

# THE LETTERED PUBLIC FOR THE FUNERAL ORATIONS OF POGGIO BRACCIOLINI ON FRANCESCO ZABARELLA AND LEONARDO GIUSTINIANI ON CARLO ZENO

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*The contemporary efflorescence of comprehensive codicological and paleographical scholarship, supported by the swelling digitalization of extant manuscripts, allows a statistical and cultural analysis of the audience for two popular funeral orations from the early Italian Renaissance. In 1417 Poggio Bracciolini eulogized Cardinal Francesco Zabarella at the Council of Constance, and in 1418 Leonardo Giustiniani commemorated Admiral Carlo Zeno before the assembled Venetian oligarchy. The material evidence of the codices suggests that educational concerns often prompted the copying of both orations. They were generally preserved among the texts of ubiquitous miscellanies that were written on paper by more than one hand. Over 25 percent of the manuscripts belonged to professional humanists and university students. Though the contents of a miscellaneous codex are at least in part spontaneous, those with the orations of Poggio and Giustiniani had a core of works that suggest an evolving textbook of rhetorical models for public speaking. The young humanist orators presented Zabarella and Zeno as committed public servants faithful in deed to the values that they advocated. Poggio offered Zabarella as a model for the reformed cleric. As a leading churchman, Zabarella had a powerful impact on the Council where he promoted unity and grounded his pleas on the ethos of his pedagogical and pastoral service. Zeno emerged as a contrast to the typical military commander because he was as esteemed for his counsel as he was for his courage. The admiral did not shy away from combat, but he won more impressive victories through his humane clemency. Both the cardinal and the admiral embodied the Ciceronian ideal that we are not born for ourselves alone.*

Those who were not in attendance that day and thus could not gaze upon the one speaking and concurrently hear the living voice of the one delivering the oration truly seem to me about to commend many things while they read the text.

Guarino Guarini da Verona, July 1418

In a period of months from September 1417 to May 1418, Italian humanists introduced prestigious assemblies to their revival of classicizing panegyric.<sup>1</sup> At

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<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to dedicate this study, with admiration and gratitude, to Melissa Bullard. I likewise thank the journal's referees for their generosity in scrutinizing the text and offering helpful suggestions for its improvement. The following abbreviations are used in this article: Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro* = Claudio Griggio, ed. *Francesco Barbaro Epistolario*. Vol. 1, *La tradizione manoscritta e a stampa*. Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Carteggi umanistici (Florence, 1991); Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento* = Lucia Gualdo Rosa et al., ed. *Censimento dei codici dell'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*. Vol. 1, *Manoscritti delle biblioteche non italiane*, Nuovi studi storici 22 (Rome, 1993), and Vol. 2, *Manoscritti*

the Council of Constance, on 27 September 1417, Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) stepped before the largest assembly ever gathered in the Middle Ages and, in an innovative way, eulogized Cardinal Francesco Zabarella, a leading member of the Italian conciliarist faction. As soon as Poggio sent Guarino da Verona a copy of the oration, by January 1418, Guarino publicized it among his acquaintances and students.<sup>2</sup> In the church of Santa Maria Celeste in Venice, on 8 May 1418, a student of Guarino, Leonardo Giustiniani (ca. 1386–1446), eulogized Admiral Carlo Zeno before family, Doge, senators, and citizens. Once again, Guarino brought the oration to the attention of figures in his learned circle. By July 1418, Guarino wrote to Alberto della Sale to praise the eulogy and predict positive reactions from those who would read it.<sup>3</sup>

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*delle biblioteche italiane e della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Nuovi studi storici 65 (Rome, 2004); Hankins, *Repertorium* = James Hankins, *Repertorium Brunianum: A Critical Guide to the Writings of Leonardo Bruni*. Vol. 1, *Handlist of Manuscripts*, Fonti per la storia dell'Italia Medievale, Subsidia 5 (Rome, 1997); Kristeller, *Iter* = Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and Other Libraries* (Leiden, 1963–92); Zorzanello, *Catalogi dei codici latini* = Pietro Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia non compresi nel catalogo di G. Valentinelli* (Trezzano, 1980–85); and Zorzi, *La Libreria* = Marino Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco: Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Ateneo Veneto: Collana di Studi 1 (Milan, 1987).

<sup>2</sup> See *Acta Concilii Constantiensis*, ed. Heinrich Finke et al. (Münster in Westfalen, 1896–1928), 2:516–17; Paul Arendt, *Die Predigten des Konstanzer Konzils: Ein Beitrag zur Predigt- und Kirchengeschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1933), 106–107; and Claudio Griggio, “Il codice berlinese Lat. fol. 667: Nuove lettere di Francesco Barbaro,” in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, vol. 3.1-2, *Umanesimo e rinascimento a Firenze e Venezia*, Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum 180 (Florence, 1983), 3.1:142 n. 21. For Poggio, see the studies in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980 (Nel VI centenario della nascita)*, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento Studi e Testi 8 (Florence, 1982). On Zabarella's career, see Thomas E. Morrissey, “Emperor-Elect Sigismund, Cardinal Zabarella, and the Council of Constance,” *Catholic Historical Review* 69 (1983): 353–70; idem, “Franciscus Zabarella (1360–1417): Papacy, Community, and Limitations Upon Authority,” in *Reform and Authority in the Medieval and Reformation Church*, ed. Guy Fitch Lytle (Washington, DC, 1981), 37–54; 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): 25–49; and Dieter Girgensohn, “Francesco Zabarella da Padova: Dottrine e attività politica di un professore di diritto durante il Grande Scisma d'occidente,” *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 26–27 (1993–94): 1–48. In general, see John M. McManamon, *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1989); and idem, “Continuity and Change in the Ideals of Humanism: The Evidence from Florentine Funeral Oratory,” in *Life and Death in Renaissance Florence*, ed. Marcel Tetel, Ronald G. Witt, and Rona Goffen (Durham, NC, 1989), 68–87. I have gathered a database of Renaissance funeral orations, primarily utilizing the six volumes of Kristeller, *Iter*. The database now numbers 837 funeral orations of known incipit and 283 of unknown incipit. The website is maintained by the History Department of Loyola University Chicago: [http://luc.edu/media/lucedu/history/pdfs/Incipit\\_Catalogue.pdf](http://luc.edu/media/lucedu/history/pdfs/Incipit_Catalogue.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> Guarino da Verona, *Epistolario*, ed. Remigio Sabbadini, *Miscellanea di storia veneta* 8, 11, 13 (Venice, 1915–19), 1:180, 196–98. The opening quote is found on 1:197: “Qui non

The two eulogies indicate how dramatically funeral speaking had changed under the impulse of humanism. No longer did funeral speakers use a verse from Scripture to preach and prove a point; instead, they used the ethical deeds of their deceased subjects to inspire listeners to emulate heroic civic virtue. Guarino's letter to Alberto della Sale reveals the methods he used to teach Giustiniani the tenets of classical rhetoric. The oration was brilliant in a literal sense: full of light and excellent for its genre (*luculenta oratio*). In crafting the speech, Giustiniani had first demonstrated an ability to contrive appropriate topics (*excogitatio locorum*), then to arrange the topics in a most appealing order (*pulcherrimum rerum ordinem*), moving from a brief biography to Zeno's talent and virtues and finally to the glory he earned by civic service, and thirdly to embellish the speech stylistically with richness (*ubertas*) and variety (*copia*). For those not in attendance, Guarino offered a graphic description of Giustiniani's delivery of the speech, impressive for his memorization, cadence, and flow, as though the parts of the speech were links in a seamless chain. Guarino thus covered all five parts of classical rhetoric: invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery. Overall, the speech was notable for an Attic restraint in its conciseness and an ephrastic vividness in its language, making it possible even for those who read the speech to visualize Venice's patriotic admiral.

Guarino applauded the transformation of public speaking and promoted both speeches for exemplifying the oratorical avant garde. The ability to deliver a classicizing panegyric represented one concrete benefit of a humanist education. Through Guarino's tutelage, Giustiniani had learned the principles of classical panegyric and practiced them in written compositions called *progymnasmata* (*praeexercitamina*) and imaginary speeches called declamations. The young humanist had then debuted his refined skills before a distinguished Venetian audience. But who read the orations of Poggio Bracciolini and Leonardo Giustiniani once they had been published? And how does the nature of that public compare

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adfuere ut spectare dicentem et vivam simul orantis vocem haurire potuerint, multa equidem inter legendum laudaturi mihi videntur ..." On Zeno's career, see Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore, 1973), 189–96 and 227–28. After studying Latin and Greek, Giustiniani began a life in public service at age nineteen. On Giustiniani's career, see Patricia H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani: A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, *Uomini e dottrine* 13 (Rome, 1969), 8–10 and 17–90; Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, NJ, 1986), 383–85; Renata Fabbri, "Il proemio (parzialmente inedito) di Leonardo Giustiniani agli Statuti di Bergamo veneziana," in *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta*, ed. Vincenzo Fera and Giacomo Ferrau, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 94–96 (Padua, 1997), 1:601–609; and Franco Pignatti, "Giustinian, Leonardo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960–), 57:249–55. On the speech, see also Manlio Pastore Stocchi, "Scuola e cultura umanistica fra due secoli," in *Storia della cultura veneta*, vol. 3.1–3, *Dal primo Quattrocento al Concilio di Trento* (Vicenza, 1980), 1:118–19; and McManamon, *Funeral Oratory*, 88–91. In the sixteenth century, Pietro Giustiniani claimed that Leonardo delivered the speech in Greek and in Latin.

to the public for other funeral orations and related panegyrics of living individuals and cities? This study addresses those questions by investigating information known about the codices and printed editions that preserve complete or partial copies of the two early, influential funeral orations. An examination of the bound volumes that preserve the orations opens a window into the contexts for their consultation.<sup>4</sup>

Evidence for the diffusion of the orations first emerged from a close reading of the *Iter Italicum*, and the criteria employed here seek to remain faithful to Kristeller's colossal endeavor.<sup>5</sup> For Kristeller, Renaissance humanist manuscripts were those copied roughly from 1300 to 1600, though he treated both parameters elastically. For this study, the writing of relevant Renaissance manuscripts spans the period from the delivery of the orations (1417/18) to the middle of the seventeenth century. The codices had a life beyond that period as well, when the handwritten book became an object of collecting, an antique. Many of the collectors were generous members of society's elite who bequeathed their manuscripts to public libraries. That allowed Kristeller to find those that were incompletely or never cataloged.

In harmony with the history of the European Renaissance, manuscripts and printed editions overlap as resources for examining the public whom the two orations attracted. From around 1470, readers faced a happy choice not unlike the one they face today. In the Renaissance they could read the oration in a handwritten or printed book; today they can read scholarly and literary texts in printed or digital form. Manuscripts were a means to publish, even if they represented an older technology. The written manuscript remained a worthy competitor to its printed rival, much as in our time predictions of the disappearance of the printed book have proven greatly exaggerated. For a study of audience, manuscripts present advantages. They may include subscriptions with the name of the copyist and the date he completed his work, notes by those who came into possession of the codex, and traceable lines of provenance from owner to owner. The individual case studies and collective statistical data derive from catalogs of manuscripts and early printed editions, not from direct examination of all the codices and books cited. Manuscripts are not always forthcoming, however. More than one hand copied a codex, and more than one codex is a composite work gathering within a single binding once independent fascicles. That creates

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<sup>4</sup> For the early development of humanist oratory, see Ronald G. Witt, "*In the Footsteps of the Ancients*": *The Origins of Humanism from Lovato to Bruni*, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 74 (Leiden, 2000). For a critical edition of an influential funeral oration, see Susanne Daub, *Leonardo Brunis Rede auf Nanni Strozzi: Einleitung, Edition, und Kommentar*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 84 (Stuttgart, 1996), esp. 35–40, where Daub discusses the organization of Poggio's oration on Zabarella.

<sup>5</sup> Kristeller, "Preface," *Iter*, 1:xi–xxv.

difficulty in pinning down the date and place of copying. Despite challenges, philologists can still dig through chronological layers of cultural information in the way that archaeologists do. Satisfactory dating of ancient shipwrecks derives from amphora types in use for a century or more. If a manuscript can be dated to the first half of the fifteenth century on the basis of its hands and it contains a speech delivered in 1428, then the range of its dating is narrowed from fifty to twenty years.

#### POGGIO BRACCIOLINI ON FRANCESCO ZABARELLA

There are at least fifty-three codices that preserve Poggio's oration for Zabarella. Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* cataloged thirty-six codices, while the incipit inventory of Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner listed fourteen.<sup>6</sup> In terms of material composition, the vast majority of the codices with Poggio's oration are paper. Five of the codices, at most, are parchment: Siena H.VI.26 with a *terminus post quem* of 1420,<sup>7</sup> Balliol 125 copied for William Gray (d. 1478) in Cologne from around 1442 to 1444, San Daniele 97 copied for Guarnerio d'Artegna (d. 1466) by Battista da Cingoli between 1456 and 1461, Urb. lat. 224 copied by Niccolò de' Ricci for Poggio himself before his death in 1459,<sup>8</sup> and perhaps Dresden App. 2282 ca. 1463.<sup>9</sup> One codex (Wrocław R.36) is mixed but predominantly paper, another (Marc. Lat. XI.80 [3057]) is mixed but predominantly parchment,

<sup>6</sup> Ludwig Bertalot and Ursula Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia humanistica Latina: Initienverzeichnis lateinischer Prosa und Poesie aus der Zeit des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 1985–2004), 2.1:359 (no. 6589). See also Chris L. Nighman and Phillip Stump, "A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance (1414–1418)," part 3, "Main Sermon Register (pdf)," 6–7, available online at: <http://www.bib-socamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump/index.html> (accessed 30 March 2020).

<sup>7</sup> Siena H.VI.26. The codex was written in the Veneto by four hands, the principal of which (fols. 1–90v) has been described as Humanist (*littera antiqua*) with Gothic or Semihumanist influence. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:165a; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:296–97; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:173 (no. 2350); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:209–11.

<sup>8</sup> BAV Urb. lat. 224. On the famous codex, see Poggio Bracciolini, *De varietate fortunae: Edizione critica con introduzione e commento*, ed. Outi Merisalo, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, ser. B, 265 (Helsinki, 1993), 41–42; and Poggio Bracciolini, *De infelicitate principum*, ed. Davide Canfora, *Edizione nazionale di testi umanistici 2* (Rome, 1998), cii–ciii.

<sup>9</sup> Dresden App. 2282. In 1892, Max Lehnerdt first called attention to the importance of the codex then in the Stadtbücherei of Chemnitz (no. 2411a); see Lehnerdt, "Zu den Briefen des Leonardo Bruni von Arezzo," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, n.s., 5 (1892): 461–66. See also Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:413a–b and 6:501a–b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:179–80; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:99–100; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:31 (no. 357). The codex passed to the Stadtbücherei from the Gymnasium in Chemnitz. It is written in *antiqua* and has marginal corrections by several hands. Kristeller and Griggio say that the codex is parchment, but the team of Gualdo Rosa says that it is paper and has three parchment flyleaves.

and a third (Salamanca 64) has a parchment flyleaf. The parchment leaf may have once served as a wrapper for the codex or for one of its fascicles or as the original binding.

