pro magnitudine devotionis ac fidei vestrae ma-

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<sup>a</sup> quoddam *in marg. C*



## Sermon 10 for Saint Jerome

I have come to you, religious and holy men, in order that I might taste something of your blessed fellowship, which you have always maintained in silence and which thereby serves as a sort of down payment and a pledge on your behalves toward future glory.<sup>1</sup> I have also come in order that I might celebrate the praises of glorious Jerome with you on this day, which you mark as solemn because you have become imitators of his manner of life. But I fear that my senses may not be able to taste the essence of these delicacies because they are tainted by the pleasures of the world. Similarly, I fear that our God, whom we are ordered to praise in the saints, will shudder to hear such praises uttered in the divine presence from the mouth of a sinner.<sup>2</sup> But I hope that your holy prayers and the mercy of God, who drives away no one coming to him, will allow me to succeed in realizing both of the desires I have brought with me today. I want to share in your peacefulness for some time, and, God willing, I want to fulfill my annual duty of commemorating the merits of glorious Jerome.

I know full well, brothers, that, from the abundance of charity you possess, you desire to communicate to me everything you have that is good, so that I benefit fully from the reputation you have acquired. I know as well that the intensity of your faith and devotion makes you

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eph. 1:14 (“pignus hereditatis nostrae”); and Hieronymus *Comm. in Ep. ad Ephesios* 1:14 (PL 26:457-58).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ps. 150:1 (“Laudate Dominum in sanctis suis,”) and Eccli. 15:9 (“Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris,”) the latter cited in Hieronymus *Ep.* 147.3 (CSEL 56:318).

gnopere desiderare vos, ut hac die qua gloriosus Sanctus Hieronymus terrena<sup>c</sup> miseria in caelestem gloriam migravit, sicut ipsi memoriam ex officio facitis, ita et laudes eius perpetuo sermone cognoscatis. Sed utrumque quantum Dominus dederit assequemur. Ego enim, cum haec silvestria loca video procul ab urbana frequentia, cum hunc vestrum conventum secretum ab occupationibus saeculi, conversationem vestram in humilitate ac silentio, assiduitatem in divinis officiis, continent iam in omni vita considero, magnam ipse mihi voluptatem capio ac simul inducor ut illius temporis quod Hieronymus in deserto cum sanctis fratribus exegit reminiscar. Ubi (quod<sup>d</sup> attinet commemorare) quantae austeritatis vitam duxerit, quantum bonae patientiae fru-  
< c > tum messuerit, ipse sibi testis est, qui et errare de propriis rebus non potuit et mentiri noluit, in<sup>e</sup> ea epistola, quam ad Eustochium scribit de virginitate servanda. Eius referam verba quae mihi quotienscumque de hac re sermo fit semper ab origine repetuntur. “O quotiens,” inquit, “in illa vasta solitudine quae exusta solis ardoribus horridum monachis praestabat habitaculum (et cetera).”

Scio nunc vos, si quis est vestrum qui aut propter aetatem aut propter valitudinem aut aliam quamlibet causam de solito vitae rigore sibi aliquid remittit, angi nunc et compungi in animo suo, cum audit monachos illos (ut Hieronymum taceam cuius austeritas vitae miraculum est et mihi stupori)—illos, inquam, Hieronymi discipulos in vasta atque horrida solitudine habitantes nihil solitos coctum manducare, omnes aquam potare usos, ac ne languentibus quidem delicatioris quicquam consuetu-

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<sup>c</sup> scripsi: aeterna C

<sup>d</sup> scripsi: quid C

<sup>e</sup> in ex ine? corr. C

yearn to call Jerome to mind as you recite the office and learn his claims to distinction as you hear an uninterrupted sermon on this day when Saint Jerome gloriously departed from earthly misery for heavenly splendor. But we will achieve both of those desires to the extent that God has granted it. As a matter of fact, when I look around this wooded setting far removed from the crowds of the city, when I see this gathering of yours sheltered from the business of the world, your fellowship in humble silence, your dedication to divine duties, when I consider the chastity you have kept throughout your lives, I find myself touched by a deep sense of admiration,<sup>3</sup> and at the same time I am led to reminisce about the time that Jerome spent with the holy brothers in the desert. It is relevant to recall now the severe asceticism of the life he led there, the considerable fruit he harvested through his admirable patience. Jerome could not make a mistake when he was speaking about his own experience, and he had no intention of lying. He gave explicit testimony about that time in the letter he wrote to Eustochium to advise her on ways to protect her virginity. I will refer to his own words which I always cite from the original source when I deliver a sermon on this subject. "Oh, how often," he says, "when I was living in that lonely waste, scorched by the burning sun, which affords to hermits a savage dwelling-place (etc.)."<sup>4</sup>

If there is anyone among you who has softened the customary rigor of your way of life because of age or health problems or another reason of that sort, I am sure that he is now troubled and stung in the depth of his soul upon hearing that those monks (I will pass Jerome over in silence because the austerity of his life is a miracle that never ceases to amaze me)—those disciples of Jerome, I was saying, dwelt in that lonely and savage waste, were accustomed to eat nothing that had been cooked, drank water on all occasions,<sup>5</sup> and did not even permit any lessening of

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hieronymus *Ep.* 2.1 (CSEL 54:10): "Quam, quam vellem nunc vestro interesse conventui et admirandum consortium, licet isti oculi non mereantur aspicere, tota cum exultatione complecti!" Jerome addressed the letter to Theodosius and his fellow anchorites, and he admitted that his sins kept him from becoming a member of their blessed society (*consortio beatorum*).

<sup>4</sup> Hieronymus *Ep.* 22.7 (CSEL 54:152-54). English translation by F. A. Wright, *Select Letters of Saint Jerome*, 67.

<sup>5</sup> Jerome's text actually speaks of frigid water. Vergerio may therefore be referring to the custom among monks in his day to drink wine on special occasions.

dinis permitti solitum. Quod si ita est, quid mihi faciendum est misero? qui saeculo implicitus nec praeteritorum culpam peccatorum nec futuri poenam iudicii metuo,<sup>e</sup> sed errores impunitate sua nutrio negligensque paenitentiae deterior in dies fio. Verum ea una res me consolatur et ad spem erigit, quoniam scio maiorem esse misericordiam Dei mei quam peccantium omnium iniquitatem. Spero itaque quod, qui me nihil entem, nihil sentientem creavit, idem quoque me volentem ac se deprecantem salvabit.

Vos autem, viri sancti, qui iam arram tenetis aeternae felicitatis, nihil est ut commoveamini cum haec auditis aut legitis. Ut enim non omnia omnibus nosci,<sup>f</sup> sed nec omnibus omnia posse concessum est. Varia namque sunt gratiarum munera, ut apostolus ait, neque omnia uni nisi divino illi atque incommutabili verbo contingerunt. Suscipientes igitur quod datum est vobis cum gratiarum actione, de reliquo contristari oportet, nihil quidem praesumentes de vobis sed omnia de divina bonitate sperantes, quae dat omnibus abundanter et non improperat, unicuique autem secundum capacitatem eius et secundum [et secundum] dispositionem incomprehensibilis providentiae suae. Cum enim in illa quasi adolescentia fidei nostrae undique pullularent errores, qui tamquam spinae teneram segetem suffocarent, opus fuit ut sollicitum ac fortem colonum agro suo Deus immitteret et<sup>g</sup>

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<sup>e</sup> metuo ex medtuo corr. C

<sup>f</sup> scripsi: nosce C

<sup>g</sup> “<sua> sionis? multum <habe>t?” in marg. C

this severe regime if one were sick. If that was the case, what is a wretch like me to do? Until now, I have been engaged in worldly affairs, and yet I fear neither the guilt that has accumulated for my past sins nor the punishment that will be meted out at a future judgment. Rather, I multiply my sins through a misguided sense of my own impunity, and I become worse by the day because I fail to repent. Still, there is one thing that consoles me and encourages me to have hope: I know that the mercy of my God is greater than the iniquity of all sinners. Thus, I hope that the same God, who brought me into existence and gave me consciousness and feeling, will also save me since I wish and pray for it.

However, it serves no good purpose for you, holy men, who have already made a deposit toward eternal happiness, to be anxious when you hear or read these things. As we all are not granted the power to know everything, nor are we all granted the power to do everything.<sup>6</sup> As a matter of fact, the ministries that fall to us vary according to the graces given, as the apostle says,<sup>7</sup> and all of those ministries fall to no single individual except to the divine and immutable Word. Therefore, while you accept what has been given to you with a sense of gratitude, you may reasonably be expected to feel a certain regret about the rest, as long as you do not rely in any way on yourselves but hope for all things from the divine goodness, which gives to all abundantly and reproaches no one. God bestows gifts to each individual, however, according to the capacities of the individual and according to the dispositions of a providence that we will never fully understand. For instance, when errors were sprouting up everywhere in the adolescent years of our faith's development and they were suffocating the young crop the way that thorns do,<sup>8</sup> it was necessary that God send into his field a tireless and courageous farmer and

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Virgilius Maro *Ecl.* 8.63 ("non omnia possumus omnes"), cited in Hieronymus *Ep.* 52.9 (CSEL 54:431).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. 1 Cor. 12:4; Rom. 12:6.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Matt. 13:7.



# PART VI

## Bibliographical Aids





## CHAPTER 10

# The Library of Pierpaolo Vergerio

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Budapest, University Library (Eötvös Loránd Tudomány  
Egyetem Könyvtára), cod. Lat. 23

Cart. s. XV (in.), Italy. 192 X 130 mm. 108 fols. Single column. Written in "Bastarda Italica" (fol. 108v: notes by various hands in Latin, Greek, and Slavonic). Nineteenth-century Turkish binding in red leather.

*Contents:* Misc. humanistica

- 1 (fols. 1-104) Anon., *Grammatica Latina* (inc: Nota quod grammatica est scientia)
- 2 (fol. 104) Anon., *Ep.* (dated Constance, 1414) (fragm.) (fols. 105-8) blank

*History:* Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph note from 1440 on fol. 108). Matthias Corvinus. Süleyman II (Istanbul). Returned to University Library in Budapest by Abdul Hamid II in 1877.

*Bibliography:* Ladislaus Mezey, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi Bibliothecae Universitatis Budapestinensis* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1961), 41; Csaba Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock, Studia humanitatis: Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgruppe für Renaissanceforschung 1* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1973), 422 (no. 835); G. L. Bursill-Hall, *A Census of Medieval Latin Grammatical Manuscripts, Grammatica speculativa 4* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1981), 45; *Iter 4:287b*; and Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Johannes Vitéz, Studia humanitatis: Veröffentlichungen der Arbeitsgruppe für Renaissanceforschung 6* (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1984), 26-27.

## Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Auct. F.I.14

Membr. s. XIV (ex.), Italy. 346 X 248 mm. 162 fols. Written in "early Gothico-antiqua." Original gilded binding in red leather for Matthias Corvinus. Initials (north Italian).

*Contents:* L. Annaeus Seneca, *Tragoediae*

*History:* Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph glosses). Ioannes Vitez (autograph glosses). Matthias Corvinus (arms). Süleyman II (Istanbul). Presented to Oxford in 1608 by Sir Henry Lillo, consul of the English merchants in Istanbul.

*Bibliography:* Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford ...* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953), 2.1:390 (no. 2481.599); Csaba Csapodi, Klára Csapodi-Gárdonyi, and Tibor Szántó, eds., *Bibliotheca Corviniana: The Library of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary* (Shannon: Irish Univ. Press, 1969), 62 (no. 101, Plate 55); Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 352 (no. 590); and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 23–24, 134–35 (no. 96, Plate 67).

## Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 6390

Membr. s. XIV, northern Italy. 315 X 220 mm. 136 fols. Written in "Gothic minuscule" by a Ioannes. Initials (Lombardy?).

*Contents:* L. Annaeus Seneca et Ps. Seneca, *Opera*<sup>1</sup>

1 Ps. Seneca, *De remediis fortuitorum*

2 L. Annaeus Seneca, *De septem liberalibus artibus* <Ep. 88 >

3 Ps. Seneca / Martinus de Braga, *De quattuor virtutibus*

4 *Proverbia Senecae*

5 Ps. Seneca, *Liber de moribus*

6 L. Annaeus Seneca, *De beneficiis*

7 Seneca, *De providentia Dei*

8 Seneca, *De beata vita*

9 Seneca, *Liber de tranquillitate animi*

10 Seneca, *De brevitae vitae*

11 Seneca, *De ira*

12 Seneca, *De consolatione libri tres*

13 Seneca, *De quaestionibus naturalibus*

14 *Verba Ecclesiastae filii David regis*

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<sup>1</sup> In general, see Gilles Gerard Meersseman, "Seneca maestro di spiritualità nei suoi opuscoli apocrifi dal XII al XV secolo," *IMU* 16 (1973): 43–58, 92–100.

15 L. Annaeus Seneca, *De clementia ad Neronem*

*History:* Possessor's note (fol. 136v: "Iacobi Parleonis iuris doctoris Ariminensis"). Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph glosses on fols. 69, 83, 93, 95). Ioannes Vitez (autograph glosses on fols. 13v, 94). Matthias Corvinus. Süleyman II (Istanbul). Paris.

*Bibliography:* *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* (Paris, 1739-44), 4:237-38; Léopold-Victor Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale ...* (1868-81; repr., Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1969), 1:297-98; Csapodi et al., eds., *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, 63 (no. 104, Plate 60); Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 352 (no. 591); and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 25-26, 135 (no. 97, Plate 69).

Trent, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, cod. W.43 (Inventory no. 1594)  
(described by Csapodi-Gárdonyi as an exact copy of Oxford  
Bodl. Auct. F.I.14, including initials by the same artist)

Membr. s. XIV (ex.), Italy. Initials.

*Contents:* L. Annaeus Seneca, *Tragoediae*

*History:* Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph glosses). Ioannes Vitez and the Cathedral Library of Esztergom (Gran). Johann Beckensloer and the Cathedral Library of Salzburg (cod. 1b). Vienna (cod. Lat. 43). Trent.

*Bibliography:* *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum* (Vienna, 1864-99), 1:6; Ezio Franceschini, "Glosse e commenti medievali a Seneca tragico," *Studi e note di filologia latina medievale*, Pubblicazioni dell'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (S. Quarta): Scienze filologiche 30 (Milan, 1938), 103-4; Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 24, 134-35 (no. 96, Plate 68); and *Iter* 6:232a-b, 233b (where Kristeller corrects errors in Csapodi-Gárdonyi's references).<sup>2</sup>

Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 100

Membr. in fol. 1338, Italy. 290 X 210 mm. 95 fols. Written in "Gothic minuscule." Late Hungarian binding. Floriated initials.

*Contents:* M. Annaeus Lucanus, *Pharsaliorum libri X*

*History:* according to the colophon on fol. 95, the codex was copied

<sup>2</sup> A parchment copy of Seneca's *Tragoediae*, copied in 1395 and glossed by Francesco Zabarella, is now preserved in Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XII.26 (3906); see *Iter* 2:240b-41a.

originally by Martino da Trieste in 1338: "Millesimo CCC XXX VIII hoc opus factum fuit per Martinum de Trieste in scholis magistri Bonaventurae scriptoris de Verona." Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph notes). Ioannes Vitez (autograph notes) and the Cathedral Library of Esztergom (Gran). Johann Beckensloer and the Cathedral Library of Salzburg (cod. 3d). Vienna.

*Bibliography*: Stephanus Endlicher, *Catalogus Codicum Philologicorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis* (Vienna, 1836), 89 (no. 186); *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum*, 1:15; Franz Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek bis zum Jahre 1400*, vol. 1 of *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1969), 17–18; and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 25, 117 (no. 65, Plate 51).

**Ibid., cod. Lat. 3099**

Cart. s. XIV (ex.)–XV. 409 X 290 mm. 296 fols. Two columns. Written in "Gothico-antiqua."

*Contents*: Titus Livius, *Historiarum decades tres: I., III., IV.* (fols. 290–96) blank

*History*: Possessor's note: "Sibi et suis omnibus. VF." Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph notes). Ioannes Vitez (autograph notes in red ink). Matthias Corvinus(?). From Buda to Vienna in 1686.