Just as the vast majority of codices were assembled from paper, so the vast majority were copied in the middle quarters of the fifteenth century. There are approximately forty-two codices that securely date to the fifteenth century, and at least thirty-four of those were finished by 1475.<sup>10</sup> Among the fifteenth-century codices, the following indicate the date for the completion of a text: Brussels II.1442 in 1427, Ottob. lat. 3021 in 1435, Madrid BN 11557 in 1436, Budapest Clmae 292 in 1445, Pesaro Oliveriana 44 in 1458, Schlägl Cpl. 136 in 1461, Dresden App. 2282 ca. 1463, and Seville 5–5–19 in 1469. Because Kristeller focused on the contents of the manuscripts, he supplied data to determine an initial *terminus post quem*: the earliest is 1420, there are ten in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, ten in the third quarter, and eight in the fourth quarter. Two manuscripts date to the seventeenth century. Both of those late manuscripts are related to the Zabarella family, and one formed the basis for a rare 1655 printed edition of Poggio's eulogy.<sup>11</sup> Gerolamo Aucupario printed the first edition of Poggio's *Opera* at Strasbourg in 1511, and he dedicated the book to Sebastian Brant. Aucupario's edition was reprinted at Paris by Jean Petit around 1512 and again at Strasbourg in 1513 by Thomas Vogler, who added more texts to the repertory. In 1538, Henricus Petrus republished Vogler's expanded collection at Basel. Most of the manuscripts have foliation from the fifteenth century, and the majority range from 51 to 300 folios. Two codices, Eichstätt 218 and Ravenna Classense 117, were paginated recently. A late manuscript now in Washington, DC (Library of Congress Phillipps 5819) has 8003 folios, with, as Kristeller wryly noted, "many numbers skipped."

The bulk of the manuscripts have no decoration or embellishment. The most luxurious is likely Urb. lat. 224, which has a historiated initial depicting Poggio and marginal headings by his son Iacopo (1442–78). At least seven have a table of contents, and in six cases the table is old (Arundel 70, Milan Ambrosiana Trotti 348, Oxford D'Orville 59, Perugia F. Vecch. H.78, Marc. lat. XI.80

<sup>10</sup> The *Collatio* for Zabarella in Trier, Stadtbibl., cod. 743/1424, is not by Poggio but by Richard Flem(m)ing. I thank Dr. Michael Embach and Dr. Reiner Nolden for sending me the incipit. The Trier codex has a *terminus post quem* of 1424 and was copied by Helwig von Boppard (Helwicus de Boppardia). In February of 1432, Helwig von Boppard, Nicholas of Cusa, and Johann Rode von Trier, OSB, were seated at the Council of Basel to represent Ulrich von Manderscheid in the disputed election for archbishop of Trier; see Morimichi Watanabe, "The Episcopal Election of 1430 in Trier and Nicholas of Cusa," *Church History* 39 (1970): 308.

<sup>11</sup> Paolo Frambotto used Padua, Museo Civico, cod. B. P. 2042, for his Paduan edition of Zabarella's dialogue, *De felicitate*, and Poggio's funeral oration. Washington, Library of Congress, cod. Phillipps 5819 has documents for a history of the Zabarella family.

[3057], and Salamanca 64 where the old table is on the parchment flyleaf.<sup>12</sup> Yale Osborn a.17 has a red title and a coat of arms (fol. 4),<sup>13</sup> while Madrid BN 11557 and Milan Ambrosiana Trotti 348 have an old binding. Milan Ambrosiana Trotti 348, Ravenna Classense 117, and Schlägl Cpl. 136 have initials. The Schlägl manuscript has one inhabited initial and several smaller initials.<sup>14</sup> Urb. lat. 1169 and D’Orville 59 have red titles and initials. San Daniele 97 also has red titles and space for three-line initials, but by the time of the codex’s copying, Guarnerio d’Artegna may have lost his income as vicar general for Aquileia and could not afford to pay for them.<sup>15</sup>

More codices were written by several hands than were written by a single scribe. Among the codices with several hands, Berlin Lat. fol. 557 has a text copied by Daniel Furlanus, Arundel 70 has many works copied by Hans Pirckheimer (ca. 1415–92),<sup>16</sup> and Seville 5–5–19 has portions written at Augsburg by the

<sup>12</sup> Salamanca Univ. 64. The margin below the table has the signature of “Joannes de Camargo” (Juan Ruiz de Camargo, d. 1477), *maestrescuola* of Salamanca, who likewise signed his name at the end of the codex (fol. 180). The final folio also has the signature of another possessor, Alfonso Ortiz, canon of Toledo who wrote a consolatory treatise after the sudden death of Prince Don Juan at Salamanca in October 1497 (Salamanca 368, fols. 62–93v). There is a note by a later hand on fol. 180, suggesting that “Niculas de Garnica, de Yllescas” gave the codex to the cathedral of León in 1586. See Carmen Castrillo González, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca*, vol. 1, *Manuscritos I–1679bis* (Salamanca, 1997), 65–69 and 259.

<sup>13</sup> New Haven Yale Beinecke Osborn a.17. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:291a; and Dennis Dutschke, *Census of Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States*, *Censimento dei codici petrarcheschi* 9 (Padua, 1986), 194–97, who both note the coat of arms with the lettering “NI HO.” See also the description on the “Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at the Beinecke Library” website, available at: <https://pre1600ms.beinecke.library.yale.edu/docs/pre1600.osborn.a17.htm> (accessed 13 July 2020).

<sup>14</sup> Berlin Lat. fol. 557 has a portrait of Poggio cribbed from Giambattista Recanati’s edition of the *Historia florentina* published at Venice by Johannes Gabriel Hertz in 1715. Recanati prepared the edition from one of his own parchment manuscripts, now Marciana Zan. lat. 392 (1684).

<sup>15</sup> San Daniele 97. Laura Casarsa, Mario D’Angelo, and Cesare Scalon, *La Libreria di Guarnerio d’Artegna*, *Storia della Società Friulana: Collana di Studi Storici* (Udine, 1991), 28–31 and 319–21. I thank Dr. Zsuzsanna Kisery for alerting me to the relevance of this codex.

<sup>16</sup> BL Arundel 70. Pirckheimer began work on the Arundel codex in 1448 while Giovanni Lamola’s student of rhetoric in Bologna and continued to gather texts during his law studies at Padua where he moved at the end of the year. Upon returning to Nuremberg in 1453, he served on the city council, represented the city on diplomatic missions, and raised a family of scholars that included his son Johannes (ca. 1440–1501), a jurist and, late in life, a priest, and his grandson Willibald (1470–1530). See Ludwig Bertalot, “Iacobi Zeni *Descriptio Coniurationis Patavine*,” in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Raccolta di Studi e Testi* 129–30 (Rome, 1975), 2:105–108; Agostino Sottili, *Studenti tedeschi e umanesimo italiano nell’Università di Padova durante il Quattrocento*, vol. 1, *Pietro del Monte nella società accademica padovana (1430–1433)*, *Contributi alla storia*

notary Stephanus Marchfart, by Simon Enthofer, and by Ulrich Gossembrot, secretary in the imperial chancery under Johannes Roth. Hernando Colón found and purchased the Seville codex on a trip through Germany in 1531.<sup>17</sup> The diocesan priest Wenceslaus de Glacz copied Schlägl Cpl. 136 at Prague in 1461, and the Bohemian humanist Johannes von Rabenstein (1437–73) then made notes in the codex.<sup>18</sup> After Battista da Cingoli finished copying San Daniele 97 in *antiqua*, Guarnerio d'Artegna had to make corrections, especially for spelling errors. Iacopo Bracciolini added headings in the margin of the parchment codex copied in *antiqua* by Nicolaus Riccius, likely in the Florentine shop of Vespasiano da Bisticci. Petrus de Traiecto, who worked in the shop of Vespasiano, copied Francesco Griffolini's Latin translations of the letters of Ps.-Phalaris onto paper quinternions of Wrocław R.36.<sup>19</sup> Eichstätt 218 has, among its several fascicles, texts copied by the priest Johannes von Eyb (d. 1468) while a law student in Padua and by his humanist cousin Albrecht von Eyb in Germany. The fascicle with sermons of Zabarella and Poggio's oration for the prelate was

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dell'Università di Padova 7 (Padua, 1971), 1–12; the articles of Franz Josef Worstbrock on Hans and Johannes Pirckheimer, in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd ed. (Berlin and New York, 1978–99), 7:701–708; and Riccardo Fubini, “Il ‘teatro del mondo’ nelle prospettive morali e storico-politiche di Poggio Bracciolini — Appendice 1: L'orazione di Costanza sui vizi del clero,” in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980* (n. 2 above), 94–96. In editing Poggio's oration on clerical vices, Fubini found Pirckheimer's Arundel codex the most reliable and notable for linking that oration with Poggio's encomium of Zabarella. Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:206–207, suggested that the codex probably has three German hands. Munich Universitätsbibl. Folio 607 and Vienna Lat. 3330 are related to this codex. See also Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:89 (no. 1227).

<sup>17</sup> Seville Colombina 5–5–19. Descriptions of the codex indicate that it was written in Italy by German hands. Subscriptions establish that texts were copied at Augsburg in 1465, 1468, and 1469. Hernando Colón (1488–1539), learned son of the admiral and an avid collector of books, purchased the codex in Augsburg. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:617b–18a; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:208; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:171 (no. 2327); Juan Guillén Torralba, *Hernando Colón: Humanismo y bibliofilia* (Seville, 2004), 75–86, 135–37, 249–67; and Agostino Sottili, “Der Bericht des Johannes Roth über die Kaiserkrönung von Friedrich III,” *Humanismus und Universitätsbesuch: Die Wirkung italienischer Universitäten auf die “Studia Humanitatis” nördlich der Alpen*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 26 (Leiden, 2006), 405–406. Simon Enthofer von Rothenburg ob der Tauber (Bavaria) matriculated at the University of Leipzig in 1450 and earned degrees there in 1452 and 1454. See Joseph Förstemann, “Vermischte Beiträge aus Handschriften und Urkunden der Leipziger Universitäts-Bibliothek,” *Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 18 (1897): 131 and 146.

<sup>18</sup> Schlägl Cpl. 136. Godfried Vielhaber, *Catalogus Codicum Plagensium (Cpl.) Manuscriptorum* (Linz, 1918), 239–40.

<sup>19</sup> Wrocław Uniwersytecka R.36. At the end of the codex, three parchment folios were added to accommodate excerpts from Cicero, scribbles, and mathematical computations. On the codex, see Konrat Ziegler, *Catalogus codicum latinorum classicorum qui in Bibliotheca Urbica Wratislaviensi adservatur* (Breslau, 1915), 4–5; and Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:427b.



traced to Padua and copied around 1426.<sup>20</sup> Single scribes have also been identified. Agostino Santucci (1393–1468) began to compile texts for Pesaro Oliveriana 44 at Padua from 1420–25,<sup>21</sup> Ludolphus de Frisia wrote portions of Brussels II.1442 while studying law in 1427 at the University of Pavia,<sup>22</sup> and Venceslaus de Almania Alta finished writing Ottob. lat. 3021 in 1435.<sup>23</sup>

Over ninety percent of the codices whose place of writing is known come from Italy, though they were at times copied by non-Italians, as Ludolphus de Frisia, Venceslaus de Almania Alta, and Hans Pirckheimer demonstrate. A codex likely copied by a Spanish student at the Collegio di Spagna in Bologna in 1436, Madrid BN 11557, supplies clues to the house in which it was written: “Johannes Jo.” and a monogram “A.S.Y.R.A.X.” A second subscription copied by the prior of the convent of Santiago de Uclés late in the eighteenth century suggests that the Johannes in question is Master Juan Butiyer. In the sixteenth century, the codex passed to Martín Pérez de Ayala (1504–66), a professor of theology with humanist interests at the University of Granada and later a bishop in three Spanish dioceses.<sup>24</sup> The Dutch scribe Theodericus Werken de Abbenbroeck may

<sup>20</sup> Eichstätt Universitätsbibl. st 218. On the codex, formerly in the Staatliche Bibl., see Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:524b–25a; and Hardo Hilg, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt*, vol. 1, *Aus Cod. st 1–Cod. st 275*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt 1. Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften 1 (Wiesbaden, 1994), xvii–xviii and 140–54.

<sup>21</sup> Pesaro Oliveriana 44. On the codex and Santucci’s later career as professor of medicine at the universities of Perugia (1458–59) and Florence, see Giovanni Battista Ristori, “Libreria del maestro Agostino Santucci,” *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi* 15 (1904): 35–37; Marcello Zicari, “Il più antico codice di lettere di P. Paolo Vergerio il vecchio,” *Studia Oliveriana* 2 (1954): 33–59; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:64a; and Jonathan Davies, *Florence and Its University during the Early Renaissance*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 8 (Leiden, 1998), 41–42 n. 206, 169, and 174.

<sup>22</sup> Brussels BR II.1442. Ludolphus de Frisia wrote subscriptions on fols. 216 and 332. The manuscript later passed to the library of the abbey of Park, to Thomas Phillipps (no. 10441), and to the Royal Library in 1891. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:108b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:100; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:26; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:21 (no. 245).

<sup>23</sup> BAV Ottob. lat. 3021. Ludwig Bertalot, “Eine sammlung Paduaner Reden des XV. Jahrhunderts,” in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus* (Rome, 1975), 2:212–13, posited a relationship among Ottob. lat. 3021, Berlin Lat. folio 613, and Udine Arcivescovile 70 that probably reflects the educational activities of the Barzizza family in Padua from 1407 to 1434. For Ottob. lat. 3021, see Clémence Revest, “Naissance du cicéronianisme et émergence de l’humanisme comme culture dominante: réflexions pour une histoire de la rhétorique humaniste comme pratique sociale,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome-Moyen Âge* 125 (2013): 219–57. On Berlin Lat. folio 613, see also Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:483b–84a; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:77; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:10 (no. 103).