*Bibliography*: Endlicher, *Catalogus Codicum Philologicorum Latinorum*, 45–46 (no. 92); *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum*, 2:196; Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 277–78 (no. 406); and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 25, 113–14 (no. 57, Plate 41).

**Ibid., cod. Lat. 4229**

Membr. s. XV (in.), Italy (Bologna). 308 X 213 mm. 395 fols. Written in "Gothic minuscule." Ornamentation.

*Contents*:

1 (fols. 1–177v) Lapo da Castiglionchio, *Allegationes abbreviatae per Antonium de Butrio* (fols. 178–79) blank

2 (fols. 180–395v) Gulielmus de Holborch, *Collectio conclusionum, determinationum, et decisionum Rotae ab anno 1376 usque ad annum 1381* (inc: *Prima est quod attemptata*)

*History*: Pierpaolo Vergerio (autograph glosses on fols. 3v, 5, 8, 11?). Ioannes Vitez and the Cathedral Library of Esztergom (Gran).

*Bibliography*: *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum*, 3:211; and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 25–26, 112 (no. 55, Plate 38).

? Budapest, University Library, cod. Lat. 15

Membr. s. XIII/XIV, Italy (Bologna). 330 X 230 mm. I + 46. Two columns. Written in "Gothica textualis formata rotunda." Nineteenth-century Turkish binding in leather.

*Contents*: (fols. 1–44) Albucasis, *Chirurgia translatio Latina Gerardus Cremonensis*

*History*: Conversino da Frignano?<sup>3</sup> Pierpaolo Vergerio? Matthias Corvinus. Süleyman II (Istanbul). Returned to University Library in Budapest by Abdul Hamid II in 1877.

*Bibliography*: Mezey, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi*, 34; Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 121 (no. 18); and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 27.

? *Ibid.*, cod. Lat. 16

Membr. s. XIV, Italy (Bologna). 290 X 205 mm. 58 fols. Two columns. Written in "Gothica textualis formata rotunda in littera Bononiensi." Nineteenth-century Turkish binding in leather.

*Contents*: Misc. philosophica

1 (fols. 1–52) Aristoteles, *Physica*

2 (fols. 54–58v) Averroes, *De substantia orbis*

*History*: Pierpaolo Vergerio? Matthias Corvinus. Süleyman II (Istanbul). Returned to University Library in Budapest by Abdul Hamid II in 1877.

*Bibliography*: Mezey, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi*, 34–35; George Lacombe and Lorenzo Minio Paluello, eds., *Aristoteles Latinus: Codices* (Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, and Cambridge: Typis Academiae, 1939–55), 2:865 (no. 1250); Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 139 (no. 63); *Iter* 4:287b; and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 27 n. 67.

? *Ibid.*, cod. Lat. 17

Cart. and Membr. 1449–51,<sup>4</sup> Italy (Venice). 333 X 235 mm. 173 fols.

<sup>3</sup> Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 121, suggests that the codex was moved from the Royal Court at Naples to that of King Louis the Great of Hungary (1342–82). Louis then gave it to his physician Conversino.

<sup>4</sup> The colophon on fol. 145v reads "Finit liber posteriorum Aristotelis cum eiusdem sententiae explanatione ... Pauli Veneti ... expeditus per <ras.> die quinta mensis

Two columns. Ornamentation. Nineteenth-century Turkish binding in leather.

*Contents:* Misc. philosophica

- 1 (fols. 1–145v) Paolo Veneto, *In II. Posteriorum Analyticorum Aristotelis expositio* (fols. 146–47) blank
- 2 (fols. 147v–48) *Tabulae festorum mobilium et numerorum aureorum de anno 1432 ad annum 1564* (fols. 148v–53v) blank
- 3 (fols. 154–58) Egidio Romano, OESA, *De intellectus possibilis pluralitate contra Averroistas*
- 4 (fols. 159–60v) Egidio Romano, OESA, *Sollemnis quaestio . . . quid sit medium in demonstratione potissima*
- 5 (fols. 160v–63v) <Ps. Thomas de Aquino>, *De demonstratione* (fol. 164) blank
- 6 (fols. 164v–67) Antonio da Parma, OESA, *Quaestio disputata de unitate intellectus*
- 7 (fols. 167v–72v) Alanus ab Insulis, O. Cist., *De arte fidei Catholicae* (abbrev.) (fol. 172v) “Hic infra describitur qualis et quanta fuit statura et effigies corporis domini nostri Iesu Christi.”

*History:* Pierpaolo Vergerio? Matthias Corvinus. Barnabas Trainatus?<sup>5</sup> Süleyman II (Istanbul). Returned to University Library in Budapest by Abdul Hamid II in 1877.

*Bibliography:* Mezey, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi*, 35–37; Lacombe and Minio Paluella, eds., *Aristoteles Latinus: Codices*, 2:865 (no. 1251); Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 430 (no. 874); *Iter* 4:288a; and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 27 n. 67.

? *Ibid.*, cod. Lat. 20

Membr. s. XIV–XV, Italy. 250 X 185 mm. II + 89. Single column. Written in “Gothica textualis formata rotunda.” Two hands. Initials. Nineteenth-century Turkish binding in green leather.

*Contents:* Misc. humanistica

- 1 (fols. 1–76v) M. Tullius Cicero, *De amicitia; De senectute; De officiis*

Septembris 1449 hora quinta de maci <sic>.” The colophon on fol. 167v reads “Quaestio edita ab eruditissimo . . . Antonio de Parma die 24 Septembris 1451.” The tables on fols. 147v–48 were probably added later.

<sup>5</sup> Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 430, cites Maria Kubinyi, who copied a possessor’s note from the original binding: “Hic liber est magistri Barnabae Trainati artium et medicinae doctoris, qui emit in . . . Cipri a serenissimo Benedicto de . . . regiae cancellariae 1497 (1491?) 17a Februarii.”

- 2 (fols. 76v–79v?) M. Tullius Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*  
 3 (fols. 80–82v) M. Tullius Cicero, *Pro Milone* 1–3 (expl: an est quisquam qui hoc)  
 4 Ps. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 3.11–19 (expl: pronuntiationem bonam id perficere)  
 5 (fols. 86v–88v?) <Ps.> Bernardus, *Ep. paraenetica ad dominum Raimundum*  
 6 (fol. 88v) <Ps. Phalaris>, *Ad Demotelem Ep.* translatio Latina Ioannes Aurispa (inc: Monitus tuos)<sup>6</sup>

*History:* Shield of Castellini (Castiglione?) family (fol. 1). Pierpaolo Vergerio?<sup>7</sup> Matthias Corvinus? Süleyman II (Istanbul). Returned to University Library in Budapest by Abdul Hamid II in 1877.

*Bibliography:* Mezey, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi*, 39; Csapodi, *The Corvian Library*, 185–86 (no. 182); *Iter* 4:288a; and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 93 (no. 24, Plate 14).

? *Ibid.*, cod. Lat. 26

Membr. s. XV (1), Italy. 205 X 135 mm. I + 59. Single column. Written in “Humanistica bastarda.” Nineteenth-century Turkish binding in red leather.

*Contents:* Plutarchus, *Aristides et Cato Maior* translatio Latina Franciscus Barbarus

*History:* Pierpaolo Vergerio? Matthias Corvinus? Süleyman II (Istanbul). Returned to University Library in Budapest by Abdul Hamid II in 1877.

*Bibliography:* Mezey, *Codices Latini Medii Aevi*, 43; Csapodi, *The Corvian Library*, 327 (no. 527); *Iter* 4:287b; and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 27 n. 67.

? Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 7881

Membr. s. XIV (ex.), northern Italy. 346 X 236 mm. 84 fols. Two columns. Binding of the Royal Library.

<sup>6</sup> See Barbara A. Shailor, *Marston Manuscripts*, vol. 3 of *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 100 (Binghamton, N.Y., 1992), 195 (no. 12). Aurispa had a codex with the Greek text of Arrian that may have served Vergerio for his Latin translation; see *Epist.*, 381n.

<sup>7</sup> Among the books that Francesco Zabarella left to Vergerio, there is a volume with Cicero, *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, *Orationes*. See Agostino Sottili, “La questione ciceroniana in una lettera di Francesco Zabarella a Francesco Petrarca (tav. IV),” *Quaderni per la storia dell’Università di Padova* 6 (1973): 37–38.

*Contents:*

- 1 (fols. 1–80v) Homerus, *Iliad* translatio Latina Leontius Pilatus (inc: Iram cane dea Pelidis Achillis)  
 2 (fol. 80v) *Epigrammata Homerica* (inc: Viri ab Archadia)

*History:* Pierpaolo Vergerio or Francesco Zabarella? Library of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (no. 1123). Royal Library (no. 5071.3).

*Bibliography:* *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, 4:409; and Agostino Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio: Le sue versioni omeriche negli autografi di Venezia e la cultura greca del primo umanesimo*, *Civiltà veneziana: Studi* 16 (Venice and Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1964), 148–49 (Plate 25).<sup>8</sup>

? Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 4792

Cart. 1449?, Italy? Netherlands? 423 X 290 mm. II + 129. Two columns. Written in "Gothica textualis." Oversize initials (north Italian). Hungarian Renaissance binding in leather.

*Contents:* Franciscus de Maironis, *Quaestiones super primo libro Sententiarum* (fragm. at beginning)

*History:* Possessor's note (fol. 1): "liber fratris Michaelis emptus Paduae novem ducatis." Pierpaolo Vergerio?<sup>9</sup> Ioannes Vitez (note on fol. 128v: "Deo gratias, finivi repetendo die ultimo Octobris 1463. Z. Inceperam autem repetere <anno del.> eodem anno in festo Beati Gregorii."). From Buda to Vienna in 1686.

*Bibliography:* *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum*, 3:389; Unterkircher, *Die datierten Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek von 1401 bis 1450*, vol. 2 of *Katalog der datierten Handschriften in lateinischer Schrift in Österreich* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1971), 115; Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, 225 (no. 277); and Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 25–26, 103 (no. 39, Plate 27).

<sup>8</sup> Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato*, 149–50, suggests that the scribe who wrote fols. 1–12 and added interlinear and marginal notes throughout the codex may be Vergerio, but he admits that there are differences between letters like minuscule *s* and *r* in this codex and in Vergerio's autograph in Marc. lat. XIV.54 (4328), fol. 101r–v. I would add that there are differences in minuscule *b*, *g*, *h*, *l* as well. Pertusi, *ibid.*, 125–31, finds that the same hand made notes in Pilato's autograph of the *Odyssey*, now Marc. gr. IX.29 (1007), and in this case suggests that the scribe may be Francesco Zabarella.

<sup>9</sup> The identification of Vergerio's hand in this codex poses problems because the codex has a date of 1449 at the end; the best evidence indicates that Vergerio died at Buda in 1444. Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 25–26, therefore suggested that Vergerio may not have died in 1444 or, more likely, that the date was added later to the codex.



## CHAPTER 11

# Pierpaolo Vergerio, *Opera*: A Finding-List<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Adhortatio ad fideles nomine summi pontificis facta pro unione ecclesiae* (inc: *Popule meus, popule meus*) Rome, 1407

**Manuscript:**

Capodistria, Archivio Gravisi-Barbabanca, unnumbered cod., fol. 94  
(destroyed in World War II)

**Edition:**

Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 305–7 n. 1.

2. *Alegabilia dicta collecta ex Thymaeo Platonis* (Calcidius, trans., *Timaeus*. Edited by Ioannes Wrobel, 42, 44A–45B, 47, 48C–E, 51E) (inc: *Esse autem naturam hominis*) Capodistria, 1388

**Manuscript:**

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.54 (4328), fol. 101r–v (autograph) (*Iter* 2:264a)

**Edition:**

Facsimile (fol. 101v) in *Epist.*, Tav. II (facing page 24).

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<sup>1</sup> There are verses by “Publius” Vergerio in Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. IV.F.19, fol. 165v. Manuscripts with excerpts from the works of Vergerio include Marburg, UnivB., cod. 80, fols. 122v–23; Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 18611, fols. 47–48v; and Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XII.8 (4161), fol. 11 (inc: *Habet enim potentum eruditio*). Among the books that Alberto Pio da Carpi sent out for binding on 10 August 1499, there were writings of “Paulo Vergerio”; see *Iter* 5:525b, where Kristeller cites Carpi, Bibl. Comunale, cod. Archivio Pio, filza 2, no. 94.

3. Arrianus, Flavius. *Anabasis, Indica* translatio Latina (inc: Quaecumque quidem Ptolomaeus Lagi) with a preface to Emperor Sigismund (inc: Iussisti me Sigismunde) Buda, 1433–37
- a. PPV translation (dedicated to Emperor Sigismund):

**Manuscripts:**

- Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert Ier, cod. I.9893–9894, fols. 1ff. (with preface to Sigismund) (*Iter* 3:117b)
- Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, part 2, fols. 12v–13 (preface to Sigismund) (*Iter* 6:130a–31b)
- Padua, Museo Civico, cod. 1203, part 1, 270–71 (preface to Sigismund)
- Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Nouv. acq. lat. 1302, fols. 1–162v (with preface to Sigismund) (*Iter* 3:289a)
- Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fol. 22r–v (preface to Sigismund)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 84v–85v (preface to Sigismund)

**Editions:**

- Apostolo Zeno, *Dissertationi Vossiane*, 1:54 (Preface). Venice, 1752–53.
- Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole*, 84–85 (Preface). Venice, 1887.
- Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 379–84 (Preface, *Ep.* 139).

- b. Revised version of Bartolomeo Facio (dedicated to Alfonso V of Aragon):

**Manuscripts:**

- El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, cod. N.II.2 (Stadter, *CTC*, 3:11)
- Naples, Bibl. Governativa dei Gerolamini, cod. S.M. XXVIII.1–37 (*Iter* 1:396a, 2:545b)
- Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. V.G.1 (*Iter* 1:401b, 6:103b)
- Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, part 2, fols. 13v–14 (preface to Alfonso) (*Iter* 6:130a–31b)
- Piacenza, Bibl. Comunale Passerini-Landi, cod. Landi 176 (*Iter* 2:69b)
- Vatican City, BAV, cod. Urb. lat. 415 (Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, 1:427)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5268 (*Iter* 2:332b)
- Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 86r–v (preface to Alfonso)

**Editions:**

*Arrianus de rebus gestis Alexandri regis quem Latinitate donavit Bartholomaeus Facius.* Pesaro, 1508. Basel, 1539. Lyon, 1552. Berne and Basel, 1554.

4. *Carmen ad Franciscum Iuniorem de Carraria* (inc: Carriger nobis pater) Padua, November 1402

**Manuscripts:**

London, University of London, cod. 288 (formerly Phillipps 9184), < fols. 52–53v > (*Iter* 4:216b)

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. D 223 inf., fols. 173–74 (*Iter* 1:284b)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 78, fol. 76v (in marg.) (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 345–60, *I codici del Petrarca*, 197–212 [no. 87])

Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. lat. 126, fol. 64v (Coxe, *Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos Complectens*, 163–64)

*Ibid.*, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 188–89

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 108–10

*Ibid.*, cod. B.P. 1223, 36–38

Turin, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. H.III.8, fol. 202 (*Iter* 2:181a–b)

Vatican City, BAV, cod. Vat. lat. 5223, fol. 55v (*Iter* 2:372b–73a)

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fol. 94r–v (Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170–71)

*Ibid.*, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 53r–v

Vicenza, Bibl. Comunale Bertoliana, cod. 7.1.31, fols. 152–52(bis)v (*Iter* 2:302a)

Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 3481, fols. 26v–27v (*Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum* 2:306–7)

**Editions:**

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:242.

Edoardo Alvisi, Ugo Brilli, and Tommaso Casini, *Ode saffica di Pier Paolo Vergerio, il vecchio, per il ritorno dei Carraresi in Padova.* Rome, 1888: “Per le nozze Chiarini-Pelaez.”

Tommaso Casini, “Notizie e documenti per la storia della poesia italiana: Tre nuovi rimatori del trecento,” *Il Propugnatore*, n.s., 1, no. 2 (1888): 352–55.

5. *Carmen Francisco Zabarellae* (inc: Omnia iam dudum cum sint)  
Padua, 1400  
**Manuscripts:**  
Padua, Bibl. del Seminario, cod. 196, fol. 230 (*Iter* 2:9b)  
Ibid., Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1223, 160  
Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5, fol. 77  
Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XII.50 (4376), fol.  
103v (Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 2:135–37)  
Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, cod. Phillipps 5819, fol.  
102 (*Iter* 5:418b–19a)  
**Editions:**  
Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:241D–E.  
Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 367 n. 1.
6. *De arte metrica* (with Francesco Zabarella) (inc: Penes omne saeculum ingenti praeconio) Padua, 1395  
**Manuscript:**  
Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIII.41 (4729), fols.  
1–52  
**Edition:**  
Remigio Sabbadini, “La metrica e prosodia latina di Francesco Zabarella,” *La Biblioteca delle scuole italiane*, n.s., 9–10 (1904), no. 2 (15 gennaio): 3–5; no. 12 (15 giugno): 5–8 (excerpt.)
7. *De dignissimo funebri apparatu in exequiis clarissimi omnium principis Francisci Senioris de Carraria* (inc: Soleo saepe maiorum nostrorum)  
Padua, November 1393  
**Manuscripts:**  
Milan, Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, cod. AC.XII.22, fols. 90–97  
Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Est. lat. 186 (Alpha O.6, 22), fols. 29–36v  
Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. Già Viennesi lat. 57 (Vindob. 3160), fols. 146ff. (*Iter* 1:437b, 3:59a–b)  
New Haven, Yale University Library, cod. Osborn a.17 (formerly Phillipps 9627), fols. 94v–100 (*Iter* 5:291a; Dutschke, *Census*, 194–97 [no. 77])  
Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 160b–64  
Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 263–69  
Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223, 59–66  
Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fols. 85–90v

Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5, fols. 3–8v  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fols.  
 156–59 (Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170–71)

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.239 (4500), fols. 30–36v

**Edition:**

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:189A–94A.

8. *De ingenuis moribus et liberalibus studiis adolescentiae* (inc: Franciscus senior avus tuus) Padua, 1402–3

**Manuscripts:**

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. II.Lat.1.quarto.33, fols. 71–91v (*Iter* 3:571a)

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. O.III.23, fol. 234v (fragm.) (*Iter* 5:78b–79a)

Beauvais, Bibl. de la Ville, cod. 14, fols. 1ff. (*Catalogue général: Départements*, 3:326–27)

Bergamo, Bibl. Civica, cod. Delta II.15, fols. 37v–101 (*Iter* 1:9b)

Ibid., cod. Delta V.20, fols. 139v–45 (*Iter* 1:11a)

Ibid., cod. Delta VI.33 (*Iter* 1:12a)

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, cod. Hamilton 397, fols. 1–42v (*Iter* 3:365a)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. Lat. quarto 239, fols. 251–61v (*Iter* 3:486b–87a)

Ibid., cod. Lat. quarto 468, fols. 53v–71v (*Iter* 3:489a)

Ibid., cod. Lat. octavo 32, fols. 97–124 (*Iter* 3:479b)

Ibid., cod. Lat. octavo 108 (*Iter* 3:479b)

Ibid., cod. Lat. octavo 195 (formerly Phillipps 9212) (*Iter* 3:480a)

Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert Ier, cod. I.10731–10738, fols. 54–77 (*Iter* 3:118a)

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), cod. Clmae 314, fols. 2–60 (*Iter* 4:293b)

Cape Town, South African Library, cod. 3.c.11, 197–243 (*Iter* 4:477a–b)

České Budějovice, Krajské vědecká knihovna, cod. 40, fols. 7–22v (*Iter* 6:461a)

Chicago, University of Chicago Library, cod. 807 (formerly Phillipps 3386) (*Iter* 5:254b)

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, cod. Db.89 (*Iter* 3:376b)

Ibid., cod. Dc.140 (*Iter* 3:376b)

Dublin, Trinity College, cod. C 2.17, fols. 1–33v (*Iter* 3:194a)

- Durham (USA), Duke University Library, cod. Lat. 21-25 (24), fols. 146-76v (*Iter* 5:260a)
- Évora, Bibl. Pública, Incunabulos 307-12 (impr.) (*Iter* 4:455b-56a)
- Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale Ariosteia, cod. II.205 (*Iter* 1:55a)
- Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Ashb. 1704, fols. 42-60 (*Iter* 1:98a)
- Florence, Bibl. Marucelliana, cod. C.CCCXXXV (*Iter* 1:108a)
- Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, cod. Ricc. 413, fols. 251v-62v (fragm.) (*Iter* 1:191b)
- Ibid., cod. Ricc. 697 (*Iter* 1:179a)
- Ibid., cod. Ricc. 907, fol. 114v (excerpt.) (*Iter* 1:208a-b, 5:607b)
- Ibid., cod. Ricc. 952, fols. 1-29v (*Iter* 1:211b, 2:516b)
- Ibid., cod. Ricc. 978, fols. 1-39 (*Iter* 1:213a)
- Ibid., cod. Ricc. 1175, fols. 1-24
- Ibid., cod. Ricc. 4046, fols. 1-30 (*Iter* 5:613a)
- Forlì, Bibl. Comunale, cod. III.66 (384) (*Iter* 1:231a)
- Genoa, Bibl. Durazzo, cod. B.V.14, fols. 65-86 (*Iter* 1:246a-b, 2:523a, 6:7a-b)
- Gotha (Germany), Forschungsbibliothek, cod. Memb. II.105, fols. 1-26 (*Iter* 3:396b)
- Granada, Bibl. Universitaria, cod. Caja 2-29 (B.93), fols. 1-21v (*Iter* 4:506a-b)
- Harburg, Fürstlich Oettingen- Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek und Kunstsammlung, cod. II.Lat.1.quarto.33, fols. 71-91v (Sottili, *IMU* 11 (1968): 368-75, *I codici del Petrarca*, 106-13 [no. 40])
- Holkham Hall, Library of Earl of Leicester, cod. 486 (*Iter* 4:41a)
- Ibid., cod. 487, fols. 1-34 (*Iter* 4:46a-b)
- Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 962 (*Iter* 3:20a)
- Kassel (Germany), Gesamthochschul-Bibliothek, cod. Philos. quarto 6, fols. 181-207v (*Iter* 3:585a)
- Kraków, Bibl. Jagiellońska, cod. 3245, fols. 53-85 (*Iter* 4:406b)
- Kraków, Bibl. Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, cod. 1242, 474-504 (fragm.) (*Iter* 4:408a-b)
- Kremsmünster (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 329 (*Iter* 3:23b)
- Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. Voss. lat. octavo 85, fols. 89-124 (*Iter* 4:371b)
- Leningrad. *See* Saint Petersburg
- London, British Library, cod. Add. 1996 (*Iter* 4:142b)
- Ibid., cod. Add. 27580, fol. 74 (fragm.) (*Iter* 4:117a-b)
- Ibid., cod. Arundel 353, fols. 104-36 (*Iter* 4:131a)
- Ibid., cod. Egerton 1996 (*Iter* 4:142b)

- Ibid., cod. Harley 2678, fols. 5–15 (*Iter* 4:165a–b)
- Ibid., cod. Harley 3949, fols. 76–84 (*Iter* 4:177b–78a)
- Ibid., cod. Harley 4150, fols. 40–93v (*Iter* 4:179b)
- London, University of London, cod. 288 (formerly Phillipps 9184),  
< fols. 1–51v > (*Iter* 4:216b)
- Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, cod. 10161 (li.151), fols. 62–99v (*Iter* 4:568a)
- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. J 33 inf., fols. 18–31 (*Iter* 1:294a)
- Ibid., cod. A 50 sup., fols. 1–68v (*Iter* 1:327a)
- Ibid., cod. A 166 sup., fols. 25–43v (*Iter* 1:296b)
- Ibid., cod. C 43 sup., fols. 30v–57 (*Iter* 1:297a, 2:531a)
- Ibid., cod. E 13 sup., fols. 1–43v (*Iter* 1:297b, 6:40a)
- Ibid., cod. F 51 sup., fols. 1ff. (*Iter* 1:298b)
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- Rome, Bibl. Casanatense, cod. 868, fols. 131-42v (*Iter* 2:99b-100a)
- Ibid., cod. 1283, fols. 34v-52 (*Iter* 2:101a)
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- Rome, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, cod. Vitt. Eman. 474 (673.454) (*Iter* 2:121b, 562a)
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- Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. E.quarto.341 (excerpt.) (*Iter* 4:384b)
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<sup>2</sup> On the codex, see also Dennis E. Rhodes, “A Volume of Tracts Illustrating Humanist Culture at Verona at the End of the Fifteenth Century,” *IMU* 25 (1982): 401–6.

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9. *De monarchia sive de optimo principatu* (inc: Illud mihi ante omnia certum) Padua, 1400–5

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10. *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber* (inc: Carrariensis familia unde Paduanorum) Padua, 1390-1405

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<sup>3</sup> When Attilio Gnesotto prepared his edition in 1925, he said that there were three codices with Vergerio's work in the Archivio Papafava; see Gnesotto, ed., *De principibus Carrariensibus*, 125-27.

- Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fols. 59–91v (Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170–71)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. ital. XI.78 (6773) (*Iter* 2:276a)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. X.226 (3730) (*Iter* 2:232b)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. X.292 (3335) (*Iter* 2:233b)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. X.384 (2951) (excerpt.) (Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:406–7)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 5–38v
- Venice, Museo Civico Correr, cod. Cicogna 148 (abridged by Vincenzo Zacco in 18th c.) (*Iter* 2:281a)
- Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 3319, fols. 1–53v (*Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum* 2:259)

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- Ioannes Georgius Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae . . .*, 6.3. Leiden, 1722.
- Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:113–84.
- Attilio Gnesotto, “Petri Pauli Vergerii De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber,” *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere, ed arti in Padova* 41 (1924–25): 327–475. Repr. . . . *De principibus Carrariensibus et gestis eorum liber*. Padua, 1925.

11. *De republica Veneta* (inc: Venetorum respublica optimatum) Padua, 1402–5

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- Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.255 (4576), fol. 1r–v (*Iter* 2:236a)
- b. Longer version (fragm.):
- Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 118–23
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- Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 5879, fols. 2–6v
- Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 74–77v
- Venice, Museo Civico Correr, cod. Cicogna 3052, fasc. 20 (*Iter* 6:267b)

**Editions:**

Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, *De republica Veneta fragmenta, nunc primum in lucem edita*. Venice, 1830.

David Robey and John Law, "The Venetian Myth and the *De republica Veneta* of Pier Paolo Vergerio," *Rinascimento*, n.s., 15 (1975): 38–49.

12. *De situ urbis Iustinopolitanae*, fragm. (inc: Urbs quae Latine)

**Manuscripts:**

Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 234–35v

Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, part 2, fol. 39r–v (*Iter* 6:130a–31b)

Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. B.62, fol. 16r–v (*Iter* 2:6a)

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 137–39

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223, 53–56

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fols. 28–29v (*Iter* 2:23b)

Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5, fols. 75–76v

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 137r–v

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 8–9 (*Iter* 2:249b–50a)

**Editions:**

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:240A–41D.

G. F. Tommasini, "De' commentari storico-geografici della provincia dell'Istria," *Archeografo triestino* 4 (1837): 324–26.

13. *Dialogus de morte*, fragm. (inc: Discrucior metu mortis)

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 166–67

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), part 3, fol. 88v

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 138v

**Editions:**

Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole*, 33–34. Venice, 1887.

Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 445–46.

14. *Epistolae*

**Manuscripts:**

Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. II.Lat.1.quarto.33 (*Iter* 3:571a) 1 (fols. 233–37) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)



- Belluno, Seminario Gregoriano, cod. Lolliniana 49 (*Iter* 2:496b)  
 1 (fol. 9) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Bergamo, Bibl. Civica Angelo Mai, cod. AB.463 (*Iter* 5:485b-86a)  
 1 (fols. 48vff.) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. Lat. folio 667 (formerly Phillipps 11907) (*Iter* 3:484b)  
 1 (fol. 9) *Ep.* 137 (*Epist.*, 360-62)  
 2 (fol. 61r-v) *Ep.* 120bis (ed. Zicàri, "Il più antico codice," 54-55; ed. Zaccaria, "Niccolò Leonardi," 109)  
 3 (fol. 61v) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355-56)  
 4 (fol. 62) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351-52)  
 5 (fol. 62r-v) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353-54)  
 6 (fols. 62v-63) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316-19)  
 7 (fol. 63v) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303-4)  
 8 (fol. 63v) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319-21)  
 9 (fol. 63v) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322-23)  
 10 (fols. 76v-79) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (Smith, 362-79)  
 11 (fol. 130) *Ep.* 121 (Smith, 319-21)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. quarto 468 (*Iter* 3:489a)  
 1 (fol. 8) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, cod. 2948 (Misc. Tioli) (*Iter* 1:21a, 22b, 2:499a, 499b)  
 1-3 (15:464ff.) *Ep.* 83-85 (from Vat. lat. 5223)  
 4 (25:?) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (from Vat. lat. 5911)
- Brescia, Bibl. Civica Queriniana, cod. A.VII.3 (*Iter* 1:32b-33a)  
 1 (fols. 99v-101v) *Ep.* 138 to "Leonardus Aretinus" (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 362-78)
- Ibid., cod. C.V.10 (*Iter* 1:34b)  
 1 (fol. 1r-v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Ibid., cod. C.V.20 (*Iter* 1:35a-b)  
 1 (fol. 68r-v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Ibid., cod. C.VII.1 (*Iter* 1:35b)  
 1 (fols. 113-16v) *Pro statua Virgilii* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert Ier, cod. II.1442 (formerly Phillipps 10441) (*Iter* 3:108b)  
 1 (fols. 354-56) *Ep.* 138 to "Leon. Bruni" (*Epist.*, 362-78)

- Ibid., cod. II.1443 (formerly Phillipps 8901) (*Iter* 3:122b-23a)  
 1 (fols. 192v-94) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362-78)  
 Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cod. Clmae 294 (*Iter* 4:291b)  
 1 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Ibid., cod. Clmae 314 (*Iter* 4:293b)  
 1 (fols. 1ff.) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Camaldoli, Archivio del Sacro Eremito, cod. 1201 (*Iter* 5:522b-23b)  
 19 letters (fols. 193v-211v):  
 1 *Ep.* 99 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 251-53)  
 2 *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269-73)  
 3 *Ep.* 87 (*Epist.*, 220-23)  
 4 *Ep.* 120bis (ed. Zicàri, "Il più antico codice," 54-55; ed. Zaccaria, "Niccolò Leonardi," 109)  
 5 *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345-47)  
 6 *Ep.* 20 (*Epist.*, 36-37)  
 7 *Ep.* 76 (*Epist.*, 180-82)  
 8 *Ep.* 45 (*Epist.*, 102-6)  
 9 *Ep.* 30 (*Epist.*, 58-61)  
 10 *Ep.* 131 (*Epist.*, 347-48)  
 11 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)  
 12 *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303-4)  
 13 *Ep.* 21 (*Epist.*, 38-39)  
 14 *Ep.* 40 (*Epist.*, 87-89)  
 15 *Ep.* 23 (*Epist.*, 41-42)  
 16 *Ep.* 118 (*Epist.*, 311-12)  
 17 *Ep.* 36 (*Epist.*, 81)  
 18 *Ep.* 37 (*Epist.*, 82-84)  
 19 *Ep.* 119 (*Epist.*, 313-15)
- Ibid., cod. 1202 (*Iter* 5:523b)  
 1 (195) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Casale Monferrato, Seminario Vescovile, cod. I.b.20 (formerly 16 bis)  
 (*Iter* 1:40a-b)  
 1 (fols. 105v-8) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- Chemnitz (Karl-Marx-Stadt), Bezirksbibliothek, cod. 57 (now deposited in Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, cod. 5.57 [24.11a]) (*Iter* 3:413a-b, 6:501a-b, 507b)  
 1 (fols. 75-76) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351-52)  
 2 (fols. 76-77?) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353-54)  
 3 (fol. 77) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355-56)