<sup>24</sup> Madrid BN 11557. See Gregorio de Andres, “La biblioteca de un teólogo renacentista: Martín Pérez de Ayala,” *Helmántica* 27 (1976): 91–111; Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:570b; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:207; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:101 (no. 1364). Around 1789, Prior Antonio Tavira y Almazán (1737–1807) copied a subscription that reads: “scriptus Bononiae manu. A propria duodecima die octobris anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo trecesimo

have copied for William Gray a parchment manuscript with the oration while Gray was studying in Cologne (ca. 1442–44).<sup>25</sup> Scribes at times only identify themselves by their initials, for example, “A. R.” in Gotha Chart. B.61 from ca. 1467,<sup>26</sup> and “Chr. V.” on the flyleaves of Marc. lat. XI.59 (4152).<sup>27</sup>

Twenty-six of the codices are today preserved in Italian libraries or the Vatican library, while twenty-seven are outside Italy, with the largest concentration in Germany (ten). Among known owners of a codex from the Renaissance era, Italians and then Germans again predominate. Tabaleno (“Tabelione”) di Marco di Ser Nicollino da Rimini and perhaps a priest or notary named Baptista owned Ravenna Classense 117 in the mid-fifteenth century,<sup>28</sup> while Guarnerio d’Artegna

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sexto in domo magistri Joannis Butiyer.” Kristeller cited a subscription that reads: “Bononie decima quinta mensis otobris(*sic*) anni tricessimi sestis in domo magistri Johannis Jo. A.S.Y.R. A.X.” A member of the military order of Santiago, Pérez de Ayala was named bishop of Guadix in 1547, bishop of Segovia in 1560, and archbishop of València in 1564. Around 1555, he took a three-year sabbatical to study the Hebrew Scriptures with the assistance of two Jewish converts. Pérez de Ayala willed his library to the convent of Uclés (Cuenca), most of his manuscripts remained at the monastery until the state obtained possession of that library after the order was suppressed, the codices were stored at the Archivo Histórico Nacional in 1872, and they were moved to the Biblioteca in 1896. For reasons that are not entirely clear, in 1567 Philip II took seventeen codices from Ayala’s library for the library of his El Escorial monastery. On Ayala’s career, see Constanancio Gutiérrez, “Pérez de Ayala, Martín,” in *Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España*, ed. Quintín Aldea Vaquero, Tomás Marín Martínez, and José Vives Gatell (Madrid, 1972–87), 3:1963–65.

<sup>25</sup> Oxford Balliol 125. See Henricus O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum mss. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* (Oxford, 1852), 1:35–36; Roger Mynors, “Introduction to the Catalogue: William Gray and His Books,” *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), xxiv–xlv; and Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:235.

<sup>26</sup> Gotha Chart. B.61. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:397b–98a; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:104; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:79 (no. 1095). The codex has several hands, including an Italian Humanist one for the Poggio oration. A subscription on fol. 251v reads: “Per me rescriptum et finitum, ad diem veneris, 13 kl. iulii, anno dominice incarnationis 1467, A. R.” Elisabeth Wunderle has identified the hand that copied the letter of Enea Silvio Piccolomini as Sigismund Gossembrot (1417–93), a patrician humanist and former mayor of Augsburg who once owned the composite codex. There is a second use of the A. R. initials on fol. 287v. See Wunderle, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen lateinischen Papierhandschriften aus den Sammlungen der Herzog von Sachsen-Coburg und Gotha’schen Stiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft*, Die Handschriften der Forschungsbibliothek Gotha I (Wiesbaden, 2002), 223–39.

<sup>27</sup> Venice Marc. lat. XI.59 (4152). On the codex, see Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:487–94; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:253b–54a, 6:259a; *Laurentii Valle Epistole*, ed. Ottavio Besomi and Mariangela Regoliosi (Padua, 1984), 80; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:315–16; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:210 (no. 2923). For Christophorus Vivianus Veronensis (Cristoforo Viviani da Verona), see the discussion of Padua Seminario Vescovile 92 below (note 39).

<sup>28</sup> Ravenna Classense 117. The codex was written in the Veneto by one hand in *antiqua*, and the possessor’s notes are on p. 474. See *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere*, vol. 1, *Lettere a Niccolò Niccoli*, ed. Helene Harth, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, Carteggi umanistici (Florence, 1984), li–liiii; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:253; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:157 (no. 2143); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:175–76.

had his San Daniele codex copied while serving as parish priest there and Cesare Dultone da Padova, OFM, owned Yale Osborn a.17 in 1556.<sup>29</sup> In the sixteenth or early seventeenth century, Horatius Sanctinus left a possessor's note in D'Orville 59.<sup>30</sup> A distinctive group of letters attributed to Agnelius Salernitanus (Aniello Salernitano), aspiring humanist of the mid-fifteenth century from the kingdom of Naples, was bound together with excerpts from Poggio's eulogy and other texts into a composite codex now in the Vatican. The letters in the second fascicle of the codex and their author were not terribly erudite: Aniello may have studied the humanities in order to teach them locally, he may simply have been a fan of the movement attempting to convince other young people to study them, or he may have used the codex to practice his skills by writing imaginary letters. The first fascicle of the codex with the fragmentary copy of Poggio's speech probably belonged to the Salernitan physician Vinciguerra Issapica or someone from his family. A faded coat of arms still visible on the first folio matches that on the tomb of Polissena Issapica in Salerno.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> New Haven Yale Beinecke Osborn a.17. Dultone left possessor's notes on fols. 3 ("No. 486") and 134v. The codex passed from the bookseller Thomas Thorpe to Thomas Phillipps in 1836 (no. 9627), to W. H. Robinson, and to Osborn who purchased the codex from the Robinson Trust in 1953 and bequeathed it to Yale in 1976. See Dutschke, *Census of Petrarch Manuscripts* (n. 13 above), 194–97; James Hankins, "Bruni Manuscripts in North America: A Handlist," in *Per il censimento dei codici dell'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni (Seminario internazionale di studi, Firenze, 30 ottobre 1987)*, ed. Lucia Gualdo Rosa and Paolo Viti, *Nuovi studi storici* 10 (Rome, 1991), 79; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:125 (no. 1726).

<sup>30</sup> Ida Maier, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien: Catalogue descriptif*, *Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance* 70 (Geneva, 1965), 219–20.

<sup>31</sup> BAV Vat. lat. 2906. For Aniello Salernitano, see Paola Scarcia Piacentini, "Lettere di un ignoto umanista (Vat. lat. 2906: Personaggi e cultura d'area salernitana)," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 29 (1980): 119–46. The codex also has letters of Lucio di Visso related to the history of Spoleto, letters of Prospero Schiaffini da Camogli, chancellor of Genoa at mid-century, and Iacopo Bracelli's letter on the battle of Ponza in 1435. For the provenance of the composite codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:356a–b; Scarcia Piacentini, "Lettere di un ignoto umanista," 108–10, 147–48; Paola Scarcia Piacentini, "Un fantasma umbromarchigiano del'400: Lucio di Visso," *Res Publica Litterarum: Studies in the Classical Tradition* 5 (1982): 233–34; and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:313–14. The codex later belonged to the Roman cardinal, Angelo Colocci (1474–1549). Colocci was a friend of Giovanni Pontano and a member of Pontano's Academy in Naples, and he collected the works of contemporary humanists, including a few codices from the widow of the poet Benet Gareth, called Cariteo (ca. 1450–ca. 1512). Colocci and Cariteo became close friends in Rome from 1501–1503. For Colocci and his library, see Samy Lattès, "Recherches sur la bibliothèque d'Angelo Colocci," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 48 (1931): 330 and 343; Vittorio Fanelli, *Ricerche su Angelo Colocci e sulla Roma cinquecentesca*, *Studi e testi* 283 (Vatican City, 1979); and Sergio Anselmi, "Colocci, Angelo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 27:105–11. Over a period of years, the Vatican Library acquired many of Colocci's books.

Some codices or individual fascicles quickly became family journals or heirlooms. As early as 1420 in Padua, Agostino Santucci began to enter rhetorical texts in his personal codex (Oliveriana 44), and Giovanni Pontano left to his daughter Eugenia a codex now in the Vatican Library.<sup>32</sup> German students studying at Italian universities have previously been identified as key transmitters of humanist learning north of the Alps. Venceslaus de Alamania Alta and Hans Pirckheimer assembled tomes for their studies that have a relationship to other codices.<sup>33</sup> The humanist Johannes von Rabenstein made notes in a codex copied at Prague by Wenceslaus de Glacz. Marc. lat. XI.80 (3057) has been characterized in its origins as a textbook for study purposes.<sup>34</sup> Famous Renaissance collectors of codices who had a copy of Poggio's oration include the church prelates Bishop William Gray (ca. 1414–78), Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461–1523),<sup>35</sup> and

<sup>32</sup> BAV Vat. lat. 13679. The codex dates from the late fifteenth century and has the customary note on fol. 1 indicating that it was given away by Pontano's daughter: "Eugenia Joannis Pontani filia ex mera eius liberalitate hunc librum Bibliothecae beati Dominici in clarissimi patris memoria dicandum curavit." Shortly after Pontano's death in 1503, Eugenia gave many of his codices to the library of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples. In the listing made by the family's notary on 4 June 1505, the Vatican codex is no. 46 ("Orationes Donati Acciaiuoli et multorum" ad mano). Vat. lat. 13679 was subsequently acquired by the monastery of San Michele di Murano (cod. 983). See Erasmo Pèrcopo, "La vita di Giovanni Pontano," *Archivio storico per le province napoletane* 61 (1936): 235–46; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:348b, 387a–b, and 6:351a–b; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:208 (no. 2892). Vat. lat. 13679 and Bodleian D'Orville 59 are related to Perugia Fondo Vecchio J.100.

<sup>33</sup> Venceslaus's codex, BAV Ottob. lat. 3021, is related to Udine Arcivescovile 70 and Berlin Lat. fol. 613, and all three codices have a Paduan matrix. Pirckheimer's codex, Arundel 70, is related to Munich Universitätsbibl. Fol. 607 and Vienna Lat. 3330, and all share a matrix in Bologna (the teaching of Giovanni Lamola) and Padua (the collecting of model orations). See the further comments below.

<sup>34</sup> Marc. lat. XI.80 (3057). The codex dates to the end of the fifteenth century (1485 as *terminus post quem*), was copied in the eighteenth century by Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli (San Michele 1130), and in that same century belonged to Anton Francesco Marmi (1655–1736) and Giacomo Nani (no. 95). Nani collected many valuable papyri and books in Egypt and throughout the Ottoman Empire; he bequeathed his collection to the Marciana in January 1796. He died suddenly the following year while organizing Venice's defense against Napoleon. See Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:518–36; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:254a–b; Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 309–15; Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere* (n. 28 above), 1:lxiv–lxv; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:316–17; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:211 (no. 2927); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:240–41.

<sup>35</sup> Udine Arcivescovile 70. The *ex libris* of Grimani is found on a flyleaf, and a coat of arms was erased from the lower margin of the first folio. The codex had its origin in Padua, was written by two hands in *antiqua*, and contains texts dated from 1401 to 1435. See Bertalot, "Eine Sammlung Paduaner Reden" (n. 23 above), 2:209–35; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:202a–b; Cesare Scalon, *La biblioteca arcivescovile di Udine*, Medioevo e umanesimo 37 (Padua, 1979), 135; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:302–303; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:183 (no. 2477).

Cardinal Angelo Colocci (1474–1549). Colocci inherited the property of Pomponio Leto in Rome and Leto's custom of hosting humanist discussions in the gardens.

Kristeller once proposed a norm for determining the origin of humanist miscellanies. In the absence of explicit attribution, one could posit that the owner of the codex was the author of the codex's rarest texts.<sup>36</sup> Applying that norm, checking the *Iter Italicum*'s indices for frequency of appearance, and using other clues available, here are possible owners of some codices or of portions of a composite codex:

The Leonardi / De Leonardis family for fascicles of Berlin Lat. fol. 667<sup>37</sup>  
 The anonymous author of a wedding oration for the daughter of  
 Iacobus Sacratius Ferrariensis for Padua Seminario 36<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, "An Unknown Letter of Giovanni Barbo to Guarino," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 8 (1965): 244: "... the original date, place, and ownership of a miscellaneous manuscript may be inferred from the rarest and most unusual parts of its contents."

<sup>37</sup> Remigio Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino* (n. 3 above), 3:x–xi, proposed that Niccolò Leonardi may have collected the letters of Guarino in the codex. Similarly, Ludwig Bertalot, "Zwölf Briefe des Ambrogio Traversari," in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus* (Rome, 1975), 1:252, suggested that Leonardi may have owned the codex. See further Griggio, "Il codice berlinese Lat. fol. 667" (n. 2 above), 1:138–39, 144, and 159–60 n. 1. The codex has eight hands, texts predominantly of Venetian provenance, a primary anthology (fols. 1–126) finished around 1440, and an apparent appendix of similar texts (fols. 126v–37). Given that the codex preserves almost all the letters that Niccolò Leonardi wrote and the scribe likely worked from autographs and rough drafts, Griggio endorsed the possibility that the Leonardi family owned the codex but added that this is still a supposition. From a letter of Niccolò Leonardi to Vergerio in 1437, we know that Niccolò had lost his sight and needed the assistance of his son Girolamo. Whoever owned the codex knew Guarino well enough that Guarino would allow him to consult his papers, assist him in the redacting, and make an autograph note of approval about the translation of a Greek phrase therein. The codex later belonged to Thomas Phillipps (no. 11907) and was bought by the ex-Königliche Bibliothek at an auction of Sotheby's on 6 June 1910. See also Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:484b, 6:497b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:78–81; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:90–91; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:10–11 (no. 104). Both Niccolò and Girolamo were physicians, and Niccolò taught medicine at Padua in the 1420s. They used the wealth that they accumulated to collect books, but Niccolò made an explicit commitment in his will to assure that any books he had borrowed would be returned to fellow doctors and scholars. See King, *Venetian Humanism* (n. 3 above), 62–63 and 387–89.

<sup>38</sup> Padua Seminario Vescovile 36. The fascicle of the composite codex with Poggio's oration (36/II) dates to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In 1583 the codex belonged to Guido Alfonso Faletti and his wife Isabella, perhaps as part of her dowry. See the entries on the Nuova Biblioteca Manoscritta website prepared from the library's 1998 printed catalog by Silvia Rizzi and Stefania Cavinato (revised by Alessia Giachery and Barbara Vanin), available at: [www.nuovabibliotecamanoscritta.it/](http://www.nuovabibliotecamanoscritta.it/) (accessed 11 April 2020).

Christophorus Vivianus Veronensis for Padua Seminario 92<sup>39</sup>  
 Ranivaldus(?) de Monte Calvo for BAV Chis. J.VI.215<sup>40</sup>

Owners who obtained codices after 1600 are indicated at times by the library *fondi*: Chigi (traced remotely to Agostino Chigi, 1465–1520, and proximately to Cardinal Fabio Chigi, later Pope Alexander VII, 1655–67), Ottoboni (whose first nucleus came from Marcello Cervini, d. 1555, and whose holdings were consolidated by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, d. 1691), Arundel (Thomas Howard, 1585–1646, earl of Arundel whose collection of books and manuscripts included a large lot from the Pirckheimer library),<sup>41</sup> D’Orville (Jacques Philippe D’Orville, 1696–1751, the Dutch professor of History, Eloquence, and Greek at the University of Amsterdam),<sup>42</sup> Magliabecchiano Strozzi (Senator Carlo Strozzi, 1587–1670, whose family library was ceded after the death of all male heirs to Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo and then divided between the Fondo Magliabecchiano of the Biblioteca Nazionale and the Fondo Stroziano of the Biblioteca Laurenziana),<sup>43</sup> Alfter (Bartholomäus Joseph Blasius Alfter, 1729–1808, Catholic theologian and historian whose extensive collection on the history of his hometown of Cologne was divided between the archives there and the state archives in Darmstadt),<sup>44</sup> and Scioppiano (Kaspar Schoppe, 1576–1649, papal diplomat and

<sup>39</sup> Padua Seminario Vescovile 92. The letter by Cristoforo Viviani da Verona to the citizens of Belluno and their response in 1465 (fols. 152–53) were also copied onto the flyleaves of Marc. XI.59 (4152). The Padua codex was written in northeastern Italy by at least two Semi-gothic hands and has a *terminus post quem* of 1461 for its remaining contents. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:8b and 550a–b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:135–36 (no. 1854); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:153–54. Kristeller first proposed Viviani’s ownership. See Konrad Krautter, Paul Oskar Kristeller, and Helmut Roob, “Tre trattati di Lauro Quirini sulla nobiltà,” in *Lauro Quirini umanista*, ed. Vittore Branca, *Civiltà veneziana*, Saggi 23 (Florence, 1977), 22.

<sup>40</sup> BAV Chis. J.VI.215. The codex has a *terminus post quem* of 1458 and was written by various Humanist cursive or chancery hands. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:484a–b; Besomi and Regoliosi, *Laurentii Valle Epistole* (n. 27 above), 67–68; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:188 (no. 2553); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:283–84.

<sup>41</sup> Howard purchased parts of the Pirckheimer library, including Arundel 70, at Nuremberg in 1636. See Seymour De Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership*, Burt Franklin Bibliography & Reference Series 268 (New York, 1930), 25.

<sup>42</sup> Oxford Bodleian D’Orville 59 is of Italian origin and probably dates to the 1480s. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:250b–51a; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:133 (no. 1816). To acquaint himself with classical literature, art, and scholarship, D’Orville traveled widely in England, France, Germany, and Italy. He edited the novel of Chariton of Aphrodisias and wrote a work on the history of Sicily, *Sicula*, that was published posthumously.

<sup>43</sup> Domenico Fava, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze e le sue insigni raccolte*, *Le grandi biblioteche storiche italiane* 1 (Milan, 1939), 10–11 and 62–66.

<sup>44</sup> Finke listed the codex as Alfter Sammlung 146. The codex is now Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln, GB quarto 268. See Chris L. Nighman and Phillip Stump, “A Bibliographical Register of the Sermons and Other Orations Delivered at the Council of Constance

Machiavelli scholar whose manuscripts passed to Giovanni Michele Pierucci and his descendants and finally to the Laurenziana in 1816). From the late eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, affluent owners included Giacomo Nani (1725–97) in Venice, Antonio Piazza (1772–1844) in Padua, Marchese Lodovico Trotti-Bentivoglio (1829–1914) and his wife Maria in Milan, James Marshall Osborn (1906–76) in New Haven, and Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), self-described “Vellomaniac” whose monster collection of over 60,000 manuscripts once had five of the fifty-three known manuscripts.<sup>45</sup> The great ecclesiastical library of the Camaldolese monks in the Veneto, San Michele di Murano, had a manuscript with the oration, and, appropriately enough, the Zabarella family at one time owned two codices with the eulogy.

From the perspective of social standing, there are very few luxury manuscripts commissioned by wealthy Renaissance patrons. Four of the manuscripts are certainly parchment. Those four and at least two others were likely written by a professional scribe. Another codex (Yale Osborn a.17) has a coat of arms. From the perspective of contents, no manuscript has Poggio’s eulogy as its sole text. Nine of the manuscripts may be labeled homogeneous: seven have only works of Poggio<sup>46</sup> and two have works related to the Zabarella family. The preponderance of manuscripts are the ubiquitous Renaissance miscellanies, for which scholars of late have proposed sub-types such as humanist miscellanies, Gothic miscellanies, and university miscellanies.<sup>47</sup> Using funeral orations in the miscellanies as an initial clue, one group has eulogies primarily from a Venetian and Paduan

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(1414–1418),” part 6, “List of Manuscripts Containing Constance Sermons (pdf),” 9, at <http://bibsocamer.org/BibSite/Nighman-Stump/index.html> (accessed 1 April 2020).

<sup>45</sup> Shrewd barterer when making a purchase, Phillipps so treasured his codices that he kept them in coffin-like metal boxes, stacked on top of each other, lest they be destroyed in a fire. See De Ricci, *English Collectors* (n. 41 above), 119–30; and Alan Bell, “Phillips, Sir Thomas, baronet,” in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Howard Harrison (Oxford, 2004), 44:91–94.

<sup>46</sup> Cracow Jagiellońska Lat. quarto 545; Milan Ambrosiana E 115 sup.; Milan Ambrosiana Trotti 348; Stuttgart Württembergische Landesbibl. Hist. folio 252; BAV Urb. lat. 224; BAV Urb. lat. 1169; and BAV Vat. lat. 1785. The Stuttgart codex was written by a German hand in the fifteenth century and has for its provenance the library of Georg Wilhelm Zapf (1747–1810). On Stuttgart Hist. folio 252, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:699b; and Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere* (n. 28 above), 1:xxxiv–xxxvi. Schlägl Cpl. 136 has Ambrogio Traversari’s translation of Diogenes Laertius, *De vitis, sectis, dictis, responsis, ac libris philosophorum liber* (fols. 1–158), and then eight orations of Poggio, including his six funeral orations (fols. 159–218), all copied by Wenceslaus de Glacz. Urb. lat. 1169 has only the six funeral orations. See Cosimus Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, vol. 3, *Codices 1001–1779* (Rome, 1921), 186–87. Dijon 837 (491), a miscellany once in the Abbey of Cîteaux, has five of the six. See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements*, vol. 5, *Dijon*, ed. Auguste Molinier, Henri Omont, Étienne-Symphorien Bougenot, and Philippe Guignard (Paris, 1889), 229–30.

<sup>47</sup> See Lucia Gualdo Rosa, “Introduzione,” *Censimento*, 1:v–xxxiv.

context — Poggio had described Zabarella at Constance as *civis Paduanus* and both Gasparino Barzizza and Guarino likely introduced their students to the oration as a model of sound rhetorical practice.<sup>48</sup> Siena H.VI.26, one of the four parchment codices, has seven funeral orations, including a rare oration by the Franciscan Ludovico da Pirano (ca. 1383–after 4 Nov. 1446) on Francesco Corner, which may indicate Ludovico’s involvement in assembling the codex. It was surely owned by a fellow Franciscan, Antonius Burgundus, and remained in the possession of the Franciscans in Ferrara into the eighteenth century.<sup>49</sup> A second cluster of miscellanies combines works from the Veneto and works from Florence and may reflect shared concerns for Church reform and republican ideology. At least eight codices, finally, reflect a Florentine and Tuscan environment

<sup>48</sup> Poggio’s characterization of Zabarella as a citizen of Padua fits the record. Zabarella passed much of his life in Padua, teaching law, adjudicating disputes, and serving the Carrarese and Venetian governments. Most of his ecclesiastical offices were also Paduan: cathedral canon, cathedral archpriest, and bishop-elect though never consecrated because of Venetian opposition. See Girgensohn, “Francesco Zabarella da Padova” (n. 2 above), 13–14 and 35–38.

<sup>49</sup> The owner’s note is found in Siena H.VI.26, fol. 94v, and the codex was still in the Franciscan convent of San Francesco in Ferrara in the first half of the eighteenth century when Giovanni Giacinto Sbaraglia saw it there. On subsequent visits to Ferrara after 1750, however, Sbaraglia could not find the manuscript. Ludovico da Pirano was present at the opening of the Council of Ferrara (1438), spent a period of years in Ferrara until 1444 while exiled from his diocese of Forlì, and stipulated in his will that a portion of his books go to the Franciscan convent. On Ludovico da Pirano and the Siena codex, see Frances A. Yates, “Ludovico da Pirano’s Memory Treatise,” in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), 111–22; Cesare Cenci, “Ludovico da Pirano e la sua attività letteraria,” in *Storia e cultura al Santo*, ed. Antonino Poppi, *Fonti e studi per la storia del Santo a Padova* 3 (Studi 1) (Vicenza, 1976), 265–78; and Dieter Girgensohn, “Lob des tüchtigen Staatsmannes: Der Panegyrikus von Ludovico da Pirano OFM auf den Venezianer Adeligen Francesco Corner und dessen Testamente,” in *Margarita amicorum: Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. Fabio Forner, Carla Maria Monti, and Paul Gerhard Schmidt, *Bibliotheca erudita: Studi e documenti di storia e filologia* 26 (Milan, 2005), 1:431–32 and 453. Cenci, 273, noted that Ludovico da Pirano gave the funeral oration for Bartolomeo Cermisone. There are further copies in BAV, cod. Palat. lat. 327, fols. 289v–91v (Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:390b, 6:354b anon.); Cracow, Bibl. Jagiellońska, cod. 126, fols. 21v–22v (Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:403b–404a); *ibid.*, cod. 173, fols. 227–28v (Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:404a–b; and Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia* [n. 6 above], 2.2:1163, no. 20415); *ibid.*, Bibl. Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, Oddział Zbiory Czartoryskich, cod. 1242, 308–14 (Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:408a–b); St. Petersburg, Archive of the Historical Institute (LOII), cod. 1, box 614, fols. 55–58 (Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:173a); and Wrocław, Bibl. Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, cod. 601/I, fols. 273–74 (Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:440a). Some scholars, including myself, have confused Ludovico da Pirano with Ludovico Strassoldo. For Strassoldo, see Giovanni Mercati, “Intorno a Eugenio IV, Lorenzo Valla, e fra Ludovico da Strassoldo,” *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 5 (1951): 43–52; and Bruno Figliuolo, “Sul dialogo *De regia ac papali potestate* di Ludovico di Strassoldo (1434),” in *Medioevo Mezzogiorno Mediterraneo: Studi in onore di Mario Del Treppo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti and Giovanni Vitolo, *Europa Mediterranea*, Quaderni 12–13 (Naples, 2000), 2:231–46.



that helped to shape their contents. Most miscellanies share common features; they were written on paper in non-formal scripts over a period of years by more than one scribe. Miscellanies were often working codices, begun during one's years of studies and consulted thereafter for models of appropriate style and content. Codex Magl. Strozzi VIII.1435, written by several hands and completed early in the sixteenth century, has, in addition to a strong Florentine cluster consisting of the six funeral orations by Poggio, Brunni's oration on Nanni Strozzi, Alamanno Rinuccini's oration on Matteo Palmieri, and Cristoforo Landino's oration on Donato Acciaiuoli, the most copied of all Italian Renaissance funeral orations, that by Leonardo Giustiniani for the Venetian Carlo Zeno.<sup>50</sup>

#### LEONARDO GIUSTINIANI ON CARLO ZENO

There are at least 115 manuscripts with Giustiniani's eulogy for the Venetian admiral. Kristeller's *Iter Italicum* cataloged ninety-two, while the incipit inventory of Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner listed fifty-one.<sup>51</sup> The wide circulation of the oration is likewise indicated by its printing at least nineteen times, beginning in the fifteenth-century with the *opera* of Leonardo Giustiniani's son Bernardo and the compendium of orations edited by the Britannico brothers. The Dominicans Gregorio and Benedetto Britannico prepared that collection of occasional orations for the press that their brothers Angelo and Giacomo operated in Brescia.<sup>52</sup>

The vast majority of the codices are once again composed of paper. Seven or eight parchment codices are known: three that also have Poggio's oration (San Daniele 97, Siena H.VI.26, perhaps Dresden App. 2282) as well as BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI written by an English hand, Vat. lat. 1541, Glasgow Hunter 301 (U.6.19) conserving various writings of Giustiniani and perhaps written at

<sup>50</sup> Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:125a and 5:576a–b.

<sup>51</sup> Bertalot and Jaitner-Hahner, *Initia* (n. 6 above), 2.1:649 (no. 11750).

<sup>52</sup> Incunabular editions with Giustiniani's oration: Bernardo Giustiniani, *Orationes et epistolae* (Venice, [1492]); Gregorio Britannico, *Sermones funebres et nuptiales* in the shorter original version first published at Brescia by Angelo and Giacomo Britannico on 26 March 1495 and then at Milan in 1496 and Venice in 1498. An expanded version of the original Britannico edition was published at Brescia ca. 1498, at Milan ca. 1498/1500, at Venice on 1 March 1500, and at Venice perhaps after 1500. A third edition in which the original anthologies were augmented with at least two new funeral orations was published as *Sermones funebres noviter inventi* at Brescia on 5 Sept. 1500 and republished several times in the early sixteenth century. There were five Britannico brothers active in scholarship, preaching, and publishing at Brescia in the late Quattrocento, and their press issued around seventy editions on a variety of subjects. See *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig, 1925–), 5:547–54 (nos. 5548–55); *Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century Now in the British Museum*, part 7, *Italy: Genoa — Unassigned Addenda* (London, 1935), liv–lv, 977, and 980; and Ugo Baroncelli, "Britannico," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 14:339–42.

Florence,<sup>53</sup> Ambrosiana Sussidio H 52 once owned by Giovanni Melzi, and Padua Seminario 46, which belonged to Carlo Zeno's grandson, Iacopo, bishop of Padua and author of the biography of his grandfather that occupies most of the luxury manuscript.<sup>54</sup> There are at least twelve codices that mix elements of paper and parchment (for example, Laurenziana Ashb. 278 has two parchment flyleaves, BNCF Naz. II.VIII.129 has the rear cover in parchment, Foligno Jacobilli C.IV.10 had two parchment leaves now preserved separately, Ambrosiana C 141 inf. has two parchment folios at the beginning and a coat of arms, Munich Clm 522 has a final parchment folio, Pisa Santa Caterina 37 has parchment flyleaves, Udine Arcivescovile 49 has paper and parchment fascicles from the fifteenth and twelfth centuries).<sup>55</sup> Harley 2268 wins the prize for most unusual combination of parchment and paper: "the outer folios of quires 1–12 are parchment, as are also the middle folios of quires 1–4, 11, 12, and the outer and middle folios of quires 22–27."<sup>56</sup>

The bulk of the codices (103) again come from the fifteenth century or the transitional years from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century. The rare later manuscripts are often composite codices with fascicles from the fifteenth and succeeding centuries. Within a generation of its delivery at Venice, the oration was studied and taught in various parts of the peninsula. Several fifteenth-century manuscripts supply a date for the writing of a text: Padua Univ. 541 in 1434, Ottob. lat. 3021 and Riccardiana Ricc. 421 in 1435, Viterbo Capitolare 13

<sup>53</sup> Glasgow Hunter 301 (U.6.19). See John Young and P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908), 241–42; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:78 (no. 1085).