- 4 (fols. 117–23) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- 5 (fols. 151vff.) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- 6 (fols. 166–67v) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 7 (fol. 167v) *Ep.* 137 (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- 8 (fols. 193–96v) *Ep.* 141 to Ioannes de Dominis (*Epist.*, 388–95)
- 9 (fol. 196v) *Ep.* 142 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 395–98)
- Como, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 4.4.6 (*Iter* 1:47a–b)
- 1 (fols. 371–75) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, cod. 5.57 (24.11a). See Chemnitz.
- Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, cod. W.113 (formerly Phillipps 6640) (*Iter* 3:197a–b)
- 1 (fol. 48v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 398 (*Iter* 5:105a)
- 1 *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale Ariostea, cod. II.151 (*Iter* 1:58b)
- 1 *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Ashb. 272 (*Iter* 1:83a–b)
- 1 (fol. 89r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Ashb. 278 (*Iter* 1:83b)
- 1 (fol. 154v) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- Ibid., cod. Plut. XLVI.1 (Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, 2:370)
- 1 (fol. 76) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, cod. Magl. XXI.9 (*Iter* 1:120a)
- 1 (fol. 58) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, cod. Ricc. 779 (*Iter* 1:201a–b)
- 1 (fols. 150–53v) *Pro eversione statuæ Virgilii* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Gorizia, Bibl. del Seminario Teologico, cod. 12 (missing since World War I) (*Epist.*, xxxii; Ziliotto, "Alla ricerca," 91–94)
- 1 (fol. 50v) *Ep.* 66 (*Epist.*, 157–59)
- 2 (fol. 57) *Ep.* 82 (*Epist.*, 202–5)
- 3 (fol. 58) *Ep.* 2 (*Epist.*, 5–6)
- 4 (fol. 58) *Ep.* 9 (*Epist.*, 19–20)
- 5 (fol. 58v) *Ep.* 40 (*Epist.*, 87–89)
- 6 (fol. 60) *Ep.* 24 (*Epist.*, 42–43)
- 7 (fol. 60v) *Ep.* 17 (*Epist.*, 32–33)
- 8 (fol. 61) *Ep.* 11 (*Epist.*, 22–24)
- 9 (fol. 61v) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33–34)

- 10 (fol. 62) *Ep.* 12 (*Epist.*, 24–25)  
 11 (fol. 62v) *Ep.* 21 (*Epist.*, 38–39)  
 12 (fol. 63v) *Ep.* 96 (243–46)  
 13 (fol. 65v) *Ep.* 126 (*Epist.*, 335–36)  
 14 (fol. 66v) *Ep.* 30 (*Epist.*, 58–61)  
 15 (fol. 68) *Ep.* 79 (*Epist.*, 186–87)  
 16 (fol. 68v) *Ep.* 108 (*Epist.*, 283)  
 17 (fol. 69v) *Ep.* 35 (*Epist.*, 79–80)  
 18 (fol. 70v) *Ep.* 109 (*Epist.*, 283–92)
- Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Philol. quarto 132b (*Iter* 3:562b–63a)  
 1 (fols. 82v–83) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)<sup>4</sup>
- Holkham Hall, Library of the Earl of Leicester, cod. 487 (*Iter* 4:46a–b)  
 1 (fol. 34r–v) *Ep.* 9 (*Epist.*, 19–20)  
 2 (fol. 35r–v) *Ep.* 22 (*Epist.*, 39–41)  
 3 (fols. 35v–36) *Ep.* 7 (*Epist.*, 17–18)  
 4 (fols. 36v–37) *Ep.* 8 (Ant. Baruffaldi to PPV) (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 18–19)  
 5 (fol. 37r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)  
 6 (fols. 42v–43) *Ep.* 142 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 395–98)  
 7 (fols. 46–48v) *Ep.* 141 to Ioannes de Dominis (*Epist.*, 388–95)
- Kraków, Bibl. Jagiellońska, cod. 1961  
 1 (332) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
- Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, cod. Voss. lat. octavo 85 (*Iter* 4:371b)  
 1 (fol. 64r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 1270 (*Iter* 3:423a–b)  
 1 (fols. 182v–87v) *In Carolum Malatestam invectiva* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- London, British Library, cod. Arundel 70 (*Iter* 4:126a–27b)  
 1 (fols. 73v–74) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)  
 2 (fols. 83v–84) *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47)  
 3 (fol. 93) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141–42)

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<sup>4</sup> Two letters of Leonardo Bruni that are cataloged as written to Vergerio are actually letters to other correspondents. The letter beginning on fol. 92 is to Niccolò Niccoli; see Ludwig Bertalot and Ursula Jaitner-Hahner, *Prosa A–M*, vol. 2.1 of *Initia Humanistica Latina: Initienvzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1990), 414 (no. 7591). The letter beginning on fol. 94v is to Pope Innocent VII (inc: Qui laudant sanctitatem tuam). Dr. Eva Horvath kindly sent me photocopies.

- 4 (fols. 99v–100) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52)
- 5 (fol. 100) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
- 6 (fols. 100ff.) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
- 7 (fol. 138) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- 8 (fols. 156vff.) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- 9 (fols. 158v–61) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- Ibid., cod. Harley 2268 (*Iter* 4:157b–58a)
- 1 (fol. 78) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Harley 2492 (*Iter* 4:159b–60a)
- 1 (fol. 327v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- 2 (fols. 378ff.) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Harley 3716 (*Iter* 4:175a–b)
- 1 (fols. 59–60) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- 2 (fols. 119v–24) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Lyon, Bibl. de la Ville, cod. 100 (168) (*Catalogue général: Départements*, 30:30–33)
- 1 (fol. 150) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- 2 (fol. 166) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. J 33 inf. (*Iter* 1:294a)
- 1 *De eversa Virgilii statua* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. A 166 sup. (*Iter* 1:296b; Jordan and Wool, *Inventory*, 1:71–73)
- 1 (fols. 43v–47) *Invectiva de eversione statuae Virgilii* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. D 93 sup. (*Iter* 1:330a–b, 6:54b; Jordan and Wool, *Inventory*, 2:191–202)
- 1 (fol. 133r–v) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 2 (fol. 135r–v) *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47)
- 3 (fol. 136) *Ep.* 52 to Giovanni da Bologna (*Epist.*, 118–19)
- 4 (fol. 136v) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141–42)
- Ibid., cod. H 21 sup. (*Iter* 1:332a)
- 1 (fols. 107v–8) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Sussidio H 52 (*Iter* 1:347b–48a)
- 1 (fols. 90–92v) ... *In Collucium Florentinum invectiva* (*Ep.* 101) (*Epist.*, 257–62)
- Milan, Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, cod. AC.XII.22
- 13 letters (fols. 103v–9v, 123–53, 157v–59v). See Part II above for details.

- Milan, Società Storica Lombarda, cod. 43 (*Iter* 1:365a)  
 1 (2:fols. 87–88v) *Ep.* 110 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 293–96)  
 2 (2:fol. 94r–v) *Ep.* 113 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 300–2)
- Modena, Archivio Capitolare, cod. O.II.8 (*Iter* 2:538b)  
 1 (fols. 103–4v) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Est. lat. 17 (Alpha F.2, 59) (*Iter* 1:377b)  
 1 (fols. 2–3) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Est. lat. 140 (Alpha R.9, 6) (*Iter* 1:369b)  
 1 *De statu urbis Romae* (*Ep.* 86) (*Epist.*, 211–20)
- Ibid., cod. Est. lat. 217 (Alpha P.6, 25) (*Iter* 1:370a)  
 1 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 76 (Halm, Laubmann, et al., *Catalogus, Editio Altera*, 1.1:16–17)  
 1 (fols. 275ff.) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 78 (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 345–60, *I codici del Petrarca*, 197–212 [no. 87])  
 1 (fol. 112r–v) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)  
 2 (fol. 164r–v) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 362 (Sottili, *IMU* 19 [1976]: 459–62, *I codici del Petrarca*, 775–79 [no. 264])  
 1 (fol. 42v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 418 (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 409–21, *I codici del Petrarca*, 261–73 [no. 98])  
 1 (fol. 170v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 443 (Halm, Laubmann, et al., *Catalogus, Editio Altera*, 1.1:121–22)  
 1 (fols. 54ff.) *Invectiva in Carolum Malatestam* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 504 (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 439–58, *I codici del Petrarca*, 291–310 [no. 104])  
 1 (fols. 101–2) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (copied from Mun., UnivB., cod. Quarto 768) (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 5350 (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 332–55, *I codici del Petrarca*, 380–403 [no. 120])  
 1 (fol. 112r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Clm 6717 (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 369–75, *I codici del Petrarca*, 417–23 [no. 129])  
 1 (fol. 58r–v) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)

- Ibid., cod. Clm 7612 (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 376–82, *I codici del Petrarca*, 424–30 [no. 131])
- 1 (fols. 160–64) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Folio 607 (*Iter* 3:648a–49a)
- 1 (fol. 103r–v) *Ep.* 120 to Franc. Zabarella (*Epist.*, 316–19)
  - 2 (fols. 120–21) *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47)
  - 3 (fols. 136v–37) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141–42)
  - 4 (fols. 148v–49) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52)
  - 5 (fol. 149) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
  - 6 (fols. 149v–50) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
  - 7 (fol. 225v) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
  - 8 (fols. 257v–61) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
  - 9 (fols. 261–65) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- Ibid., cod. Quarto 768 (Bertalot, *Studien*, 1:1–82)
- 1 (fols. 90–91) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. V.F.19 (*Iter* 1:419b)
- Ep.*?<sup>5</sup>
- Ibid., cod. VIII.G.31 (*Iter* 1:428a; Fossier, *La bibliothèque Farnèse*, 398–99)
- 1 (fols. 47v–48) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- New York, Library of Mrs. Phyllis Goodhart Gordan, cod. 96 (*Iter* 5:351b)
- 1 (fols. 90v–91v) *Ep.* 137? to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Oxford, Balliol College, cod. 132
- 1 (fol. 138v) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
- Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166
- 69 letters (fols. Iv, 140cv, 218–33v, 248–313). See Part II above for details.
- Ibid., cod. Canon. misc. 169 (Coxe, *Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos Complectens*, 543–52)
- 1 (fols. 51–55) *Invectiva contra Carolum* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)

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<sup>5</sup> Kristeller states that, “according to L. Bertalot, there is also a letter of Vergerius.” The description of the manuscript in Cesare Cenci, *Manoscritti francescani della Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli*, *Spicilegium bonaventurianum* 7–8 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, and Grottaferata: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, 1971), 1:214–15, has no letter of Vergerio.

- Ibid., cod. Canon. misc. 225
- 1 (fol. 33v) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
- Ibid., cod. Canon. misc. 316 (Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 2.1:419 [no. 7681])
- 1 (fol. 271v) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52)
- Ibid., cod. Canon. misc. 317 (Coxe, *Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos Complectens*, 676–78)
- 1 (fols. 83–86) *Ep.* 101 (*Epist.*, 257–62)
- Ibid., cod. Canon. misc. 484 (Coxe, *Codices Graecos et Latinos Canonicianos Complectens*, 802–7)
- 1 (fols. 22v–23, repeated on fols. 55v–56) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)
  - 2 (fol. 23r–v, fols. 56–57) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
  - 3 (fols. 23v–24, fol. 57r–v) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
  - 4 (fols. 24–25, fols. 57v–58) *Ep.* 120 to Franc. Zabarella (*Epist.*, 316–19)
  - 5 (fol. 25, fol. 58r–v) *Ep.* 121 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 319–21)
- Oxford, Bodleian. *See also* Holkham Hall.
- Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, part 2 (*Iter* 6:130a–31b)
- 87 Letters:
- 1 (fols. 1ff.) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
  - 2 (fol. 4) *Ep.* 45 (*Epist.*, 102–6)
  - 3 (fol. 6) *Ep.* 76 (*Epist.*, 180–82)
  - 4 (fol. 6v) *Ep.* 72 (*Epist.*, 171)
  - 5 (fol. 7) *Ep.* 78 (*Epist.*, 184–85)
  - 6 (fol. 7v) *Ep.* 88 (*Epist.*, 224–27)
  - 7 (fol. 9) *Ep.* 90 (*Epist.*, 230–32)
  - 8 (fol. 9v?) *Ep.* 91 (*Epist.*, 232–34)
  - 9 (fol. 9v) *Ep.* 87 (*Epist.*, 220–23)
  - 10 (fol. 10) *Ep.* 92 (*Epist.*, 235–36)
  - 11 (fol. 10v) *Ep.* 80 (*Epist.*, 187–88)
  - 12 (fol. 11) *Ep.* 75 (*Epist.*, 176–79)
  - 13 (fol. 12v) *Ep.* 139 (*Epist.*, 379–84)
  - 14 (fol. 13) *Ep.* 15 (*Epist.*, 28–30)
  - 15 (fol. 19) *Ep.* 66 (*Epist.*, 157–59)
  - 16 (fol. 21) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52)
  - 17 (fol. 21) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)



- 18 (fol. 21v) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355-56)
- 19 (fol. 22) *Ep.* 46 (*Epist.*, 106-8)
- 20 (fol. 23) *Ep.* 23 (*Epist.*, 41-42)
- 21 (fol. 23) *Ep.* 3 (*Epist.*, 6-11)
- 22 (fol. 23v) *Ep.* 1 (*Epist.*, 3-5)
- 23 (fol. 24) *Ep.* 13 (*Epist.*, 25-26)
- 24 (fol. 24) *Ep.* 24 (*Epist.*, 42-43)
- 25 (fol. 24v) *Ep.* 17 (*Epist.*, 32-33)
- 26 (fol. 24v) *Ep.* 40 (*Epist.*, 87-89)
- 27 (fol. 25) *Ep.* 4 (*Epist.*, 12-14)
- 28 (fol. 25v) *Ep.* 38 (*Epist.*, 84-86)
- 29 (fol. 25v) *Ep.* 47 (*Epist.*, 108-9)
- 30 (fol. 26) *Ep.* 39 (*Epist.*, 86-87)
- 31 (fol. 26) *Ep.* 49 (*Epist.*, 113-14)
- 32 (fol. 26v) *Ep.* 54 (*Epist.*, 121-22)
- 33 (fol. 26v) *Ep.* 56 (*Epist.*, 124-26)
- 34 (fol. 27) *Ep.* 63 (*Epist.*, 152-54)
- 35 (fol. 27) *Ep.* 70 (*Epist.*, 165-69)
- 36 (fol. 28) *Ep.* 71 (*Epist.*, 170-71)
- 37 (fol. 28v) *Ep.* 67 (*Epist.*, 159-60)
- 38 (fol. 28v) *Ep.* 50 (*Epist.*, 114-15)
- 39 (fol. 29) *Ep.* 2 (*Epist.*, 5-6)
- 40 (fol. 29) *Ep.* 82 (*Epist.*, 202-5)
- 41 (fol. 31) *Ep.* 6 (*Epist.*, 15-17)
- 42 (fol. 31) *Ep.* 9 (*Epist.*, 19-20)
- 43 (fol. 31) *Ep.* 22 (*Epist.*, 39-41)
- 44 (fol. 31v) *Ep.* 11 (*Epist.*, 22-24)
- 45 (fol. 31v) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33-34)
- 46 (fol. 32) *Ep.* 12 (*Epist.*, 24-25)
- 47 (fol. 32) *Ep.* 21 (*Epist.*, 38-39)
- 48 (fol. 32v) *Ep.* 27 (*Epist.*, 46-53)
- 49 (fol. 33v) *Ep.* 34 (*Epist.*, 66-78)
- 50 (fol. 37) *Ep.* 81 (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- 51 (fol. 40) *Ep.* 44 (*Epist.*, 97-101)
- 52 (fol. 40) *Ep.* 103 (*Epist.*, 267-69)
- 53 (fol. 41) *Ep.* 96 (*Epist.*, 243-46)
- 54 (fol. 41v) *Ep.* 125 (*Epist.*, 332-35)
- 55 (fol. 41v) *Ep.* 126 (*Epist.*, 335-36)
- 56 (fol. 42) *Ep.* 145 (*Epist.*, 423)