<sup>54</sup> On the possibility that Padua Seminario Vescovile 46 was once in the Bibl. Corviniana in Buda, see Klara Csapodi-Gárdonyi, "Rapporti fra la biblioteca di Mattia Corvino e Venezia," in *Venezia e Ungheria nel rinascimento*, ed. Vittore Branca, *Civiltà Veneziana*, Studi 28 (Florence, 1973), 221–23. The Corviniana codex was moved from Buda to Istanbul and acquired in 1533 in Istanbul by Niccolò Zeno, descendant of Carlo and son of Pietro Zeno, ambassador to the Sultan. Csapodi-Gárdonyi analyzes the argument of Gasparo Zonta that this cannot be the Corviniana codex since it was listed in a 1524 inventory of the Seminary Library in Padua and notes that the codex listed in the Paduan inventory was paper whereas the Corviniana codex was parchment. In 1720, the Seminary Library acquired the manuscript as part of the collection of Count Alfonso Alvarotti.

<sup>55</sup> Zorzanello, Kristeller, and Harth describe Marc. lat. XI.100 (3938) as paper, while the team led by Gualdo Rosa describes it as parchment. It is a *zibaldone* (family hodgepodge book). See Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:563–79; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:255a–b, 6:259b; Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere* (n. 28 above), 1:lxiv; and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:242–43.

<sup>56</sup> BL Harley 2268. Nicholas Mann, "Petrarch Manuscripts in the British Isles," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 18 (1975): 268 n. 3. For the material construction of the first part of this composite codex, see also David Rundle, "Of Republics and Tyrants: Aspects of Quattrocento Humanist Writings and Their Reception in England, ca. 1400–ca. 1460," (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1997), 393 and 410.

in 1441, BNCF Rossi-Cassigoli 372 at Rome in 1446, Munich Clm 78 in 1451–52 and additions to 1481, Marciana Zan. lat. 496 (1688),<sup>57</sup> Glasgow Hunter 301 (U.6.19) and Palat. lat. 1592 in 1453, Elbląg Miejska Q.78 in 1455 (now lost), Vat. lat. 1541 and St. Pölten 63 in 1456, Pesaro Oliveriana 44 in 1458, Marc. lat. XI.100 (3938) in 1459, Munich Clm 5335 in 1460, Pisa Santa Caterina 37 in 1461 and additions in 1471, Dresden App. 2282 and Venice Archivio di Stato Storia ven. 159 in 1463, Ottob. lat. 1184 in 1467, Berlin Lat. octavo 148 in 1470,<sup>58</sup> Munich Clm 76 and Vienna Lat. 3315 in 1471, and Giustiniani-Recanati V.13 (98) in 1489.

A composite codex in Basel has one fascicle with a *terminus post quem* of 1 October 1411, has other fascicles written by several German hands, and has the Giustiniani oration in a fascicle written in *antiqua*, in all likelihood by a professional scribe. The codex is said to be of German origin. From 1447–52, the Italian physician Enrico Amici (d. 1471), then practicing in Basel, owned the codex; he may have commissioned an Italian scribe to write the fascicle in *antiqua*.<sup>59</sup> Another composite codex now in Oxford, Bywater 38, belonged originally to Francesco Barbaro, who late in life bound together his notebooks, including one with Guarino's autograph translation of Plutarch's *Dion* that the master gave his student in 1414 (fols. 2–27v). Working from 1452 to 1454, Barbaro added a table of contents to the collection (fol. 1v). All the hands that contributed to the codex are Italian, most are Humanist, a few are Gothic, and a few imitate Guarino's style of writing. The Giustiniani oration was copied by Hand N.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Venice Marciana Zan. lat. 496 (1688). The codex belonged to Cardinal Bessarion. See Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:105–109; and Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:215b, 6:253b.

<sup>58</sup> Berlin Lat. octavo 148. On fol. 64v of the codex, there is a “Jesus” invocation and the date “1470 die primo octobris.” The codex was written by an Italian hand in a Humanist cursive script, and it passed from the Maffei family library in Verona to Abbot Luigi Celotti (ca. 1768–ca. 1846) and to Thomas Phillipps in 1825 (no. 939) before it was obtained by the ex-Königliche Bibl. in 1896. See A. N. L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840*, Phillipps Studies 3 (Cambridge, 1954), 50–51; Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:492b–93a; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:82–83; and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:130.

<sup>59</sup> Basel Universitätsbibl. FV.6. See Ottavio Besomi, “Codici petrarcheschi nelle biblioteche svizzere,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 8 (1965): 381–83; and Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:68b–69a. A note on fol. 1 indicates that Amici gave the codex to the Carthusians.

<sup>60</sup> Oxford Bywater 38. The codex subsequently belonged to Giambattista Recanati (1687–1735), Iacopo Soranzo (1686–1761), Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–1806), his brother Giuseppe Canonici, his nephew Giovanni Perissonotti, and Walter Sneyd (1809–88). Sneyd bought 915 Canonici manuscripts in 1835, resold some of them at Sotheby's in 1836, and kept the majority for himself. When Sotheby's auctioned much of Sneyd's remaining collection in 1903, a J. Barnard bought the codex for one shilling. Ingram Bywater, Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford, bequeathed his collection to the Bodleian, where it passed after his death in 1914. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:248b–49b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:236–40; and the description by Peter Kidd on the “Medieval Manuscripts in Oxford Libraries” website, available online at: [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript\\_2019](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_2019)

There are twenty-two manuscripts with a *terminus post quem* in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, sixteen manuscripts with a *terminus post quem* in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and five manuscripts with a *terminus post quem* in the last quarter of that century. The numerous editions of the Britannico collection, *Sermones funebres necnon nuptiales*, may have curtailed copying by hand. There are two instances of handwritten and printed texts bound together in the same volume (Blickling Hall 6844, Trier Incunabel 1219).

Only three codices are paginated, and one codex (Marc. lat. XI.9) combines foliation (56 folios) and pagination (375 pages). In the last century, Ludwig Bertalot added foliation in pencil to Parma Palat. 262. Fully seventy-two of the codices range in number of folios from 51–300: fourteen have 51–100, nineteen have 101–50, eighteen have 151–200, twelve have 201–50, and nine have 251–300. There is a significant drop-off for longer codices (seven) and for codices with less than fifty folios (four). The shortest codex of all, still in the family, is Venice Giustiniani-Recanati V.13 (98), which has two orations on six unnumbered folios. Johannes Antonius Urbinas, a citizen of Padua, finished copying that codex on 5 January 1489.<sup>61</sup>

Once again, few of the manuscripts have any decoration, suggesting that the majority were working codices for students and not luxury codices for libraries. Most have several hands, indicating that the codices remained useful to a variety of persons for a period of years. Berlin Lat. quarto 507, written in northern Italy in the fifteenth century by a Humanist cursive hand, has been characterized as a scholar's copy.<sup>62</sup> At least twelve manuscripts have an old table of contents (Augsburg II.lat.1.quarto.33, Ferrara II.135, BL Harley 2268, BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI, Milan Ambrosiana Sussidio H 52, Oxford Bywater 38, Pisa Santa Caterina 37, Salamanca 64 on a parchment flyleaf, Trier 1879/74, Udine Arcivescovile 70, Regin. lat. 1583, Venice Correr Morosini-Grimani 248, and perhaps Vallicelliana F.20). Sixteen codices have one or more initials, at times of a simple sort (for example, Brescia Querin. B.VI.4, Gotha Chart. B.61, BL Add. 11760, BL Add.

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(accessed 13 July 2020). For Guarino's autograph marginalia, see Marianne Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's "Lives" in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, *Renaissance Studies* 14 (Copenhagen, 2007), 1:187–90 and 349–52. On the migration of Canonici's codices from Venice to England and Sneyd's purchases, see De Ricci, *English Collectors* (n. 41 above), 136–37; and Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 375–76.

<sup>61</sup> Venice Giustiniani-Recanati V.13 (98). The subscription is found at the end of Giustiniani's oration: "Ego Johannes Antonius Urbinas civis Pad. scripsi anno 1489 5a Ianuarii." A second oration follows (inc. *Cum eam videbitis Johannes*). See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:292b and 6:287a.

<sup>62</sup> Berlin Lat. quarto 507. The codex dates to the middle of the fifteenth century and was written in northern Italy by an Italian hand in a Humanist cursive script. The codex later formed part of the library of Thomas Phillipps (no. 17763) and was bought by the ex-Königliche Bibl. in Berlin in 1896. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:490a; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:95; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:12 (no. 123).

15974, BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI, Lucca Statale 1436, Milan Ambrosiana D 93 sup., Padua Seminario 46, BAV Vat. lat. 2936, and Munich Clm 5335 in red, while BAV Palat. lat. 1592 and Arundel 70 alternate red and blue). The most elaborate are Udine Arcivescovile 49, which has historiated and smaller red and blue initials, Munich Clm 522, which has a historiated initial and others in color, Vat. lat. 1541, which has one initial in gold with white vine-stem border, and Correr Morosini-Grimani 248, which has one in the Florentine style. Udine Arcivescovile 49, BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI, San Daniele 97, Trent Capitolare 42, and the Castiglioni-Cibrario codex (now lost) have titles in red or colored ink, while Berlin Lat. quarto 507 has its old binding.

Codices known to be written by several hands outnumber those written by one hand by a margin of over 2:1. Scribes or scholars who contributed to a manuscript with several hands include Guarino, Rinuccio Aretino, Guarnerio d'Artegna, Battista da Cingoli, Antonio Delani d'Alba and Gabriel de Alexandris de Pergamo,<sup>63</sup> Guillelmus Rustichellus a Pisis,<sup>64</sup> Daniel Furlanus,<sup>65</sup> Gabriel de Busco, Johannes Heller (ca. 1414–78),<sup>66</sup> Giovanni Bernardo Dalle Valli and Hartmann Schedel

<sup>63</sup> Padua Univ. 541. The codex dates to the years 1431–38, has a subscription by Gabriele Alessandri da Bergamo (fol. 45), either the jurist active in the middle of the sixteenth century or his Dominican son of the same name, and others by Delani (fols. 87v, 95, 119, 138), who was the principal scribe and copied texts while *podestà* at Verona. The miscellany has material from the Veneto with emphasis on texts related to Verona. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:13b–14a; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:136–37 (no. 1867); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:155–56.

<sup>64</sup> Lucca Statale 1436. Guglielmo di Iacopo Rustichelli da Pisa served as notary for the *magistrato* of Cigoli in 1419–20 and as communal chancellor of San Miniato in 1420–24. His subscriptions in this codex, *more pisano*, date to 1433–35 (fols. 147v and 193). In Lucca from 1433 to 1435, Rustichelli also copied Yale Univ. cod. Marston 250. See Hankins, “Bruni Manuscripts in North America” (n. 29 above), 78; and the Archivio storico comunale di San Miniato, Archivio preunitario, Comunità di Cigoli, Deliberazioni del Magistrato, no. 3413, and Comunità di San Miniato, Deliberazioni dei Priori e del Consiglio, nos. 2320–21, inventoried on the “AST: Recupero e diffusione degli inventari degli archivi storici comunali toscani” website, at: <http://ast.sns.it/index.php?id=2&L=0> (accessed 12 April 2020). On Lucca Statale 1436, see n. 91 below.

<sup>65</sup> Berlin Lat. folio 557. The codex was written by several Italian Humanist cursive hands, and Kristeller proposed that Daniel Furlanus Cretensis, who studied medicine at Padua in the second half of the sixteenth century, copied Benvenuto da Imola's epitaph for Dante (fol. 211). The codex has a portrait of Poggio (fol. 1v) that Antonio Luciani engraved for Recanati's 1715 edition of *Historia florentina*, was owned by Carlo Morbio (1811–81), and was obtained by the ex-Königliche Bibl. in 1889. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:482b–83a; Agostino Sottili, “I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale VII Appendice,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 18 (1975): 17–26; Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere* (n. 28 above), 1:lvii–lix; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:87–88; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:100 (no. 100).

<sup>66</sup> Munich Clm 6721. Heller owned the codex and wrote portions of it (fols. 138–258, titles for fols. 47–86 and 108–27). The codex dates to ca. 1450 and, according to Bertalot, has two other hands (A: fols 2–106, B: fols. 108–28). Later scholars suggest that Hand B may also be Heller. In his will of 1475, Heller bequeathed the codex to the cathedral library of Freising

(1440–1514),<sup>67</sup> Johannes Maria de Berneriis,<sup>68</sup> Benedetto Ovetari, Johannes Tröster,<sup>69</sup> Hans Pirckheimer, Hartmann Schedel again and perhaps his brother

(no. 521). The codex, like Munich Clm 504 of Hermann Schedel, has for its nucleus an anthology of Paduan speeches that Heller first gathered for Munich Universitätsbibl. Quarto 768. See Ludwig Bertalot, “Eine humanistische Anthologie: Die Handschrift 4° 768 der Universitätsbibliothek München,” *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. Paul Oskar Kristeller (Rome, 1975), 1:3–6 and 71–75; and 2:449–50; Sottili, *Studenti tedeschi* (n. 16 above), 6; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:120–21; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:117 (no. 1606). Heller probably began the study of canon law at Vienna and eventually earned degrees in canon and civil law at Padua in 1449. He served as vicar for the bishop of Eichstätt from 1450–75, canon of the church of St. Andreas in Freising in 1458, and cathedral canon of Freising in 1468. Most scholars give 1475 as the year of Heller’s death. In editing Bertalot’s notes, Kristeller recorded a 1478 date on Heller’s epitaph: “M. CCCC. LXXVIII M (ar)t(ii).” On Heller’s career, see Annalisa Belloni, “Johannes Heller e i suoi libri di testo: Uno studente tedesco a Padova nel Quattrocento tra insegnamento giuridico ufficiale e *natio Theutonica*,” *Quaderni per la storia dell’Università di Padova* 20 (1987): 51–99.

<sup>67</sup> Munich Clm 78. Dalle Valli wrote the bulk of this vast miscellany from 1451 to 1452 (fols. 19v, 122v, and 161), while Schedel and other German hands continued to add texts and a table of contents until 1481 (fols. 32, 254, and 259v). The codex has the coat of arms of Hartmann Schedel (fol. 242), and it later passed to Hans Jakob Fugger (1516–75) and Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1528–79), who incorporated the Fugger Library into his Court Library in 1571. See Bertalot, “Eine humanistische Anthologie” (n. 66 above), 1:5, 10, 13, 17, 42, 47–48, 53, and 77–82; Eva Matthews Sanford, “Some Literary Interests of Fifteenth Century German Students,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 59 (1928): 95–96; Paul Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, Schwäbische Forschungsgemeinschaft bei der Kommission für Bayerische Landesgeschichte, Reihe 4, Band 3, 5: Studien zur Fuggergeschichte 12, 15 (Tübingen, 1959–60), 1:54–61; Agostino Sottili, “I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 345–60; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:224–25; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:109–10; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:114 (no. 1575). On the humanist career of Hartmann Schedel, see Béatrice Hernad and Franz Josef Worstbrock, “Schedel, Hartmann,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (n. 16 above), 8:609–21; and Reinhard Stauber, “Hartmann Schedel, der Nürnberger Humanistenkreis, und die ‘Erweiterung der deutschen Nation,’” in *Diffusion des Humanismus: Studien zur nationalen Geschichtsschreibung europäischer Humanisten*, ed. Johannes Helmroth, Ulrich Muhlack, and Gerrit Walther (Göttingen, 2002), 159–85.

<sup>68</sup> Palat. lat. 1592. Johannes Maria de Berneriis finished copying the codex for his own use on 15 Nov. 1453 (fol. 140), most likely at the University of Pavia. From family pride, Johannes included the oration that Gerardo de Berneriis di Alessandria gave at the cathedral of Pavia in 1427 (fols. 132v–34). There is a letter dated 1449 on fol. 140v that was written by a second hand. On the Vatican codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:397b–98a; Besomi and Regoliosi, *Laurentii Valle Epistole* (n. 27 above), 70–71; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:194 (no. 2642); Wolfgang Metzger with Veit Probst, *Die humanistischen, Triviums-, und Reformationshandschriften der Codices Palatini latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek (Cod. Pal. lat. 1461–1914)*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg 4 (Wiesbaden, 2002), 21–30; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:292–93; and the further comments below on the relationship of the Vatican codex to the Codex Bollea.

<sup>69</sup> St. Pölten 63. The codex was written by several German Gothic hands, including that of Tröster, who added a subscription at Wiener Neustadt, 3 September 1454 (fol. 244). The

Hermann (1410–85),<sup>70</sup> Ambrosius Alantsee,<sup>71</sup> and Luca Fabiani. Fabiani was a copyist and secretary for Marsilio Ficino, who owned and annotated a composite codex now in Rome. Ficino showed greater interest in the manuscript's philosophical and esoteric texts than its rhetorical ones.<sup>72</sup>

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pastedown on the rear cover has a note in a fifteenth-century hand that reads “Reverendo in Christo patri et domino, domino Udalrico.” Given that Tröster, a cathedral canon in Regensburg, donated some of his books for the use of the pastor and community of the Parish Church of St. Ulrich next to the Cathedral, this codex may be part of that donation. See n. 103 and n. 143 below. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:49a–b; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:9–10; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:169 (no. 2302).

<sup>70</sup> Munich Clm 522. The codex dates to ca. 1467–68 and has Hartmann Schedel's hand (fols. 2–209, 230v–33v, 256–71) and coat of arms (fols. 10 and 79). Agostino Sottili, “I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 12 (1969): 461–67, suggests that Hartmann's brother Hermann may also have contributed to the writing (perhaps fols. 210–30 and 235–56). See also Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:114–15; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:116 (no. 1592). On the career of Hermann Schedel, see Bernhard Schnell, “Schedel, Hermann,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (n. 16 above), 8:621–25.

<sup>71</sup> Augsburg II.lat.1.quarto.33. Ambrosius Allantsee (d. 1505) copied the codex, added a summary table of contents on the front pastedown, and placed an owner's note on fol. 1. Allantsee became interested in humanism as a student in Basel, entered the Cluniac monastery of St. Alban, and later joined the Carthusians. The codex subsequently passed to the Benedictine (Cluniac) monastery of St. Mang in Füssen (fol. 1) and the princes Oettingen-Wallerstein at Schloss Harburg. Allantsee owned other codices now in Augsburg: II.lat.1.folio.8, II.lat.1.folio.93, II.lat.1.folio.94, II.lat.1.folio.103, II.lat.1.folio.128, II.lat.1.quarto.33. On Allantsee and the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:571a; Agostino Sottili, “I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 11 (1968): 368–75; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:86; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:4 (no. 24); Christoph Roth, *Literatur und Klosterreform: Die Bibliothek der Benediktiner von St. Mang zu Füssen im 15. Jahrhundert*, *Studia Augustana* 10 (Tübingen, 1999), 81–85; and Paolo Rosso, “Tradizione testuale ed aree di diffusione della *Cauteraria* di Antonio Barzizza,” *Humanistica Lovanien-sia* 53 (2004): 23–26.

<sup>72</sup> Rome Vallicelliana F.20. The composite codex has four parts bound together and numbered continuously. A single Humanist cursive hand copied the miscellany with the Giustiniani oration (fols. 173–252). Ficino's secretary, Luca Fabiani, copied the translations from Porphyry and Michael Psellos and further material on demons (fols. 144–72v). Ficino then made his own corrections. On the codex and the patterns of Ficino's *postille*, see Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florence, 1937), xlvi; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:132b–33a; Lucia Gualdo Rosa, “Una prolusione inedita di Francesco Filelfo del 1429, rielaborata dal figlio Gian Mario nel 1467,” in *Francesco Filelfo nel quinto centenario della morte (Atti del XVII Convegno di Studi Maceratesi, Tolentino, 27–30 settembre 1981)*, ed. Rino Avesani, Giuseppe Billanovich, Mirella Ferrari, and Giovanni Pozzi, *Medioevo e umanesimo* 58 (Padua, 1986), 302; Sebastiano Gentile, “Note sullo ‘scrittoio’ di Marsilio Ficino,” in *Supplementum Festivum: Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. James Hankins, John Monfasani, and Frederick Purnell, Jr., *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 49 (Binghamton, NY, 1987), 380–81 (who identified the hand of Luca Fabiani); and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:165 (no. 2245).

Scribes who copied an entire codex include Agostino Santucci and Venceslaus de Alamania Alta for manuscripts that also have Poggio's oration. Scholars have identified the hands of Petrus Lunensis,<sup>73</sup> Girolamo da Pistoia,<sup>74</sup> Paulus Verceligena,<sup>75</sup> Johannes Divitis,<sup>76</sup> Bartholomaeus Fabius Mutinensis in 1463,<sup>77</sup> Tommaso Baldinotti,<sup>78</sup> and Johannes Antonius Urbinas. The primary scribe of

<sup>73</sup> Viterbo Capitolare 13. Pietro di Giovanni de' Putomorsi (ca. 1390–before 22 Sept. 1459), who used the literary name Lunense/de Lunesana, copied texts into the manuscript from 1434 to 1441. In the sixteenth century, a second hand added marginalia. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:305b; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:216 (no. 3010). Born at Fivizzano in the diocese of Luni around 1390, Pietro attended the Council of Constance and spent most of his life in service to the Papal State. As communal secretary (*cancellarius*) of Norcia, Putomorsi wrote to Bruni in 1434 (text in Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:394–95). He also served as chancellor of Viterbo and as papal secretary, and he made notes in Goodhart Gordan cod. 57, a codex copied for him by the Florentine scribe Giovanni di Piero da Stia (ca. 1406–74). For Pietro Putomorsi, see Hankins, “Bruni Manuscripts in North America” (n. 29 above), 59–61, 80; and Lucia Gualdo Rosa, “Pietro Putomorsi da Fivizzano, detto Pietro Lunense: Un corrispondente di Leonardo Bruni a Viterbo (*tav. XXI–XXIV*),” in *Filologia umanistica per Gianvito Resta* (n. 3 above), 2:1057–82. Using autograph archival documents, Gualdo Rosa confirmed Kristeller's suspicion that Pietro wrote the bulk of the Viterbo codex and then made notes in it.

<sup>74</sup> BNCf Rossi-Cassigoli 372. A loose folio pasted into the codex (now fol. 98) has the subscription: “Scriptum per me Ieronimum Pistoriensem. Anno Domini M.CCCC.XLVI die XVI Augusti.” The leaf likely was separated from the end of the second fascicle with Valla's poems (fols. 26–43). The codex also has sonnets by Marco da Pistoia, one in praise of Valla, and Marco may have handed on Valla's poems to his fellow Pistoian Girolamo. Girolamo continued to enter texts into the codex until 1462, and his *antiqua* became more rounded over time. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:165b–66a, 5:594a–b; Francesco Lo Monaco, “Per un'edizione dei *Carmina* di Lorenzo Valla,” *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 29 (1986): 144–45, 158–61; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:66 (no. 910).

<sup>75</sup> Elbląg Miejska Q.78, now lost. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:397b.

<sup>76</sup> Brussels BR II.1443. The subscription of Johannes Divitis (d. ca. 1470), a Carthusian from Ghent, is found on fol. 166: “per me Johannem Divitis.” The codex dates to the middle of the fifteenth century, and it was later owned by the Jesuit College in Louvain and Thomas Phillipps (no. 8901). See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:122b–23a; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:24–25; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:21 (no. 246). Johannes Divitis (Jean de Rycke) left a number of spiritual writings unpublished at his death. See Pierre François Sweerts, *Athenae Belgicae, sive Nomenclator Infer. Germaniae scriptorum, qui disciplinas philologicas, philosophicas, theologicas, iuridicas, medicas, et musicas illustrarunt* (Antwerp, 1628), 419.

<sup>77</sup> Venice Archivio di Stato Miscell. Codd., Ser. I, cod. Storia ven. 159 (formerly Misc. cod. 825). Fabius finished copying the oration of Giustiniani on 11 June 1463. He also copied Venice Marc. lat. II.83 (2200) in 1450 and BAV Ottob. lat. 1746. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:208a and 6:250a; Virginia Brown, *The Textual Tradition of Caesar's Civil War* (Leiden, 1972), 60; and Paul Jonathan Fedwick, (*Basilus Caesariensis*) *The Homiliae Morales, Hexaemeron, De Litteris, with Additional Coverage of the Letters, Part 1, Manuscripts*, Corpus Christianorum: Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis 2 (Turnhout, 1996), 216.

<sup>78</sup> Rome Corsiniana Corsin. 583. The codex has a *terminus post quem* of 1474. See Armando Petrucci, “Alcuni codici corsiniani di mano di Tommaso e Antonio Baldinotti,” *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche, e*



Casanatense 868, writing in Semigothic script, seemed a true fan of the oratory of Guarino, copying the Giustiniani oration with fifteen or more of Guarino and attributing to Guarino Giustiniani's funeral oration for Giorgio Loredan. A scribe named Ludovico copied into fascicles of a composite Vatican codex a miscellany that includes a wedding oration by Filippo Podocataro. The helpful Ludovico advised readers he did the copying and Filippo the composing. The Podocataro brothers were born in Cyprus, studied at Guarino's school in Ferrara, and earned degrees at the University of Padua. Filippo conducted important embassies for Crete, while Ludovico became physician to the pope and a cardinal in Rome.<sup>79</sup> A few scribes only supply their initials: "A. L." around 1446,<sup>80</sup> "Tho. G. S." working from 1461 to 1471 in Pisa,<sup>81</sup> "Io. Ny." in

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*filologiche*, ser. 8, 11 (1956): 252–63; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:110a–b; Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere* (n. 28 above), 1:lxix; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:162 (no. 2209).

<sup>79</sup> BAV Regin. lat. 1612. At the end of a wedding speech of Filippo Podocataro, the codex has a note (fol. 48): "philippus scripsit, Ludovicus transscripsit." The composite codex has fascicles from the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries written by at least eleven different hands. Fascicles III–IV (fols. 24–52) were written by Ludovicus. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:409b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:195 (no. 2666); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:297–98. Salamanca Univ. 64 also has Giustiniani's eulogy and Filippo Podocataro's "Oratio ad praetorem," fols. 142–44 (fragm.). That codex belonged to individuals at the University of Salamanca in the fifteenth century (Juan Ruiz de Camargo and Alfonso de Ortiz). On Filippo (d. after 1495) and Ludovico Podocataro (1430–1504), together at Padua from ca. 1452–58, see Gianvito Resta, *Giorgio Valagussa, umanista del Quattrocento*, *Miscellanea erudita* 13 (Padua, 1964), 150–51; Bianca Betto, "Nuove ricerche su studenti ciprioti all'Università di Padova," *Thesaurismata* 23 (1993): 56, 58–59, 74–75, 80; Wipertus H. Rudt de Collenberg, "Les premiers Podocataro: recherches basées sur le testament de Hugues (1452)," *Thesaurismata* 23 (1993): 155, 165, 169–72; Elda Martellozzo Forin, "Conti palatini e lauree conferite per privilegio: L'esempio padovano del secolo XV," *Annali di storia delle università italiane* 3 (1999): 91; and Anthony F. D'Elia, "Marriage, Sexual Pleasure, and Learned Brides in the Wedding Orations of Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 55 (2002): 389–90.

<sup>80</sup> Ferrara Ariostea II.110. The codex was written by two Humanist cursive hands. The first copied fols. 1–7v and 141–44 and placed his initials on fol. 144: "A. L." The second copied fols. 8–140 and dated texts "144VI, XXVI Aprilis" and "144VI quarto nonas Maii" (fols. 127v and 132v). The codex may have once belonged to Battista Panetti, O. Carm. A note on the second flyleaf reads "Ioseph de Carolis sibi et civibus." A Giuseppe De Carolis (1652–1742) served as bishop of Aquino and Pontecorvo and titular archbishop of Tyana. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:57a–b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:35 (no. 417); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:33–34.

<sup>81</sup> Pisa Santa Caterina (Seminario Arcivescovile) 37, fol. 69. The bulk of the folios with the Giustiniani oration (fols. 63–68v) are now missing and only the concluding words survive. The scribe Tho. G. S. copied most of the codex (fols. 1–188v) from March to September of 1461 and completed the Giustiniani oration on 18 April. In 1471, he made additions that he placed at the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 1b–10b) and then added a table of contents. See Giuliana Crevatin, "La politica e la retorica: Poggio e la controversia su Cesare e Scipione. Con una nuova edizione della lettera a Scipione Mainenti," in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980* (n. 2 above), 301; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:155 (no. 2117); Gualdo Rosa

1471,<sup>82</sup> the professional scribe “S. M.” working in Florence at the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>83</sup> the professional scribe “M. C.,”<sup>84</sup> and the mysterious “Iop R.” who continued to copy texts well after the death of the less mysterious Giobbe Resta.<sup>85</sup>

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et al., *Censimento*, 2:173–74; and the online entry of Gabriella Pomaro, based upon the catalog entry of Elisabetta Caldelli, at “Manus online: Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane,” available at: [http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac\\_SchedaScheda.php?ID=0000190366](http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=0000190366) (accessed 21 March 2020).

<sup>82</sup> Vienna Lat. 3315. The scribe is likely Johannes Nydenna de Confluentia (Koblenz) who was active in northern Italy ca. 1460–84. Nydenna may also have copied Berlin Kupferstichkabinett 78.D.13, Yale Marston 114, Copenhagen Gl.kgl.S. 2030 quarto, BL Add. 17523, Ambrosiana A 90 sup., J 91 sup., Vat. lat. 5160, Venice Marc. lat. X.60 (3174), Marc. lat. X.62 (3175), Vicenza Bertoliana 47, and Padua Capitolare C.76, D.11. On Johannes Nydenna, see J. J. G. Alexander and Albinia C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London, 1969), 122–23.