- 57 (fol. 42) *Ep.* 123 (*Epist.*, 323–29)  
 58 (fol. 42v) *Ep.* 124 (*Epist.*, 330–32)  
 59 (fol. 42v) *Ep.* 127 (*Epist.*, 337–39)  
 60 (fol. 43) *Ep.* 119 (*Epist.*, 313–15)  
 61 (fol. 43) *Ep.* 97 (*Epist.*, 246–48)  
 62 (fol. 43v) *Ep.* 102 (*Epist.*, 263–67)  
 63 (fol. 43v) *Ep.* 112 (*Epist.*, 299–300)  
 64 (fol. 44) *Ep.* 118 (*Epist.*, 311–12)  
 65 (fol. 44) *Ep.* 20 (*Epist.*, 36–37)  
 66 (fol. 45v) *Ep.* 89 (*Epist.*, 228–30)  
 67 (fol. 47) *Ep.* 59 (*Epist.*, 131–37)  
 68 (fol. 49) *Ep.* 93 (*Epist.*, 237–39)  
 69 (fol. 49) *Ep.* 95 (*Epist.*, 240–42)  
 70 (fol. 49) *Ep.* 60 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 138–40)  
 71 (fol. 49v) *Ep.* 62 (*Epist.*, 143–52)  
 72 (fol. 51) *Ep.* 41 (*Epist.*, 89–91)  
 73 (fol. 51v) *Ep.* 28 (*Epist.*, 53–56)  
 74 (fol. 51v) *Ep.* 30 (*Epist.*, 58–61)  
 75 (fol. 52) *Ep.* 32 (Col. Salutati to PPV) (*Epist.*, 64)  
 76 (fol. 52) *Ep.* 33 (*Epist.*, 64–66)  
 77 (fol. 52v) *Ep.* 29 (*Epist.*, 56–58)  
 78 (fol. 53) *Ep.* 35 (*Epist.*, 79–80)  
 79 (fol. 53) *Ep.* 36 (*Epist.*, 81)  
 80 (fol. 53v) *Ep.* 37 (*Epist.*, 82–84)  
 81 (fol. 54) *Ep.* 109 (*Epist.*, 283–92)  
 82 (fol. 55v) *Ep.* 42 (*Epist.*, 91–93)  
 83 (fol. 55v) *Ep.* 105 (*Epist.*, 273–76)  
 84 (fol. 56) *Ep.* 106 (*Epist.*, 276–77)  
 85 (fol. 56v) *Ep.* 108 (*Epist.*, 283)  
 86 (fol. 56v) *Ep.* 79 (*Epist.*, 186–87)  
 87 (fol. 63r–v) *Ep.* 31 (*Epist.*, 62–63)
- Padua, Bibl. Antoniana, cod. V.90 (*Iter* 2:3a–b; Abate and Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana*, 1:112–15)  
 1 (fols. 70v–71v) *Ep.* 111 (*Epist.*, 296–99)
- Padua, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. B.62 (*Iter* 2:6a)  
 1 (fol. 18) *Ep.* 99 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 251–53)
- Padua, Bibl. del Seminario, cod. 46 (*Iter* 2:7b–8a)  
 1 (fols. 189–90v) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)

- Ibid., cod. 692 (*Iter* 2:10b)  
 1 (fols. 102ff.) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)  
 2 (fols. 190vff.) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)  
 3 (fol. 195) *Ep.* 137 (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Padua, Bibl. Universitaria, cod. 528 (*Iter* 2:13b)  
 1 *Ep.* 128 to Franc. Zabarella (fragm. inc: *Colonus erat non procul*) (*Epist.*, 339–43)
- Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203  
 135 letters (part 1, 1–203, 260–63; part 2, 128–34). See Part II above for details.
- Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223  
 11 letters (23–35, 38–53, 136–38, 146–50). See Part II above for details.
- Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287  
 32 letters (fols. 14–24v, 30–34v, 41v–44v, 59–68, 69–84v, 110v–15, 120v, 131–35v, 137v–39). See Part II above for details.
- Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 1676 (Lauer, ed., *Catalogue général*, 2:120–21)  
 1 (fols. 96v–100v) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 5882  
 1 (fol. 381) *Ep.* 98 to Ubertino da Carrara (*Epist.*, 249–51)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 7868 (*Iter* 3:222b–23a)  
 1 (fols. 84–87v) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 8572 (*Catalogus* 4:472)  
 1 (fols. 73ff.) *Ep.* 100 (Col. Salutati to PPV) (*Epist.*, 253–57)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 11138 (*Iter* 3:248b)  
 1 (fol. 48r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Nouv. acq. lat. 1181 (*Iter* 3:288b)  
 1 (fols. 43vff.) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)  
 2 (fol. 47) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Parma, Bibl. Palatina, cod. Pal. 156 (*Iter* 2:34b)  
 1 (fols. 86v–87) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, cod. 44 (Unnumbered folios) (Zicàri, “Il più antico codice”; *Iter* 2:64a)  
 1 (fol. 13) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)  
 2 (fol. 13r–v) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)  
 3 (fol. 14) *Ep.* 120bis (ed. Zicàri, “Il più antico codice,” 54–55; ed. Zaccaria, “Niccolò Leonardi,” 109)  
 4 (fol. 14) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322–23)

- 5 (fol. 14r-v) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319-21)  
 6 (fols. 14v-15) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303-4)  
 7 (fol. 15) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)  
 8 (fols. 15-16) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316-19)  
 Ravenna, Bibl. Classense, cod. 117  
 1 (292) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356-60)  
 Ibid., cod. 121  
 1 (fol. 131v) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356-60)  
 Rome, Bibl. Angelica, cod. 234  
 1 (fol. 161) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)  
 Rome, Bibl. Corsiniana, cod. Corsin. 583 (*Iter* 2:110a-b)  
 1 (fols. 34v-37v) *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189-202)  
 Rome, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, cod. Gesuitico 973 (*Iter* 2:124b)  
 1 (fols. 36ff.) *Ep.* 138 to "Leon. Bruni" (*Epist.*, 362-78)  
 Salamanca, Bibl. Universitaria, cod. 64 (*Iter* 4:603b)  
 1 (fols. 162-65v) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189-202)  
 San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Civica Guarneriana, cod. 70 (*Epist.*,  
 xxxvii-xxxviii [cod. 69]; *Iter* 2:567a; Casamassima et al., *Mostra*,  
 15-16 [no. 11bis]; Casarsa et al., *La Libreria*, 279-84)  
 19 letters (fols. 139-45v):  
 1 (fol. 139) *Ep.* 9 (*Epist.*, 19-20)  
 2 (fol. 139r-v) *Ep.* 22 (*Epist.*, 39-41)  
 3 (fol. 139v) *Ep.* 7 (*Epist.*, 17-18)  
 4 (fols. 139v-40) *Ep.* 8 (Ant. Baruffaldi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 18-19)  
 5 (fol. 140) *Ep.* 11 (*Epist.*, 22-24)  
 6 (fol. 140r-v) *Ep.* 25 (Giovanni da Bologna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 43-44)  
 7 (fol. 140v) *Ep.* 1 (*Epist.*, 3-5)  
 8 (fols. 140v-41) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33-34)  
 9 (fol. 141r-v) *Ep.* 14 (Santo de' Pellegrini to PPV) (*Epist.*, 26-28)  
 10 (fols. 141v-42) *Ep.* 15 (*Epist.*, 28-30)  
 11 (fol. 142v) *Ep.* 12 (*Epist.*, 24-25)  
 12 (fols. 142v-43) *Ep.* 19 (*Epist.*, 34-36)  
 13 (fol. 143r-v) *Ep.* 10 (*Epist.*, 20-22)  
 14 (fol. 143v) *Ep.* 23 (*Epist.*, 41-42)  
 15 (fols. 143v-44) *Ep.* 13 (*Epist.*, 25-26)  
 16 (fol. 144r-v) *Ep.* 21 (*Epist.*, 38-39)  
 17 (fols. 144v-45) *Ep.* 26 (*Epist.*, 44-45)  
 18 (fol. 145) *Ep.* 4 (*Epist.*, 12-14)  
 19 (fol. 145v) *Ep.* 40 (*Epist.*, 87-89)

- Ibid., cod. 97 (Casamassima et al., *Mostra*, 20–21 [no. 17]; Casarsa et al., *La Libreria*, 319–21)  
 1 (fols. 50v–57v) *Ep.* 138 to “Leon. Aretinus” on Zabarella’s death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- Ibid., cod. 100 (Casamassima et al., *Mostra*, 22–23 [no. 19]; Casarsa et al., *La Libreria*, 325–37)  
 1 (fol. 86v, repeated on fol. 126r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. 105 (Casamassima et al., *Mostra*, 16 [no. 12]; Casarsa et al., *La Libreria*, 344–46)  
 1 (fol. 55r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. 110 (*Iter* 2:568a; Casarsa et al., *La Libreria*, 352–53)  
 1 (fol. 110r–v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 79.4 (*Iter* 3:44a–48a)  
 1 (fol. 192) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)  
 2 (fol. 229) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)  
 3 (fol. 229v) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4)  
 4 (fol. 229v) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319–21)  
 5 (fol. 229v) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322–23)  
 6 (fol. 263v) *Ep.* 120bis (ed. Zicàri, “Il più antico codice,” 54–55; ed. Zaccaria, “Niccolò Leonardi,” 109)  
 7 (fol. 263v) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)  
 8 (fol. 264r–v) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)  
 9 (fol. 264v) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
- Siena, Bibl. Comunale degli Intronati, cod. H.V.3 (*Iter* 2:164a)  
 1 (fols. 74–79) *Ep.* 81 on Virgil’s statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. H.VI.26 (*Iter* 2:165a)  
 1 (fols. 41v–42) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)  
 2 (fol. 43) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)  
 3 (fols. 81–84v) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella’s death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Poet. et Philol. quarto 40 (*Iter* 3:703a)  
 1 (79–81) *Ep.* 120 to Franc. Zabarella (*Epist.*, 316–19)  
 2 (81) *Ep.* 121 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 319–21)  
 3 (81–82) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322–23)  
 4 (82–83) *Ep.* 114 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 303–4)  
 5 (91–92) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)

- 6 (151–52) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)
- 7 (185–86) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
- Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, cod. 100,42 (*Iter* 4:645b–47a)
- 1 (fols. 103–4v) *Ep.* 82 (*Epist.*, 202–5)
- Trent, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. 42 (temp. 258), Unnumbered fols. (*Iter* 2:189b–90a, 6:231b)
- 1 *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (inc: Si tibi occurrerem) (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Treviso, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. I.177
- 24 letters (fols. 49v–50, 56v–65, 114–16, 143). See Part II above for details.
- Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5
- 13 letters (fols. 14–19v, 33–59v, 63v–65v). See Part II above for details.
- Troyes, Bibl. Municipale, cod. 1531
- 1 (fol. 318) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- 2 (fols. 451v–52) *Ep.* 121 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 319–21)
- Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Mc.104 (*Iter* 3:721b, 6:544a) *Ep.*?<sup>6</sup>
- Vatican City, BAV, cod. Barb. lat. 61 (*Iter* 2:442a; Prete, *Codices Barberiniani Latini: Codices 1–150*, 103–7)
- 1 (fols. 170v–71) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Barb. lat. 116 (*Iter* 2:442b; Prete, *Codices Barberiniani Latini: Codices 1–150*, 202–4)
- 1 (fol. I) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Barb. lat. 1952 (*Iter* 2:448b, 6:389a)
- 1 *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- 2 (fol. 195) *Ep.* 82 (*Epist.*, 202–5)
- Ibid., cod. Barb. lat. 2087 (*Iter* 2:463a, 6:392a)
- 1 (fols. 17v–20v) *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Pal. lat. 1592 (*Iter* 2:397b–98a)
- 1 (fols. 75–78v) *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- 2 (fol. 79) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)

<sup>6</sup> According to the description in the printed catalog prepared by Hedwig Röckelein, *Signaturen Mc 1 bis Mc 150*, Band 1, Teil 1 of *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1991), 219–21, there is no letter of Vergerio in the manuscript. The description gives an anonymous letter on page 58 (inc: *Ho-dierna me die gaudeo ac iocunditate affectum sentio*).

- Ibid., cod. Regin. lat. 1555 (*Iter* 2:408b-9a)  
 1 (fol. 153r-v) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Ibid., cod. Ross. 409 (*Iter* 2:465b)  
 1 (fol. 43) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Ibid., cod. Urb. lat. 1194 (Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, 3:203-4)  
 1 (fols. 74-82v) *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 3155 (*Iter* 2:317a)  
 1 (fol. 35v) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356-60)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5126  
 1 (fols. 141-42) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355-56)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5131 (*Iter* 2:331a, 586b-87a)  
 1 (fols. 23v-24v) *Ep.* 101 to Col. Salutati (*Epist.*, 257-62)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5223 (*Iter* 2:372b-73a)  
 1 (fol. 54) *Ep.* 83 to Ognibene Scola (*Epist.*, 205-6)  
 2 (fol. 54r-v) *Ep.* 84 to Ognibene Scola (*Epist.*, 207-9)  
 3 (fols. 54v-55) *Ep.* 85 to Ognibene della Scola (*Epist.*, 210-11)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5382 (*Iter* 2:333b)  
 1 (fols. 4-10) *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189-202)
- Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5911 (*Iter* 2:377b-78a)  
 1 (fols. 21v-22) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fols. 96-137v, 146 (Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170-71)  
 78 letters (copied from cod. Archivio Papafava 21, fasc. 17, part 2)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. VI.208 (3569) (*Iter* 2:225a)  
 1 (fol. 72) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360-62)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XI.21 (3814) (*Iter* 2:238b)  
 1 (fol. 38) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355-56)  
 2 (fols. 40vff.) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316-19)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XI.26 (4428) (*Iter* 2:239a)  
 1 (fol. 38) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355-56)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827)  
 Part 1 (fols. 1-73v): 124 letters  
 Part 2 (fols. 74v-77v): 8 letters  
 Part 3 (fols. 78-88v): 15 letters  
 Part 4 (fols. 89-96v): 1 letter. See Part II above for details.
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XI.59 (4152) (*Iter* 2:253b-54a)  
 1 (fols. 22ff.) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362-78)

- 2 (fols. 76ff.) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 3 (fol. 257v–58v) *Ep.* 100 (Col. Salutati to PPV, fragm.) (*Epist.*, 253–57)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XI.102 (3940) (*Iter* 2:256a)
- 1 (fols. 16v–17) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52)
- 2 (fol. 17) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
- 3 (fol. 17v) *Ep.* 120bis to Nic. Leonardi (ed. Zicàri, “Il più antico codice,” 54–55; ed. Zaccaria, “Niccolò Leonardi,” 109)
- 4 (fol. 18) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
- 5 (fol. 18v) *Ep.* 122 (Nic. Leonardi to PPV) (*Epist.*, 322–23)
- 6 (fol. 19) *Ep.* 121 (*Epist.*, 319–21)
- 7 (fol. 19) *Ep.* 114 (*Epist.*, 303–4)
- 8 (fols. 19v–20) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XI.106 (4363) (*Iter* 2:240a)
- 1 (fols. 74–78v) *Pro diruta Virgilii statua* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XII.50 (4376) (*Iter* 2:241a)
- 1 (fols. 105–12) *De eversione statuae* (*Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi) (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIII.71 (4142) (*Iter* 2:245a, 6:257a)
- 1 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIII.72 (4109) (*Iter* 2:245a)
- 1 *Ep.* 137? to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.7 (4319) (*Iter* 2:245b–46a)
- 1 (fol. 31v) *Ep.* 101 (*Epist.*, 257–62)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.50 (4238) (*Iter* 2:263b–64a)
- 1 (fols. 171ff.) *Ep.* 81 on the statue of Virgil (*Epist.*, 189–202)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955)
- 124 letters (fols. 55–137, 138r–v, 144, 171–72v). See Part II above for details.
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.221 (4632) (Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 3:319–26; *Iter* 6:262b–63a)
- 1 (fol. 42v) *Ep.* 133 (*Epist.*, 351–52)
- 2 (fol. 43) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535)
- 38 letters (fols. 5–8, 9–15v, 21v–22, 30v–33, 35–37v, 43–44, 44v–51v, 53–63, 83v–85v). See Part II above for details.
- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.266 (4502) (*Iter* 2:269a–70a)
- 1 (fols. 248–49v) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)



- Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.287 (4303) (*Iter* 2:236a–b)
- 1 (fol. 239) *Ep.* 14 (Santo de' Pellegrini to PPV) (*Epist.*, 26–28)
  - 2 (fol. 239r–v) *Ep.* 18 (*Epist.*, 33–34)
  - 3 (fols. 240ff.) *Ep.* 15 (*Epist.*, 28–30)
- Ibid., cod. Zan. lat. 408 (2029) (*Iter* 2:213b)
- 1 (fols. 94ff.) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Ibid., cod. Zan. lat. 473 (1592) (*Iter* 2:214a)
- 1 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Venice, Museo Civico Correr, cod. Cicogna 3407
- 1 *Ep.* 45 (*Epist.*, 102–6)
- Ibid., cod. Cicogna 3409
- 1 *Ep.* 99 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 251–53)
- Ibid., cod. P.D. C.2455 (*Iter* 6:281a)
- (fasc. 5) *Epistolae* (copies)
- (fasc. 7) Notes on the letters
- Vicenza, Bibl. Comunale Bertoliana, cod. G.7.1.25 (Mazzatinti 2:78–79)
- 1 (fols. 22v–23) *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Ibid., cod. 7.1.31 (*Iter* 2:302a)
- 1 (fols. 149–52) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (inc: Si tibi occurrerem) (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 3315 (*Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum* 2:258)
- 1 (fols. 176ff.) *Ep.* 104 to Carlo Zeno (*Epist.*, 269–73)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 3330
- 1 (fols. 98vff.) *Ep.* 120 (*Epist.*, 316–19)
  - 2 (fols. 114v–15) *Ep.* 130 (*Epist.*, 345–47)
  - 3 (fols. 129vff.) *Ep.* 61 (*Epist.*, 141–42)
  - 4 (fol. 141) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)
  - 5 (fols. 141v–42) *Ep.* 134 (Gasp. Barzizza to PPV) (*Epist.*, 353–54)
  - 6 (fol. 142) *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)
  - 7 (fols. 214ff.) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
  - 8 (fols. 247vff.) *Ep.* 81 to Lud. degli Alidosi (*Epist.*, 189–202)
  - 9 (fols. 251ff.) *Ep.* 138 to “L. B.” (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- Washington, D. C., Library of Congress, cod. Phillippus 5819 (*Iter* 5:418b–19a)
- 1 (fols. 304v–8) *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362–78)
- Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. M.ch.f.60 (*Iter* 3:744b–45a)
- 1 (fols. 152v–53) *Ep.* 133 to Gasp. Barzizza (*Epist.*, 351–52)

Zagreb, Knjižnica Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, cod. II.c.61 (*Iter* 5:453a–b)

1 (fols. 154–55) *Ep.* 110 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 293–96)

2 (fols. 158–59) *Ep.* 113 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV) (*Epist.*, 300–2)

Ibid., Sveučilišna Knjižnica, cod. MR.107 (*Iter* 5:454b–55b)

1 (fols. 76v–77) *Ep.* 137? to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)

#### Editions:

Francesco Barbaro, *De re uxoria libri duo*. <Paris>, 1513. Hagenau, 1533. Amsterdam, 1639.

1 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)

Michelangelo Biondo. Venice, date unknown.<sup>7</sup>

1 *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)

Bernardino Scardeone, . . . *De antiquitate urbis Patavii et claris civibus Patavinis libri tres* . . . , 168ff. Basel, 1560. Repr. in I. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiae* . . . , 6.3:192ff. Leiden, 1722.

1 *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (fragm.) (*Epist.*, 362–78)

*Epistolae illustrium virorum post obitum Francisci Zabarella cardinalis Constantia Patavium missae*, 5–16. Padua, 1655.

1 *Ep.* 138 on Zabarella's death (*Epist.*, 362–78)

Johann Georg Schelhorn, *Amoenitates Litterariae, quibus variae observationes, scripta item quaedam anecdota et rariora opuscula exhibentur*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1725–31.

1 *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)

Edmond Marténe and Ursinus Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*. . . Paris, 1717.

1 *Ep.* 81 on Virgil's statue (*Epist.*, 189–202)

G. A. Furietti, *Gasparini Barzizii* . . . *Opera*, 1:164ff. Rome, 1723.

1 *Ep.* 135 (Gasp. Barzizza to Franc. Zabarella) (*Epist.*, 355–56)

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:198D–203E, 215C–40.

13 Letters: *Ep.* 138, 81, 27, 34, 16, 98, 100 (Col. Salutati to PPV), 101, 114, 120, 99, 104, 140

Dominico M. Salmaso, *Petri Pauli Vergerii Senioris De Divo Hieronymo opuscula* . . . , 25. Padua, 1767.

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<sup>7</sup> On the problems in dating the edition, see Giorgio Stabile, "Biondo, Michelangelo," *DBI* 10:562–63, who establishes that Biondo had set up the press in his Venetian home by 1545.

- 1 *Ep.* 78 (*Epist.*, 184–85)  
Iacopo Morelli, *Della biblioteca manoscritta di Tommaso Giuseppe Farsetti patrizio veneto e bali del Sagr'Ordine Gerosolimitano*, 2:41 (fragm.). Venice, 1771–80.
- 1 *Ep.* 91 (*Epist.*, 232–34)  
Giambattista Verci, *Storia della Marca Trivigiana e Veronese*, 17:39ff. (no. 1934), 44ff. (no. 1936), 51ff. (no. 1937). Venice, 1790.  
3 letters: *Ep.* 27, 34, 35
- Iacopo Bernardi, “Di Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore: Lettera a Carlo Combi,” *Rivista universale*, n.s., 22 (1875): 427.
- 1 *Ep.* 115 (*Epist.*, 304–6)  
Iacopo Bernardi, “Pier Paolo Vergerio il seniore ed Emanuele Crisolora,” *Archivio storico italiano*, ser. 3, 23 (1876): 176–80.  
1 (177–79) *Ep.* 96 (*Epist.*, 243–46)  
2 (179–80) *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV, fragm.) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole di Pietro Paolo Vergerio seniore da Capodistria*, Miscellanea della R. Deputazione veneta di storia patria 4.5. Venice, 1887.  
138 Letters
- Remigio Sabbadini, “Epistole di Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore da Capodistria,” *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 13 (1889): 295–304.  
1–3 *Ep.* 83–85 to Ognibene Scola (*Epist.*, 205–11)
- Domenico Vitaliani, *Della vita e delle opere di Nicolò Leoniceno vicentino*, 274–75. Verona, 1892.  
1 *Ep.* 137 to Nic. Leonardi (*Epist.*, 360–62)
- Francesco Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, Fonti per la storia d'Italia pubblicate dall'Istituto storico italiano: Epistolari, secoli XIV–XV, 15–18. Rome, 1891–1911.  
6 letters (2:277–78, 4:78–86, 365–75, 478–80) *Ep.* 32, 100–1, 107–8, 111 (*Epist.*, 64, 253–62, 278–83, 296–99)
- Remigio Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino*, 1:72–75. Venice, 1915.  
1 *Ep.* 136 (Guarino to PPV) (*Epist.*, 356–60)
- Remigio Sabbadini, *Giovanni da Ravenna insigne figura d'umanista (1343–1408)*, 228–29, 231–32, Studi umanistici 1. Como, 1924.  
1 *Ep.* 110 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV, excerpt.) (*Epist.*, 293–96)  
2 *Ep.* 113 (Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna to PPV, excerpt.) (*Epist.*, 300–2)
- Leonardo Smith, “Pier Paolo Vergerio: *De situ veteris et inclytæ*

*urbis Romae*,” *English Historical Review* 41 (1926): 573–77. Repr. in Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti, eds., *Scrittori (secoli XIV–XV)*, vol. 4 of *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 89–100, *Fonti per la storia d’Italia* 91. Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1953.

1 *Ep.* 86 (*Epist.*, 211–20)

Leonardo Smith, *Epistolario*, *Fonti per la storia d’Italia* pubblicate dall’Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo 74. Rome, 1934.

148 letters

15. *Epistola* 120bis (inc: Spero te cito videre)

**Manuscripts:**

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. Lat. folio 667, fol. 61r–v (*Iter* 3:484b)

Camaldoli, Archivio del Sacro Eremo, cod. 1201 (*Iter* 5:522b–23b)

Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana, cod. 44 (Unnumbered folios), fol. 14 (Zicàri, “Il più antico codice”; *Iter* 2:64a)

Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 79.4, fol. 263v (*Iter* 3:44a–48a)

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.102 (3940), fol. 17v (*Iter* 2:256a)

**Editions:**

Marcello Zicàri, “Il più antico codice di lettere di P. Paolo Vergerio il vecchio,” *Studia Oliveriana* 2 (1954): 54–55.

Vittorio Zaccaria, “Niccolò Leonardi, i suoi corrispondenti, e una lettera inedita di Pier Paolo Vergerio,” *Atti e memorie dell’Accademia di scienze, lettere, ed arti in Padova*, n.s., 95 (1982–83): 109.

16. *Epistola* (inc: Plutarchus in describenda Antonii vita)

**Manuscripts:**

Gorizia, Bibl. del Seminario Teologico, cod. 12, fol. 66 (missing since World War I) (*Epist.*, xxxii; Ziliotto, “Alla ricerca,” 91–94)

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 156–57

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fols. 46v–47

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 110v–11

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fol. 44r–v

**Editions:**

Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole*, 144. Venice, 1887.

Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 451–52.

17. *Epistola nomine Ciceronis ad Franciscum Petrarcam* (inc: Sero iam tandem quisquis es) Padua, 1 August 1394

**Manuscripts:**

Brescia, Bibl. Civica Queriniana, cod. A.VII.3, fols. 95v–96 (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 96–99 (*Iter* 1:32b–33a)

Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Ashb. 269, fols. 34–35 (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 35–39v (*Iter* 1:82b)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 504, fol. 329v (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 329v–30v (fragm.) (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 439–58, *I codici del Petrarca*, 291–310 [no. 104])

Ibid., Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Quarto 768, fols. 44v–45 (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 45v–47 (*Iter* 3:650a–b)

New Haven, Yale University Library, cod. Mellon 14, fol. 40r–v (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 40v–43v (*Iter* 5:290b; Dutschke, *Census*, 213–15 [no. 83])

Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 238–39 (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 239–43v

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 189–90 (Petrarch to Cicero), part 1, 190–95

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fols. 115–16 (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 116–20

Rimini, Bibl. Civica Gambalunga, cod. SC–MS 22 (formerly 4.A.I.22), fols. 18–19v (*Iter* 2:87b–88a, 6:149a)

Vatican City, BAV, cod. Pal. lat. 1552, fols. 172v–73 (Petrarch to Cicero), fols. 173–74v (*Iter* 2:394a, 590b, 6:360b–61a)

**Edition:**

Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 436–45.

18. *Epitaphium* (for Francesco il Vecchio da Carrara) (inc: Magnanimi sunt ossa senis) Padua, 21 November 1393

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 115

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223, 73

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fol. 96

Parma, Bibl. Palatina, cod. Parm. 283, fols. 32v–33 (*Iter* 2:45b–46a)

**Edition:**

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:198C.

19. *Epitaphium* (for Manuel Chrysoloras) (inc: Ante aram situs est)  
Constance, April 1415

**Editions:**

Emile Louis Jean Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique, ou, Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-huitième siècle*, 1:xxvi. Paris, 1918–28. Repr. in *Epist.*, 357n.

Remigio Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino*, 1:112 (*Ep.* 54), *Miscellanea di storia veneta* 8, 11, 14. Venice, 1915–19.

Elena Necchi, “Una silloge epigrafica Padovana: Gli *Epygrammata illustrium virorum* di Ioannes Hasenbeyn,” *IMU* 25 (1992): 156.

20. *Facetia* (inc: M. . . . q. Cauchius primi apud Venetos)

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, part 2 (*Iter* 6:130a–31b)

Ibid., Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 164

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fol. 68v

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 130v

**Editions:**

Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole*, 98. Venice, 1887.

Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 452–53.

21. Hippocrates, *Iusiurandum* translatio Latina (inc: Testor Apollinem et Aesculapium)

**Manuscripts:**

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Nouv. acq. lat. 481, fol. 45r–v (*Iter* 3:280a–b)

Vatican City, BAV, cod. Pal. lat. 1248, fol. 91r–v (where the translation is attributed to Leonardo Bruni) (Kibre, “Hippocrates Latinus [VI],” 354–55; Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften*, 278–83)

Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 4772, fols. 62v–63 (repeated on fols. 108v–9) (Kibre, “Hippocrates Latinus (VI),” 354–55)

**Editions:**

*Articella, seu thesaurus operum medicorum antiquorum*. Venice, 1483, 1487, 1491, 1493, 1500. GW 2679–83.

*Articella*. Lyon, 1515.

Leonardo Smith, “Note cronologiche vergeriane, III–V,” *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 4 (1928): 131.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Pearl Kibre, “Hippocrates Latinus: Repertorium of Hippocratic Writings in the Latin

22. ... *Officium Divi Hieronymi* ... (inc: Sancti Hieronymi clara praeconia) Padua, 1400-5  
**Manuscript:**  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 38-42v
23. < *Oratio* > (inc: O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae < Rom. 11:33 >)  
 Rome, 6 August 1406  
**Manuscripts:**  
 Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 304-6  
 Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fols. 139v-40v  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fol. 91 (fragm. at beginning)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 165 (fragm. at beginning)  
**Edition:**  
 Leonardo Smith, "Note cronologiche vergeriane, III-V," *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 4 (1928): 132-33.
24. *Oratio ad Franciscum Iuniozem de Carraria, Paduae principem, pro Communitate Patavina* (inc: Vellem ego optimi viri) Padua, 1392-93  
**Manuscripts:**  
 London, British Library, cod. Arundel 70, fols. 74v-79v (*Iter* 4:126a-27a)  
 Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. D 93 sup., fols. 46-52 (*Iter* 1:330a-b)  
 Ibid., Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, cod. AC.XII.22, fols. 110-22v  
 Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Est. lat. 186 (Alpha O.6, 22), fols. 23-29  
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 78, fols. 71v-76v (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 345-60, *I codici del Petrarca*, 197-212 [no. 87])  
 Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Folio 607, fols. 104v-13 (*Iter* 3:648a-49a)  
 Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 169-80

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Middle Ages (VI)," *Traditio* 36 (1980): 354-56, discusses a previous translation of Nicolaus de Reggio (1308-45) and later translations of Niccolò Perotti and perhaps Andreas Brentius. On Perotti's translation, see also Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Niccolò Perotti ed i suoi contributi alla storia dell'umanesimo," in *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* 2 (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1985), 310. The incipit of BAV Pal. lat. 1248 matches that of Vergerio's translation, and not Perotti's. In addition to the fourteen manuscripts listed by Kristeller and Kibre, Perotti's translation is also found in Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, cod. Magl. VIII.1435, fols. 133v-34 (*Iter* 5:576a-b), and Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Est. lat. 56 (Alpha O.7, 12), fols. 114v-15v (*Iter* 1:368b, 6:84a-b).

- Padua, Bibl. del Seminario, cod. 578  
 Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 231–47  
 Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223, 74–92  
 Treviso, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. I.177, fols. 122–27v  
 Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5, fols. 20–32  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fols. 148–55 (Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170–71)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 23–30  
 Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 3330, fols. 100–8

**Edition:**

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:204–15.