<sup>83</sup> BL Add. 15974. The subscriptions “S. M. Florentiae absolvit” are found on fols. 44 and 63; the same scribe may have copied Munich Clm 114. Though working in Florence late in the fifteenth century, the scribe appears to come from the Veneto. The codex was once owned by Rev. Henry Joseph Thomas Drury (1778–1841), a classical scholar and collector of manuscripts in Harrow (fol. IVv: “Hen. Drury Harroviae compactore C. Lewis”). James Orchard Halliwell (1820–89) obtained the codex from Drury or his heirs (fol. 74v) and then sold it to the bookseller Thomas Rodd, Jr. (1796–1849, fol. 74v). The codex entered the British Museum on 29 June 1846. Halliwell sold other codices that were later discovered, upon their entry into the British Museum in 1843–44, to have been pilfered from Trinity College Cambridge, but Halliwell claimed that he had bought them from a bookseller in London named John Denley. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:73b; De Ricci, *English Collectors* (n. 41 above), 98, 144–48; and Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:204–206.

<sup>84</sup> Udine Arcivescovile 49. The codex is composite: its first part is a humanist miscellany on parchment and paper from the fifteenth century and its second part is a collection of mostly Ciceronian texts on parchment from the twelfth century. The scribe of the first part, “M. C.,” wrote in *antiqua* and placed his initials on fol. 49. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:201a, 6:237a; Scalon, *La biblioteca arcivescovile* (n. 35 above), 118–20; Hankins, *Reperitorium*, 1:182 (no. 2476); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:230–31. The hand differs from that of the professional scribe Milone da Carrara (1393–after 1447), who wrote a clear Semi-gothic script. For Milone’s autograph, see Albinia de la Mare and Richard Hunt, “An Italian Scribe in England: Milo de Carrara,” in *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century: Catalogue of an Exhibition Held in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford, 1970), plate XI. For M. C.’s autograph, see Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:Tav. LXX. On the career of Milone da Carrara, who copied manuscripts in Italy in 1437, in Cologne in 1444, in Bruges in 1445, and in London for the Greek physician Thomas Franc in 1447 (Ricci. 952), see Bertalot, “Iacobi Zeni *Descriptio Coniurationis Patavine*” (n. 16 above), 2:128–29; Kristeller, *Iter*, 6:258b; and De la Mare and Hunt, “Italian Scribe,” 13–14.

<sup>85</sup> Parma Pal. 262. In addition to the principal scribe, Iop R., the codex has several other hands. On chronological grounds, Lucia Gualdo Rosa challenged Bertalot’s suggestion that the scribe was Giobbe Resta. Giobbe Resta, secretary to Alexander V, was dead in 1419, as his brother Giona indicated in a letter to Bruni, yet the scribe Iop R. wrote subscriptions in 1449 in Marc. lat. XIV.31 (4701), fol. 20v, and in 1451 in Vat. lat. 3194, fol. 37. Bertalot himself left notes indicating that a Iob Resta, who corresponded with Barzizza, died in

A university student at Pavia, who called himself Brangotus, parodied the formality of notarial subscriptions when he added his own satiric version to a Marciana codex during the celebration of Carnival in 1435. The subscription accompanies a ribald comedy lampooning elaborate university graduation and poet laureate rituals, *Master Chef Zaninus*, that Ugolino Pisani wrote and staged for the pre-Lenten festivities. Pisani may also be the author of the subscription since he more than once expressed his contempt for the arrogance of the faculty at Pavia.<sup>86</sup>

At least forty-seven codices were written in Italy, while seven are known to have been written in other places. At least fourteen foreigners copied a manuscript while in Italy, generally for university or rhetorical studies. Trier 1879/74 has German handwriting on Italian paper. Today, there are fifty-five manuscripts with the oration in Italian libraries, fourteen in the Vatican Library, and forty-six in non-Italian libraries. Among Italian cities, Venice has twelve manuscript copies, Florence has seven, and Milan has six. Among non-Italian libraries,

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1431, while Iop R. finished copying a Weimar codex in 1456 (cod. O.142). See Ludwig Bertalot, "Uno zibaldone umanistico latino del Quattrocento a Parma," in *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus* (Rome, 1975), 2:241–42; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:35a–b; Gualdo Rosa, "Una prolusione inedita di Francesco Filelfo" (n. 72 above), 301; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:251–52; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:152 (no. 2070); and Clémence Revest, "Les 'sympathisants' de l'humanisme: le cas des frères Giobbe, Lazarino, et Giona Resta," in *Érudition et culture savante: de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne*, ed. François Brizay and Véronique Sarrazin (Rennes, 2015), 203–15.

<sup>86</sup> Marc. lat. XIV.219 (4631), fol. 29v: "Datum Papie, 1435 2° nonas martias in Ruvalacha. Ego Brangotus scriba prelibati protho.(?) principis Ravacii Ruvalachani predicti(s?) omnibus et singulis interfui et omnia in putridum hoc breviarium sive strangulamentum redegere manuque propria me subscripsi, signumque meum apposui desuetum." Zorzanello quotes the entire subscription addressed to Prince Ravacius Ruvalachanus, while the team publishing Bruni's letters gave an abbreviated version and called attention to its irreverent character. The codex continued to be used into the third quarter of the fifteenth century and has state letters that Antonius Illicinus (Antonio Ilicino / Antonio da Montalcino) wrote as secretary to Duke Federigo da Montefeltro. It came to the Marciana from Iacopo Morelli (no. 225). See Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 3:310–14; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:267a–b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:213 (no. 2952); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:255–56. On Pisani and his comedy, see Remigio Sabbadini, *Classici e umanistici da codici Ambrosiani*, Fontes Ambrosiani 2 (Florence, 1933), 113–19; Jon Pearson Perry, "A Fifteenth-Century Dialogue on Literary Taste: Angelo Decembrio's Account of Playwright Ugolino Pisani at the Court of Leonello d'Este," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986): 618–21; and Marco Petoletti, "Ugolino Pisani lettore di Aristotele e la sua polemica 'nascosta' contro Leonardo Bruni traduttore dell'*Ethica Nicomachea*," in *Margarita amicorum: Studi di cultura europea per Agostino Sottili*, ed. Fabio Forner, Carla Maria Monti, and Paul Gerhard Schmidt, *Bibliotheca erudita: Studi e documenti di storia e filologia* 26 (Milan, 2005), 2:879–81 and 887 n. 35. Pisani quoted Terence to underline his contempt for members of the faculty of law at Pavia: "... et doctores illi, enervati 'coruptelleque liberorum communes,' ut Demea ad Mitionem Terencianum inquit (*Adel.* 793), patiuntur; sicque depravatam est omnino adulteratumque studium illud ob hec et multa alia deteriora."

eighteen are located in Germany, nine in Great Britain, and six in Austria. The majority of those known to have owned a codex with Giustiniani's speech between the years 1418 and 1650 were Italian. And the known owners who were students of rhetoric outnumber the collectors of manuscript books. Physical evidence of luxury production includes the seven parchment codices, the six codices with a coat of arms, and the codices written by a professional scribe, which number between eleven and fifteen.

Given that Giustiniani's speech emphasized ideals of Venetian patriotism and presented Zeno as a humane military leader, several civil servants owned a copy. The papal secretaries Rinuccio Aretino and Girolamo da Pistoia helped to copy their manuscripts, and Rinuccio tapped his secretarial pool to assist him.<sup>87</sup> Benedetto Ovetari da Vicenza had his codex with him when he served as secretary to the king of Cyprus.<sup>88</sup> Chancellors like Petrus Lunensis and Giacomo Corradetti, following the model set by Coluccio Salutati, made humanist

<sup>87</sup> BNCf Naz. II.VIII.129. The humanist Rinuccio Aretino worked as a papal secretary and may have added texts to the miscellany for a period of thirty years, beginning in the late 1420s. The codex was written by eight hands, including Rinuccio himself and three scribes that he was known to have employed. The codex has several notes that read "Canonico Antonio Bardi. 1745," and in 1850 Grand Duke Leopoldo II obtained the codex when the heirs of Pier Francesco Rinuccini (d. 1848) sold it. See Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:186–88; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:63 (no. 858); James Hankins, "A Zibaldone of Rinuccio Aretino," *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 1, *Humanism*, Raccolta di studi e testi 215 (Rome, 2003), 99–114; and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:85–87.

<sup>88</sup> Marc. lat. XI.100 (3938) belonged to Benedictus de Ovetariis Vincentinus. Ovetari used the codex as his personal *zibaldone*, adding notes on portents that he had observed (fols. 268–69). According to his notes, Ovetari served as secretary to the king of Cyprus in 1454 and was still alive in 1459. The codex was later owned by Cardinal Imperiali, by Apostolo Zeno (no. 125) who left his books to the Observant Dominican Convent "alle Zattere," and by Senator Lucchesini (Cesare? Giacomo?). On the codex, see Angiolgabriello di Santa Maria, O. Carm., *Biblioteca e storia di quei scrittori così della città come del territorio di Vicenza*, vol. 2.1, *Dall'anno MCCCCX. di Cristo al MCCCCLXX*. (Vicenza, 1772), 85–102; Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:563–79; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:255a–b, 6:259b; Harth, *Poggio Bracciolini Lettere* (n. 28 above), 1:lxiv; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:211 (no. 2930); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:242–43. Ovetari also owned BAV Urb. gr. 122 and Modena Est. gr. 82. See Thomas William Allen, *Notes on Greek Manuscripts in Italian Libraries* (London, 1890), 10. Documents from his period of service in Cyprus are published in Louis de Mas Latrie, "Documents nouveaux servant de preuves à l'histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan," in *Mélanges historiques: Choix de documents* (Paris, 1882), 4:379–84 (from the Archivio di Stato, Venice), 391–92 (from Paris Lat. 11886); Adrien Pascal, *Histoire de la maison royale de Lusignan* (Paris, 1896), 96–97; and Rudt de Collenberg, "Les premiers Podocataro" (n. 79 above), 142, 151. A related Ovetari family intermarried with the Capodilista family of Padua and had Mantegna fresco the burial chapel of Antonio degli Ovetari in the church of the Eremitani. See Ronald W. Lightbown, *Mantegna: With a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings, and Prints* (Berkeley, 1986), 30–33.

studies a tool for effective diplomacy.<sup>89</sup> Together with his circle of friends, Giovanni Melzi had a codex with the speech while he was active in politics in Sforza Milan. Congenial and collective ownership also characterize a codex of Archangelus and his friends (aficionados of Greek) now in the Vatican. The practice of shared ownership typified the *scriptorium* of Bartolomeo Fonzio and goes back at least to Leonardo Giustiniani himself. All were inspired by the Greek adage that Erasmus awarded first position in his collection: “all possessions are common to friends.”<sup>90</sup> While *podestà* at Verona from 1431–38, Antonio Delani

<sup>89</sup> BAV Ottob. lat. 1184 belonged to Iacobus Benedictus de Corradictis (de Piro). The *ex libris* on fol. 1 and a note on fol. 39v indicate that Giacomo Corradetti d’Apiro served as chancellor of Osimo in 1467. Giacomo added a table of contents to this manuscript (fol. 1r–v), copied portions of a codex at Osimo between 1454 and 1464 (formerly Recanati cod. 72), and also owned Ottob. lat. 1206 (copied by Nicolaus Mercurii in 1470), Ottob. lat. 1395, Ottob. lat. 1909, and Bologna Univ. 1419. Ottob. lat. 1184 was later owned by Cardinal Marcello Cervini (d. 1556), deposited with his assistant, Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85), probably owned by Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, then by Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps (d. 1620), and eventually acquired by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (Pope Alexander VIII, d. 1691). See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:416b, 428a–b, 434a, 559a, and 6:378a; Elisabeth Pellegrin and Jeannine Fohlen, Colette Jeudy, Yves-François Riou, with Adriana Maruchi, *Les manuscrits classiques Latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, Documents, Études, et Répertoires publiés par l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes 21 (Paris, 1975), 1:466–68; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:189 (no. 2572), 190 (no. 2573).

<sup>90</sup> Ambrosiana Sussidio H 52 (“Iste liber est mei Johannis Meltii et amicorum”). For Fonzio’s formula, “Bartholomaei Fontii et amicorum,” see Stefano Caroti and Stefano Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio umanista fiorentino*, Documenti sulle arti del libro 10 (Milan, 1974), 30. Caroti and Zamponi note that Poliziano and Francesco Pandolfini, Fonzio’s heir, used a similar formula. On Giustiniani’s version in Latin and Greek, see G. D. Hobson, “‘Et amicorum,’” *The Library*, 5th ser., 4 (1949): 93–94. For Erasmus, see Kathy Eden, *Friends Hold All Things in Common: Tradition, Intellectual Property, and the “Adages” of Erasmus* (New Haven, 2001). BAV Vat. lat. 2936 has a bilingual possessor’s note on fol. 1, indicating that the book belonged to Archangelus and his friends (“Hic liber est Archangelii καὶ τῶν φίλων”). Poggio cited the maxim in his oration for Zabarella. The Vatican codex was written by two hands in the first half of the fifteenth century. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:357b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:202 (no. 2783); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:315–16. It has form letters and orations of Antonius de Pizzinis Padovenis and a speech of Antonio Carabello (d. after 1436), who taught rhetoric at the University of Padua from 1434–36. On Carabello, see Arnaldo Segarizzi, “Antonio Carabello umanista bergamasco del secolo XV,” *Archivio storico lombardo* 30, fasc. 40 (1903): 470–74; and Frank Rutger Hausmann, “Carabello, Antonio,” *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 19:300–301. Other codices with Carabello’s writings include Ferrara Ariostea II.110, Munich Clm 459, Marc. lat. XII.139 (4452), Marc. lat. XIV.230 (4736), Marc. lat. XIV.256 (4634), and Vienna Lat. 3160. Ambrosiana Sussidio H 52 is a composite codex dating from the mid-fifteenth century, has at least two hands, later entered the library of Count Donato Silva (1690–1779), and was purchased by the Ambrosiana from the bookseller Vergani. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:347b–48a and 2:536b; Simona Brambilla, “Il codice Ambr. H 52 sussidio e l’*Orthographia* di Matteo Ronto,” in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell’Ambrosiana (Atti del Convegno, Milano, 6–7 ottobre 2005)*, ed. Mirella Ferrari and Marco Navoni, Bibliotheca

could consult his humanist miscellany, which likely served an analogous purpose to handbooks for the *podestà* from the fourteenth century. Between 1433 and 1435, Guillelmus Rustichellus a Pisis helped copy a codex while working in Lucca. Using the services of a notary from Pisa, Piero di Ser Gerardo del Pitta, an unnamed owner sold the codex in 1466 to another Pisan notary, Piero Roncioni.<sup>91</sup> The fairly rapid sale, with guarantees that the seller's name remain anonymous, may indicate that a codex brought needed revenue to an embarrassed owner strapped for cash or outlived its usefulness or found itself in the hands of an owner in poor health.