25. *Oratio in funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria, Patavii principis* (inc: Vereor optimi viri ne si) Padua, 21 November 1393

**Manuscripts:**

- Milan, Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, cod. AC.XII.22, fols. 97v–103  
 Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Est. lat. 186 (Alpha O.6, 22), fols. 37–57  
 Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. Già Viennesi lat. 57 (Vindob. 3160), fols. ?–152 (*Iter* 1:437b, 3:59a–b)  
 New Haven, Yale University Library, cod. Osborn a.17 (formerly Phillippus 9627), fols. 100–4v (*Iter* 5:291a; Dutschke, *Census*, 194–97 [no. 77])  
 Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 164–68v  
 Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 225–31  
 Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223, 69–73  
 Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fols. 90v–95v  
 Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5, fols. 9–13v  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. VI.431 (6900), fols. 160–62v (Zorzanello in Mazzatinti 77:170–71)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. VI.208 (3569), fols. 56–61 (Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta*, 4:193; *Iter* 2:225a)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.239 (4500), fols. 18v–25

**Edition:**

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *RIS*, 16:194B–98C.

26. *Oratio pro fortissimo viro Cermisone Patavino ad illustrissimum principem Franciscum Iunioem de Carraria* (inc: Multa mihi verba facienda essent) Padua, 8 September 1390–January 1392

**Manuscripts:**

- Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 178–79 (fragm.)  
 Vatican City, BAV, cod. Ottob. lat. 1223, fols. 109–11 (*Iter* 2:428b–29a)



Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fol. 72r-v (fragm.)

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 135v-36 (fragm.)

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 22-23

**Editions:**

Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole*, 103-5. Venice, 1887.

Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 431-36.

27. *Paulus* (inc [Prologus]: Hanc dum poeta mihi verecundus) Bologna, 1388-90

**Manuscripts:**

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. C 12 sup., fols. 6v-27 (*Iter* 1:329a)

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 114-15 (*Prologus*)

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Poet. et Philol. quarto 37, fols. 115v-29v (*Iter* 3:707b-8a)

Vatican City, BAV, cod. Vat. lat. 6878, fols. 93-113v

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 152-63

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 64-73v

**Editions:**

Filippo Argelati, ... *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, 393ff. (*Prologus*). Milan, 1747.

Apostolo Zenò, *Dissertazioni Vossiane*, 1:59 (*Prologus*). Venice, 1752.

Karl Müllner, "Vergerios *Paulus*, eine Studentenkomödie," *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für classische Philologie* 22 (1900): 236-57.

Revisions proposed by Remigio Sabbadini, "Il *Paulus* di P. P. Vergerio," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 38 (1901): 464-65. Repr. in Vito Pandolfi, ed., and Erminia Artese, trans., *Teatro goliardico dell'umanesimo*, 47-119. Milan: Lerici, 1965.

Amalia Clelia Pierantoni, *Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore*, 167-201. Chieti, 1920.

Alessandro Perosa, trans., *Il teatro umanistico*, 55-85. Milan: Nuova Accademia, 1965.

Sergio Cella, ed., and Francesco Semi, trans., "Il *Paulus*," *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria* 66, n.s., 14 (1966): 45-103.

Giuseppe Secoli, "Il *Paulus* di Pierpaolo Vergerio il Vecchio," *Studi vergeriani*, 13-23. Trieste, 1971.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> I am aware of the editions of Pierantoni and Secoli because they are cited in Smith's edition of the *Epistolario* and in Perosa's edition of the *Paulus*.

Alessandro Perosa, "Per una nuova edizione del *Paulus del Vergerio*," in Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti, eds., *L'umanesimo in Istria*, 321–56, *Civiltà veneziana: Studi* 38. Florence: Olschki, 1983.

28. *Petrarcae vita* (inc: Franciscus Petrarca Florentinus origine) Padua, 1395–96

**Manuscripts:**

Cambridge, Pembroke College, cod. 249 (*Argumenta in Africam*) (Mann, "Petrarch Manuscripts," 172–73 [no. 17])

Cambridge (USA), Harvard University, Houghton Library, cod. Typ. 17, fol. 152 (*Materiae omnium librorum Africae*) (*Iter* 5:232a; Dutschke, *Census*, 87–90 [no. 23])

Erlangen (Germany), Universitätsbibliothek, Inc. 590 (ms. fascicle bound within), fols. 2–4v (*Petrarcae vita* . . . , fols. 2–4; *Argumenta in Africam*, fol. 4; *Materiae omnium librorum Africae*, fol. 4r–v) (Sottili, *IMU* 19 [1976]: 450–51, *I codici del Petrarca*, 766–67 [no. 257])

Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Acquisti e Doni 441 (*Iter* 1:105b)

Ibid., cod. Acquisti e Doni 715, fol. 74v (*Versus de principalibus operibus domini Francisci Petrarcae*, inc. *Illustres celebrare viros*) (*Iter* 5:567b)

Ibid., cod. Ashb. 1014 (*Argumenta in Africam*, *Materiae omnium librorum Africae*) (*Iter* 1:85b)

Ibid., cod. Laur. XXXIII.35 (*Argumenta in Africam*, *Materiae omnium librorum Africae*) (Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latino-rum*, 2:131–32)

Greifswald (Germany), Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 682, fols. 131–35v (*Iter* 3:403b)

Karlsruhe (Germany), Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Aug. (Reichenau) 53, fols. 201–4 (Sottili, *IMU* 11 [1968]: 383–84, *I codici del Petrarca*, 121–22 [no. 46])

Ibid., cod. Aug. (Reichenau) fragm. 205 (copied from Reich. 53), fols. 1–4v (*Iter* 3:579b)

London, British Library, cod. Add. 10234, fols. 1–10? (*Petrarcae vita* . . . , *Argumenta in Africam*) (*Iter* 4:69b)

Ibid., cod. Harley 3722 (*Argumenta in Africam*) (Mann, "Petrarch Manuscripts," 301–2 [no. 118])

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. D 223 inf., fols. 166–73 (*Iter* 1:284b)

Modena, Bibl. Estense, cod. Est. lat. 186 (Alpha O.6, 22), fols. 1–20v

- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 124, fols. 1–4 (*Petrarcae vita . . .*, fols. 1–3; *Argumenta in Africam*, fols. 3–4; *Materiae omnium librorum Africae*, fol. 4) (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 360–63, *I codici del Petrarca*, 212–15 [no. 88])
- Ibid., cod. Clm 350, fols. 149–55v (*Petrarcae vita . . .*, fols. 149–54; *Argumenta in Africam*, fols. 154–55; *Materiae omnium librorum Africae*, fol. 155v) (copied from Clm 124) (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 392–98, *I codici del Petrarca*, 244–50 [no. 94])
- Ibid., cod. Clm 3561, fols. 286–89v (*Petrarcae vita . . .*, fols. 286–88v; *Argumenta in Africam*, fols. 288v–89v; *Materiae omnium librorum Africae*, fol. 289v) (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 281–84, *I codici del Petrarca*, 329–32 [no. 111])
- Ibid., cod. Clm 21203, fols. 212v–15v (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 447–48, *I codici del Petrarca*, 495–96 [no. 150])
- Ibid., cod. Clm 23610, fols. 35v–36 (fragm.) (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 456–58, *I codici del Petrarca*, 504–6 [no. 153])
- Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. V.E.40, fols. 1–8v (*Iter* 1:401b, 6:103b)
- New Haven, Yale University Library, cod. Osborn a.17 (formerly Phillipps 9627), fols. 105–12 (*Petrarcae vita . . .*, *Argumenta in Africam*) (*Iter* 5:291a; Dutschke, *Census*, 194–97 [no. 77])
- Olomouc, Státní Archiv, cod. CO.509, fols. 115v–17 (*Iter* 3:158b)
- Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. lat. 311, fols. 1–6 (modern foliation, 51–56) (Mann, “Petraarch Manuscripts,” 374–75 [no. 170])
- Ibid., cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 105–13
- Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 17, part 2, fols. 16–19 (*Iter* 6:130a–31b)
- Ibid., Bibl. del Seminario, cod. 403 (*Iter* 2:10a)
- Ibid., Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 307–17 (*Petrarcae vita . . .*), part 2, 110–11 (*Omnia Petrarcae opera his . . . versibus continentur*), part 2, 111–14 (*. . . Epitomata in Africam*)
- Ibid., cod. B.P. 1223, 5–16 (*Iter* 2:23a–b)
- Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 10209, fols. 1v–5 (*Iter* 3:229b)
- Prague, Knihovna Metropolitní Kapituli, cod. D.LX, fols. 235ff.
- Ravenna, Bibl. Classense, cod. 627, fols. 28ff. (*Petrarcae vita . . .*, *Argumenta* [fragm.]) (*Iter* 2:83b)
- Seville, Bibl. Capitulare y Colombina, cod. 5–6–13, fols. 59–62v (*Iter* 4:619b–20a)
- Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. HB.X.21, fols. 2–4 (*Iter* 3:704a)
- Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 5, fols. 66–74v

- Vatican City, BAV, cod. Barb. lat. 3064 (*Iter* 2:452a)  
 Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 4521, fols. 2–5v  
 Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5155, fols. 224–29 (*Iter* 2:331b)  
 Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 5263, fols. 76–84 (*Iter* 2:332a–b)  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. ital. XI.120 (6931),  
 fols. 56ff. (*Iter* 2:278b)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XII.17 (3944), fols. 100–3v (*Petrarcae vita . . .*,  
*Argumenta*) (*Iter* 2:240b)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 139–44 (*Iter* 2:248a)  
 Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 3319, fols. 54–60 (*Tabulae*  
*Codicum Manuscriptorum* 2:259)  
 Wellesley (USA), Wellesley College Library, cod. Plimpton 751, fols.  
 39–43v (*Iter* 5:421b; Dutschke, *Census*, 280–81 [no. 123])  
 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, cod. Car. C.118, fols. 1–4 (*Iter* 5:143a)  
 “Utopia,” Private Collection 386, flyleaves 1–3 (*Petrarcae vita*,  
 abbrev.) (Dutschke, *Census*, 287 [no. 130])

#### Editions:

- Iacopo Filippo Tomasini, *Petrarca redivivus*, 175–89 (fragm.). Padua,  
 1650. Repr. in Jacques François Paul Aldonce De Sade, *Mé-*  
*moires pour la vie de François Pétrarques*, 3:13–19. Amsterdam  
 <i.e., Avignon>, 1764–67.  
 Egerton Brydges, *Epistola Francisci Petrarcae posteritati*, 18–19.  
 Naples, 1820.  
 Angelo Solerti, *Le vite di Dante, Petrarca, e Boccaccio scritte fino al*  
*secolo decimosesto*, 294–302. Milan, 1904.

29. *Poetica narratio* (inc: Anni tempus erat quo sol) Rome, September  
 1406

#### Manuscripts:

- Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 166, fols. 320–22  
 Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 105–8  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fol.  
 97r–v  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 147v–49v

#### Edition:

- Leonardo Smith, “Note cronologiche vergeriane, III–V,” *Archivio*  
*veneto*, ser. 5, 4 (1928): 134–37. Repr. in *Epist.*, 453–58.

30. *Pro redintegranda uniendaque ecclesia ad Romanos cardinales oratio*  
*tempore schismatis in concistorio habita* (inc: Ecce nunc tempus acce-

ptabile <2 Cor. 6:2b>) Rome, 6 November 1406

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 1, 247–60

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fols. 121–30

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fols. 91–95v

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fols. 165–71

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fols. 78–82v

**Edition:**

Carlo A. Combi, “Un discorso inedito di Pier Paolo Vergerio il seniore da Capodistria,” *Archivio storico per Trieste, l’Istria, ed il Trentino* 1 (1882): 360–74.

31. ? *Proverbia et sententiae* (inc: Non sinit obscurum facinus)

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, part 2, 115–17

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XI.56 (3827), fol. 97

Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.210 (2955), fol. 147r–v

**Edition:**

Facsimile (Marc. lat. XI.56, fol. 97) in *Epist.*, Tav. III (facing page 452)

32. *Quaestiones de ecclesiae potestate* (inc: Utrum procurantes quod absque expresso) Constance, 10 August 1417

**Manuscripts:**

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 5596, fol. 95 (Halm, Laubmann, et al., *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, 1.3:26)

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Theol. et Philos. folio? 137, fol. 176

**Edition:**

Heinrich Finke et al., *Acta Concilii Constanciensis*, 3:667–69. Münster in Westphalia, 1896–1928.

33. *Sermones decem pro Sancto Hieronymo*

See Part II above.

34. *Testamentum* (inc: In nomine Domini, Amen. . . . Quia praesentis vitae conditio) Buda, 3 May 1444

**Manuscript:**

Capodistria, Archivio Civico, cod. 27, fol. 161v

**Editions:**

Baccio Ziliotto, "Nuove testimonianze per la vita di Pier Paolo Vergerio seniore," *Archeografo triestino* 30 (1905-6): 257-61.  
Leonardo Smith, *Epist.*, 463-71.

**Addenda**

1. (to 292) Siena H.VI.26 also has *Ep.* 134 (fol. 42r-v) and *Ep.* 135 (fols. 42v-43) and is a further example of the sylloge of letters discussed in Chapter 5.
2. (to 304) the epitaph for Manuel Chrysoloras is preserved in Munich cod. Clm 78, fol. 112.

## CHAPTER 12

# Works Attributed to Pierpaolo Vergerio

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1. Anon., *Apologia pro Carrariensibus in Albertinum Mussatum* (inc: *Fuerunt aliqui qui cum scripserunt*)

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Archivio Papafava, cod. 21, fasc. 16, 1ff. (where attributed to PPV) (*Iter* 6:130a)

Ibid., Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 408 (V. Lazzarini, "Libri di Francesco Novello," in *Scritti di paleografia e diplomatica*, 278–79; *Epist.*, 493–94 n. 1; *Iter* 2:22a)

**Edition:**

Giovanni Cittadella, *Storia della dominazione Carrarese in Padova*, 1:443–44. Padua, 1842.

2. Anon., *Epistola* to Pellegrino Zambeccari on the destruction of Virgil's statue, 1397 (inc: *Neminem vir insignis eloquentiae*)<sup>1</sup>

**Manuscripts:**

Cambridge, University Library, cod. Add. 6676 E, fols. 204–11 (Robey, "Virgil's Statue," 184)

Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. 159, fols. 46v–50v (Sottili, *IMU* 11 (1968): 350–55, *I codici del Petrarca*, 88–93 [no. 32])

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<sup>1</sup> In a review of Bischoff's *Studien zu P. P. Vergerio dem Älteren* from 1910, Ludwig Bertalot proposed Vergerio as the author of the letter.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 487, fols. 29–36v (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 436–39, *I codici del Petrarca*, 288–91 [no. 103])

Ibid., cod. Clm 5354, fols. 335–39v (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 355–60, *I codici del Petrarca*, 403–8 [no. 121])

Ibid., cod. Clm 14134, fols. 219–21v (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 402–17, *I codici del Petrarca*, 450–65 [no. 140])

Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 79.4, fols. 189v–91v (*Iter* 3:45a–48a)

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, cod. Poet. et Philol. quarto 40, 14–32 (*Iter* 3:703a)

**Edition:**

David Robey, “Virgil’s Statue at Mantua and the Defence of Poetry: An Unpublished Letter of 1397,” *Rinascimento*, n.s., 9 (1969): 183–203.

3. Anon., *Hymni quattuor* (inc: *Plausibus laetis canit omnis aetas*)<sup>2</sup>

**Editions:**

Gedeone Pusterla, *San Nazario, protovescovo di Capo d’Istria: Memorie storiche con note e cronologie*. Capodistria, 1888.

Francesco Babudri, *San Nazario protovescovo di Capodistria*. Capodistria, 1901.

4. Anon., *Oratio de bonis artibus* (inc: *Scio amantissime praeceptor et colendissime*)

**Manuscript:**

Vatican City, BAV, cod. Chig. J.VII.266, fol. 67 (cites *De ingenuis moribus*, ed. Gnesotto, 97, lines 3ff.) (*Iter* 2:486a–87b)

5. Gasparino Barzizza, *De nominibus magistratuuum Romanorum liber* (inc: *Rex Romulus omnium primus*)

**Manuscript:**

Volterra, Bibl. Comunale Guarnacciana, cod. 9637, fols. 9v–11 (*Iter* 2:310b)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Information on St. Nazarius and his cult in Capodistria is supplied by Daniele Ireneo, “Nazario, vescovo e patrono di Capodistria, santo,” in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII, Pontificia Univ. Lateranense, 1961–69), 9:777–79. The hymns were written in 1422 to celebrate the fact that the relics of Sts. Nazarius and Alexander were restored to Archbishop Geremia Pola of Capodistria by Archbishop Pileo de Marini of Genoa.

<sup>3</sup> Further manuscripts containing the work include: Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek,



6. Leonardo Bruni, *Epistola ad Petrum Histrum* (i.e., to Col. Salutati) (inc: Etsi sciam quae tu nuper de me)<sup>4</sup>

**Manuscripts:**

Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Philol. quarto 132b, fols. 55v-56 (*Iter* 3:562b-63a)

Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. CCCIII (303), fols. 78-79 (*Iter* 2:299a)

7. Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna, *De regimine principum* (inc: Memini domine insignis et amanda)

**Manuscript:**

Siena, Bibl. Comunale degli Intronati, cod. G.X.33, fols. 137-63v (*Iter* 2:164a, 6:215a; Kohl, "Works," 353-54, 356)

8. Pietro del Monte?, *Facetia* (inc: Solveramus ratem e Patavio)<sup>5</sup>

**Manuscripts:**

Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Bywater 38, fols. 171vff. (*Iter* 4:248b-49b)

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1223, 161-63 (where attributed to PPV or Guarino) (*Iter* 2:23a-b)

San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Civica Guarneriana, cod. 43, fols. 111v-13 (*Iter* 6:207a-b)

Vatican City, BAV, cod. Vat. lat. 5346 (where attributed to PPV) (*Iter* 2:333a)

Vicenza, Bibl. Comunale Bertoliana, cod. G.7.1.25, fols. 23ff. (Mazzatinti 2:78-79)

**Edition:**

Gilbert Tournoy, "Un nuovo testo del periodo padovano di Pietro del Monte," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 8 (1975): 70-72.

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cod. Hamilton 541, fols. 67-69 (*Iter* 3:366b-67a); Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Laur. Gadd. 64; Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Nouv. acq. lat. 1867, fols. 92v-94v (*Iter* 3:293b); Rome, Bibl. dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, cod. 47, fols. 48-50 (*Iter* 6:196b); Turin, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. H.III.8, fols. 199-200v (*Iter* 2:181a-b); BAV, cod. Regin. lat. 786, fols. 4v-5v; cod. Vat. lat. 1541, fols. 160-61v; and cod. Vat. lat. 7229, fol. 14. In general, see Alfredo Azzoni, "Ricerche barzizziane," *Bergomum* 54 (1960): 18-20, 24-25.

<sup>4</sup> See Francesco Paolo Luiso, *Studi sull'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, ed. Lucia Gualdo Rosa, *Studi storici*, fasc. 122-24 (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1980), 7-8; and Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia*, 2.1:362-63 (no. 6656).

<sup>5</sup> Claudio Griggio has argued that the *facetia* is better attributed to Guarino; see Claudio Griggio and Albinia de la Mare, "Il copista Michele Salvatico collaboratore di Francesco Barbaro e Guarnerio d'Artegna," *Lettere italiane* 37 (1985): 347 n. 3.

9. Sicco Polenton, *Vita Senecae* (excerpt. from Book XVII of ... *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII*)<sup>6</sup>  
 a. *Oratio Senecae ad Neronem imperatorem* (inc: Si aut aetati meae) and *Responsio Neronis* (inc: Gratias debeo tibi amplissimas)

**Manuscripts:**

Belluno, Seminario Gregoriano, cod. Lolliniana 49, fol. 74 (Mazzantini 2:125–27; *Iter* 2:496b)

Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Ashb. 269 (where attributed to PPV) (*Iter* 1:82b)

Parma, Bibl. Palatina, cod. Parm. 937b (*Iter* 2:42a)

San Daniele del Friuli, Bibl. Civica Guarneriana, cod. 121 (*Iter* 2:568a)

Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, cod. CCXLI (202) (*Iter* 2:296a–b)

**Editions:**

Baccio Ziliotto and Giuseppe Vidossich, "Frammenti inediti della *Vita di Seneca* di P. P. Vergerio il vecchio," *Archeografo triestino* 30 (1905–6): 352–55.

B. L. Ullmann, ... *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae libri XVIII*, 482–85, Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 6. Rome, 1928.

Wolfgang Speyer, "Tacitus, *Annalen* 14, 53/56 und ein angeblicher Briefwechsel zwischen Seneca und Nero," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 114 (1971): 351–59.

- b. *De vita Senecae* (inc: Seneca longissime vixit)

**Manuscripts:**

Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 1203, 2:117–18

Ibid., cod. B.P. 1287, fol. 68r–v

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.254 (4535), fol. 83

**Editions:**

Baccio Ziliotto and Giuseppe Vidossich, "Frammenti inediti," 355–56.

B. L. Ullmann, *Scriptorum illustrium Latinae linguae*, 493–94.

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<sup>6</sup> Renata Fabbri, "Un esempio della tecnica compositiva del Polenton: La *Vita Senecae* (*Script. ill. Lat. ling. lib. XVII*)," *Res Publica Litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition* 10 (1987): 85–86.

10. Ps. Leonardus Aretinus, *Ep.* to Petrus Paulus (inc: Cum saepe et multum de singulari)<sup>7</sup>

**Manuscript:**

Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. XIV.286 (4302)  
(*Iter* 2:250b)

**Edition:**

Carlo A. Combi, *Epistole*, 205-7. Venice, 1887.

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<sup>7</sup> On the author, see Remigio Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, 2d ed., Medioevo e umanesimo 11 (Padua: Antenore, 1971), 274-79; and *Epist.*, lxx-lxxi n. 1.

## CHAPTER 13

# Works Dedicated to Pierpaolo Vergerio

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1. Leonardo Bruni, *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum* (inc: Vetus est cuiusdam sapientis sententia)

**Manuscripts:**

Arezzo, Bibl. della Città, cod. 145 (Preface to PPV)

Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. O.II.32, fols. 1–19v (*Iter* 5:78a)

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, cod. Lat. folio 667, fols. 67–76 (*Iter* 3:484b)

*Ibid.*, cod. Lat. quarto 272, fols. 77–107 (Klette, *Leonardi Aretini Ad Petrum Paulum Istrum dialogus*, iv; *Iter* 3:477b)

Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, cod. 2720 (Preface to PPV)

Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (National Széchényi Library), cod. Clmae 292, fols. 145–68 (*Iter* 4:291b)

Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, cod. Plut. LII.3, fols. 58–75v (Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, 2:545–47)<sup>1</sup>

*Ibid.*, cod. Plut. LXXXX sup. 50 (Gaddianus), fols. 48v–63v (Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, 3:627–28)

*Ibid.*, cod. Plut. LXXXX sup. 60 (Gaddianus), fols. 61–82 (Bandini, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, 3:642–43)

*Ibid.*, cod. Strozzi 104 (Preface to PPV)

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<sup>1</sup> On the codex, see also Annaclara Cataldi Palau, “La biblioteca Pandolfini: Storia della sua formazione e successiva dispersione, identificazione di alcuni manoscritti,” *IMU* 31 (1988): 334.

- Ibid., Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, cod. Conv. soppr. J.I.31 (478), fols. 109–21v (*Iter* 1:161b)
- Ibid., cod. Magl. VIII.1311, fols. 51–70 (*Iter* 1:132b)
- Ibid., cod. Naz. II.1.64 (Preface to PPV)
- Ibid., cod. Naz. II.8.129<sup>2</sup>
- Ibid., Bibl. Riccardiana, cod. Ricc. 976, fols. 26v–34 (Book I) (*Iter* 1:213a)
- Genoa, Bibl. Durazzo, cod. B.V.14, fols. 31–43 (*Iter* 1:246a–b, 2:523a, 6:7a–b)
- Jena, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. Buder quarto 105, fol. 67r–v (Preface to PPV), fols. 70–72v (speech of Salutati) (*Iter* 3:411a)
- Karlsruhe (Germany), Badische Landesbibliothek, cod. Aug. (Reichenau) 131, fols. 77–93 (Holder, *Die Reichenauer Handschriften*, 1:323–25)
- Kraków, Bibl. Jagiellońska, cod. 519, fols. 37–45, 90v (Preface to PPV) (*Iter* 4:404b–5a)
- Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, cod. H 49 inf. (Preface to PPV) (*Iter* 1:325a)
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 350, fols. 9–17v (Book I) (Sottili, *IMU* 12 [1969]: 392–98, *I codici del Petrarca*, 244–50 [no. 94])
- Ibid., cod. Clm 14134, fols. 210v–11 (excerpt.) (Sottili, *IMU* 13 [1970]: 402–17, *I codici del Petrarca*, 450–65 [no. 140])
- Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, cod. V.E.69, fols. 104–19v (*Iter* 1:418b)
- Ibid., cod. XIII.G.33, fols. 120v–21v (Preface to PPV) (Kristeller, “Un’ *ars dictaminis*,” 192)
- New Haven, Yale University Library, cod. Osborn a.17 (formerly Phillipps 9627), fols. 113–32 (*Iter* 5:291a; Dutschke, *Census*, 194–97 [no. 77])
- Oxford, Bodleian, cod. Canon. misc. 225 (Preface to PPV)
- Palermo, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 2.Qq.C.79 (Book I) (*Iter* 2:26b–27a)
- Paris, Bibl. Nationale, cod. Lat. 5919B (Preface to PPV)
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 6179
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 6315
- Ibid., cod. Lat. 11290, fols. 2–28 (*Iter* 3:231a)

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<sup>2</sup> I found reference to this and other manuscripts of the *Dialogi*, as well as several manuscripts having only the preface to Vergerio, in James Hankins, review of Leonardo Bruni, *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Histrum*, ed. Stefano Ugo Baldassarri, *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 964–65.

- Ibid., cod. Lat. 17888, 235–58 (*Iter* 3:267a–b)  
 Ibid., cod. Moreau 849, fols. 2–34v (*Iter* 3:328b)  
 Perugia, Bibl. Comunale Augusta, cod. H.78, fols. 80–101v (*Iter* 2:58a–b)  
 Princeton, Princeton University Library, cod. 107 (*Iter* 5:380a)  
 Ravenna, Bibl. Classense, cod. 419 (Preface to PPV)  
 Reims, Bibl. Municipale, cod. 1111, fols. 118–30 (Book I) (*Iter* 3:342a–b)  
 Rome, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, cod. Varia 10 (619) (*Iter* 2:125a–b)  
 Sankt Paul im Lavanttal (Austria), Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 79.4, fol. 42r–v (excerpt.) (*Iter* 3:45a–48a)  
 Siena, Bibl. Comunale degli Intronati, cod. H.VI.26, fols. 1–14 (*Iter* 2:165a)  
 Treviso, Bibl. Comunale, cod. 170, fols. 2v–12 (*Iter* 2:197a)  
 Vatican City, BAV, cod. Chig. J.VI.214, fols. 169–84 (*Iter* 2:484a)  
 Ibid., cod. Chig. J.VI.215, fols. 107–16v (*Iter* 2:484a–b)  
 Ibid., cod. Ottob. lat. 856, fols. 2–18 (*Iter* 2:415a)  
 Ibid., cod. Ottob. lat. 1901, fols. 37v–58 (*Iter* 2:419b, 6:380a–b)  
 Ibid., cod. Pal. lat. 1598, fols. 1–19 (*Iter* 2:398a–b)  
 Ibid., cod. Regin. lat. 1321, fols. 164–82 (*Iter* 2:402a)  
 Ibid., cod. Urb. lat. 1164, fols. 17ff. (Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, 3:180–82)  
 Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 1560, fols. 3–4 (Nogara, *Codices Vaticanani Latini: Codices 1461–2059*, 64–65)  
 Ibid., cod. Vat. lat. 1883, fols. 12–15v (Book I, fragm.) (Nogara, *Codices Vaticanani Latini: Codices 1461–2059*, 335–36)  
 Venice, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, cod. Marc. lat. VI.134 (3565), fols. 32–49v (*Iter* 2:251a)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.31 (4701), fols. 1–20v (Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 3:51–54; *Iter* 2:263b)  
 Ibid., cod. Marc. lat. XIV.118 (4711), 27–58 (Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 3:149–50; *Iter* 2:247a)  
 Ibid., cod. Zan. lat. 501 (1712), fols. 131v–46 (*Iter* 2:214b)  
 Vienna, Öst. Nationalbibliothek, cod. Lat. 229, fols. 13–32v (Klette, *Leonardi Aretini Ad Petrum Paulum Istrum dialogus*, iv; Csapodi-Gárdonyi, *Die Bibliothek des Vitéz*, 110 [no. 52])

#### Editions:

- Giuseppe Kirner, *I dialoghi "Ad Petrum Istrum."* Livorno, 1889.  
 Karl Wotke, *Dialogus de tribus vatibus Florentinis.* Leipzig, Prague, and Vienna, 1889.

Theodor Klette, *Leonardi Aretini Ad Petrum Paulum Istrum dialogus*.  
Vol. 2 of *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Litteratur der Italienischen  
Gelehrtenrenaissance*. Greifswald, 1889.

Eugenio Garin, *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento*, 44–99. Milan and  
Naples: R. Ricciardi, <1952>.

Stefano Ugo Baldassarri, *Dialogi ad Petrum Paulum Istrum*.  
Florence: Olschki, 1994.

2. Francesco Zabarella, *De felicitate . . . libri tres* (inc: *Multa et praeclara  
naturae munera*)

**Manuscripts:**

Brussels, Bibl. Royale Albert Ier, cod. I.11479–11484, fols. 2–31 (*Iter*  
3:119a)

London, British Library, cod. Harley 1883, fols. 81–118 (*Iter* 4:157a)

Padua, Bibl. del Seminario, cod. 196 (*Iter* 2:9b)

*Ibid.*, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 2042 (*Iter* 2:22b)

**Edition:**

Giacomo Zabarella, . . . *De felicitate libri tres*. . . Padua, 1655.

## CHAPTER 14

# Renaissance Commentary on Works of Pierpaolo Vergerio

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1. Anon., *Chronica Carrarese (1314–1435)*<sup>1</sup>  
**Manuscript:**  
Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B.P. 757, fols. 14v–24v
2. Anon., *Commentarius in “De ingenuis moribus”* (inc: In hoc exponendo aureo et paene divino libello)  
**Manuscripts:**  
Forlì, Bibl. Comunale, cod. III.83 (454) (*Iter* 1:231a)  
Vatican City, BAV, cod. Chig. J.VII.266, fols. 252–54 (inc: In exponendo hoc aureo libello) (*Iter* 2:486a–87b)
3. Anon., *Sermo de laudibus Hieronymi*<sup>2</sup>  
**Manuscript:**  
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Clm 18527b, fols. 146v–53  
(Halm, Laubmann, et al., *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum*, 2.3:171)

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<sup>1</sup> Sante Bortolami, “Per la storia della storiografia comunale: Il *Chronicon de potestatibus Paduae*,” *Archivio veneto*, ser. 5, 105 (1975): 78–80, describes the work as a compendium of Vergerio’s biographies with an epilogue on Francesco il Vecchio and Francesco Novello.

<sup>2</sup> In the opening passages (fols. 146v–47), the sermon quotes Vergerio’s panegyric for Jerome (inc: Sanctissimum doctorem fidei nostrae) and therefore has the same incipit. A colophon on fol. 154 indicates that the sermon was copied in 1483. The manuscript came to the Staatsbibliothek from the Benedictine monastery at Tegernsee.



4. Guarino da Verona, *Oratiuncula . . . pro libello "De ingenuis moribus" inchoando* (inc: Saepissime viri doctissimi)

**Manuscripts:**

Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale Ariostea, cod. II.110, fols. 112v-13 (*Iter* 1:57a-b)

Milan, Bibl. Nazionale Braidense, cod. AD.XIV.27, fol. 46 (plagiarized by Ioannes Grasmus) (*Iter* 1:356b)

**Edition:**

Attilio Gnesotto, "Vergeriana (Pierpaolo Vergerio seniore)," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia di scienze, lettere, ed arti in Padova*, n.s., 37 (1920-21): 57.

## CHAPTER 15

# General Bibliography

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