Members of the clergy and religious orders are well represented among owners of codices with Giustiniani's oration. By 1481, Pope Sixtus IV had acquired for the pope's library one of the luxury codices, ornamented with a gilded initial in a white vine-stem border (fol. 1).<sup>92</sup> A luxury codex in the pope's library makes sense, but it seems less decorous that the Franciscan friar Antonius Burgundus owned a parchment codex with the speech.<sup>93</sup> Antonius's fellow Franciscan,

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erudita 31 (Milan, 2007), 229–31, 234, and 245–52; and Tino Foffano, "Inediti di Guarnerio Castiglioni da codici Ambrosiani," *Aevum* 81 (2007): 686–88. Melzi was a Doctor of Law and wealthy Sforza courtier, who wrote on ethics and Christian morality and died after 1482. See, in addition to Foffano and Brambilla, Marianna D. Birnbaum, "Janus Pannonius, Bartolomeo Melzi, and the Sforzas," *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977): 4–5.

<sup>91</sup> Lucca Statale 1436. The codex has the texts that Guglielmo Rustichelli copied at Lucca (fols. 147v, 193), a letter dated 6 May 1438 (fol. 40), and an owner's note on the third flyleaf that is repeated on an end flyleaf: "Ego P. de Roncionibus emi hunc librum ab eo in cuius erat potestate ducatis duobus auri largis; dictos duos ducatos habuit S. Petrus S. Gerardi del Pitta die 26 aprilis 1466." Owners after ser Piero Roncioni included Marzio di Iacopo Micheli in the seventeenth century and Cesare Lucchesini (1756–1834), both from Lucca. See Augusto Mancini, "Index codicum Latinorum publicae bybliothecae Lucensis," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 8 (1900): 213–14; Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:260a–b and 6:20b; Marco Paoli, *I codici di Cesare e Giacomo Lucchesini: Un esempio di raffinato collezionismo tra Settecento e Ottocento* (Lucca, 1994), 18, 30, and 109–10; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:96 (no. 1308); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:115.

<sup>92</sup> BAV Vat. lat. 1541 (fragm., expl. *oculum amisit et hostes prostigavit <sic>*). The codex was written by one hand in Semigothic script, a second hand added most of the Greek citations for which space was left, further hands made marginal notes, the codex was completed in 1456 at Lucca (fol. 131), and it is listed in the 1481 inventory of Sixtus's library (BAV Vat. lat. 3952, fol. 114). Rather than a name for the month, the copyist offered his lyric description: "... Scriptus Luce, 2a mensis flores producentis 1456." See Bartholomeus Nogara, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, *Codd. 1461–2059* (Rome, 1912), 54–56; Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins* (n. 89 above), 3.1:113–14; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:199 (no. 2728); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:308–309.

<sup>93</sup> Siena H.VI.26, fol. 94v. James Hankins proposed that this is one of four manuscripts (Siena H.VI.26, Florence Naz. II.VIII.129 of Rinuccio Aretino, Berlin Lat. fol. 667, and Padua Semin. 35) with substantial portions of Bruni's letters in a pre-canonical redaction. See Hankins, "Notes on the Textual Tradition of Leonardo Bruni's *Epistulae familiares*," *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance* (n. 87 above), 1:63–76. See also notes 7 and 49 above.

Giacomo della Marca (1393–1476), procured a codex with the oration for his new library at the convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Monteprandone. In 1462, out of concern for the protection of his books, Giacomo obtained a bull from Pius II punishing by excommunication anyone who borrowed a book and did not return it.<sup>94</sup> As a popular orator, the Dominican Gioacchino Castiglioni (d. ca. 1472) kept Giustiniani's oration among his own papers as a guide to preparing the funeral orations he was frequently asked to deliver. When Castiglioni died unexpectedly, his fellow Dominicans, Paolo Folperti da Pavia and Graziadio Crotti da Cremona (d. 1517), collected his orations and letters, some on scraps of paper (*super cedula*), and copied them into two codices that were placed in the libraries of the Dominican convents of Chieri and Asti. Both manuscripts were still in those convents when Tommaso Verani published extensive excerpts from them in 1790.<sup>95</sup> The Benedictine abbey of Sts. Eucharius and Matthias owned Trier 1879/74, and the monks of Camaldoli had copies at their monastery of San Michele di Murano. The Augustinian canons are represented by individual members such as Gabriel de Busco<sup>96</sup> and Michele Orsini, who later became a

<sup>94</sup> Monteprandone M.54. On the codex, see Saturnino Loggi, *I codici della Libreria di S. Giacomo della Marca nel Museo Civico di Monteprandone: Catalogo*, Fondi storici nelle biblioteche marchigiane 9 (Monteprandone, 2000), xvii and 110–12. For Giacomo and his library, see Amedeo Crivellucci, *I codici della libreria raccolta da S. Giacomo della Marca nel convento di S. Maria delle Grazie presso Monteprandone* (Livorno, 1889); Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning," in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Thought*, ed. and trans. Edward P. Mahoney, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies 1 (Durham, NC, 1974), 123 and 140; and Loggi, *I codici*, xxvii–lii and 3–20.

<sup>95</sup> Milan (formerly Asti), Archivio di Stato, lost "Codice Cibrario" or "Codice Castiglioni." See Tommaso Verani, "Notizie del P. M. Gioacchino Castiglioni Milanese dell'Ordine de' PP. Predicatori tratte da due codici del secolo XV," *Nuovo giornale de' letterati d'Italia* 43 (1790): 74–176; Aristide Calderini, "I codici milanesi delle opere di Francesco Filelfo," *Archivio storico lombardo* 42.3 (1915): 383–84; Luciano Gargan, *Lo studio teologico e la biblioteca dei Domenicani a Padova nel Tre e Quattrocento*, Contributi alla storia dell'Università di Padova 6 (Padua, 1971), 78–80; Thomas Kaeppli, with Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* (Rome, 1970–93), 2:372–73; Kristeller, "Contribution of Religious Orders" (n. 94 above), 134; Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:276a–b and 6:28b–30b; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:104 (no. 1408). Luigi Cibrario (1802–70) obtained the Asti codex with Castiglioni's writings and gave it to the Archivio di San Fedele in Milan on 8 February 1862, whence it passed to the state archives. See Maria Fubini Leuzzi, "Cibrario, Luigi," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 25:278–84. The Dominican convent of Santa Caterina originally owned Pisa Santa Caterina 37, and the Dominican convent of SS. Giovanni e Paolo once owned Venice Marc. lat. XI.9 (4516).

<sup>96</sup> Marc. lat. XI.3 (4351). The codex was written by a single Humanist cursive hand, and the copyist left a note identifying himself on fol. 146v: "Iste liber est ad usum mei d. Gabrielis de Busco canonici regularis et per me scriptus ad utilitatem meam fratrumque meorum." In keeping with Gabriel's wishes, the codex remained in the possession of his convent of San Michele di Candiana near Padua, and, in 1600, according to a note, the canon Albertus Brixienis consulted the codex on the feast of Thomas Aquinas (fol. 149). In 1782, the Canons

bishop,<sup>97</sup> and by the monastery of St. Pölten in Austria. The Jesuits came into the possession of codices for the libraries of their colleges where humanist writings may have assisted the teaching of Latin and rhetoric.<sup>98</sup> The Carmelite Battista Panetti likely obtained his codex with Giustiniani's eulogy from Ludovico Carbone, leading humanist in Ferrara and official orator for the duke. By collecting humanist works, Panetti transformed his convent library of San Paolo in Ferrara and saved precious codices from loss.<sup>99</sup>

The diocesan clergy of the Renaissance collected Giustiniani codices as well. Guarnerio d'Artegna had Battista da Cingoli make him a better copy of the oration from one that Guarnerio had another scribe copy, and then Guarnerio

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Regular of San Salvatore were suppressed, and their books were temporarily stored at the former Jesuit residence in Venice. In June of 1784, Iacopo Morelli picked out twenty manuscripts from Candiana for the Marciana. On the codex and the library of Candiana, see Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:435–39; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:238a–b and 6:255a; Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 294–95; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:314–15; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:210 (no. 2920).

<sup>97</sup> Paris BN Ital. 353. The manuscript has texts from the fifteenth century in a Chancery hand and texts from the latter part of the sixteenth century. The possessor's note of Michael de Ursinis is found at the end. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:309a; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:140 (no. 1916). A member of the Canons Regular, Orsini obtained a law degree at Padua (1442–44), became prior of the monastery of Sant'Antonio Abate in Venice in 1449, participated in the scholarly circle of Iacopo Antonio Marcello (ca. 1398–ca. 1464), and held the bishopric of Pola in Istria (1475–97). Shortly before his death, Orsini unsuccessfully and illegally tried to cede the bishopric to his nephew. For his career, see Franz Babinger, "Notes on Cyriac of Ancona and Some of His Friends," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 321–22; King, *Venetian Humanism* (n. 3 above), 292, 415–16; and King, *The Death of the Child Valerio Marcello* (Chicago, 1994), 14, 41–44, and 222–24.

<sup>98</sup> The following codices were once owned by Jesuit institutions: Brussels BR II.1443 (College of Louvain), Milan Braidense A.G.IX.43, Einsiedeln 399 (from Jesuit College of Belinzona to the Benedictines in 1675), BAV Ross. 784 (College of Vienna-Lainz), and possibly Macerata 381 (5, 3.D.8).

<sup>99</sup> Ferrara Ariostea cod. II.135. The composite codex has a partial table of contents (fol. IVv) and an *ex libris* that notes the day of Panetti's death ("... qui die 27 martii obiit," fol. IV). The codex was written by five hands, including Panetti (fols. 68–72v) and perhaps Ludovico Carbone, who did add marginal notes in red pencil to works of Leonardo Bruni (fols. 137v–283v). The final folios of the miscellany have a letter from Sixtus IV to Doge Giovanni Mocenigo and a response by the doge's secretary, Pietro Bianco, dated 1483. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:57b–58a; Alessandra Chiappini, "Fermenti umanistici e stampa in una biblioteca ferrarese del secolo XV," *La Bibliofilia* 85 (1983): 310; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:181; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:36 (no. 420); Claudia Andreasi, "La biblioteca di frate Giovanni Battista Panetti Carmelitano," *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 14 (2000): 195–96 and 202–203; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:35–36; and the online entry of Mirna Bonazza at "Manus online: Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane," available at: [http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac\\_SchedaScheda.php?ID=0000051419](http://manus.iccu.sbn.it/opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=0000051419) (accessed 23 March 2020). There is also a letter of Lucio di Visso in the codex (fols. 7v–9); for other codices with his letters, see Scarcia Piacentini, "Un fantasma" (n. 31 above), 233–34 and 237–39.



had to go over the better version to correct it.<sup>100</sup> The Pistoian priest and poet Tommaso Baldinotti (1451–1511) participated in the circle of scholars patronized by Lorenzo de' Medici until Baldinotti's father and brother became involved in a plot to murder Lorenzo in 1485. He wrote vernacular and Latin elegies, and autographs like Corsini 583 betray his clear Humanist cursive hand.<sup>101</sup> The German priest Johannes Heller began collecting Italian humanist texts during his studies in Padua (1443–50) and was among the first to circulate them in Germany. Heller gave to the cathedral of Freising his miscellany with the Giustini oration, Munich Clm 6721.<sup>102</sup> The German humanist Johannes Tröster (d. 1487) likely gave his codex to the Parish Church of St. Ulrich adjacent to the Cathedral of Regensburg, and the codex later passed to the monastery of St. Pölten (cod. 63). Tröster joined the humanist circle of Enea Silvio Piccolomini and later held benefices in the dioceses of Mattsee and Regensburg. In his travels to Italy, he collected manuscripts for his own library, some of which he gave away in 1481 to Johannes Pirckheimer.<sup>103</sup>

Bishops functioned as potential channels of humanist currents to areas of northern Europe. The English bishop Thomas Bekynton (1390?–1465) may have used his spare time at the Council of Basel to update his library. A Cotton manuscript may reflect Bekynton's efforts to collect and follow classical models

<sup>100</sup> Casarsa, D'Angelo, and Scalon, *La Libreria di Guarnerio* (n. 15 above), 319–21 (Cin-goli's copy) and 393–96 (autograph of Guarnerio and two other scribes).

<sup>101</sup> Armando Petrucci, "Baldinotti, Tommaso," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 5:493–95.

<sup>102</sup> On Heller and the Munich codex, see note 66 above. Annalisa Belloni, "Diffusione delle opere di Baldo a Padova a metà Quattrocento," *Ius Commune: Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Europäische Rechtsgeschichte, Frankfurt am Main* 27 (2000): 377–91, discussed thirty-five law manuscripts that once belonged to Heller, of which thirty-four went from the Freising Cathedral Library to the Munich Staatsbibliothek and one to Berlin. For Heller's role in transmitting texts of Leonardo Bruni to Germany, see Frank Rutger Hausmann, "Manoscritti di Leonardo Bruni nella Repubblica Democratica Tedesca e nella Repubblica Federale Tedesca meridionale," in *Per il censimento dei codici* (n. 29 above), 93.

<sup>103</sup> With the encouragement of Johannes Roth, Tröster wrote a *Dialogus de remedio amoris*, which he originally dedicated to the imperial secretary, Wolfgang Forchtenauer. A first redaction of the *Dialogus* (1454) is preserved in St. Pölten 63, Palat. lat. 1794 (Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:395b), and Stuttgart Poet. et Philol. folio 25; a second redaction (1456) is preserved in Kremsmünster 10, Munich Clm 519, Nuremberg Cent. V.App.15, and Uppsala C.918. See Rosso, "Tradizione testuale ed aree di diffusione" (n. 71 above), 18–20, 37. Tröster specified that the books he gave to the Church of St. Ulrich were for the use of the pastor. See Paul Lehmann, "Dr. Johannes Tröster ein humanistisch gesinnter Wohltäter bayerischer Büchersammlungen," in idem, *Erforschung des Mittelalters: Ausgewählte Abhandlungen und Aufsätze* (Stuttgart, 1961), 336–45; Georg Braungart, "De Remedio Amoris: Ein Motiv und seine Traditionen von der Antike bis Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Johannes Tröster," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 62–63 (1980–81): 23–27; and Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Tröster, Johannes," in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters* (n. 16 above), 9:1078–83.

for the writing of public letters. It has materials related to public correspondence (fols. 5–135), a humanist miscellany copied largely from Harley 2268 and including Giustiniani's oration (fols. 135v–96), and an old table of contents (fols. 1–4). Aggressively advancing his career, Bekynton (Beckington) served as chancellor to Duke Humfrey, secretary to King Henry VI, and bishop of Bath and Wells (1443–65). He also sought to improve educational standards among the clergy by endowing colleges for their instruction.<sup>104</sup> From his castle of Chiemsee in Salzburg, Bishop Bernhard von Kraiburg (1412–77) helped to make Germany the richest repository of humanist texts outside Italy, including a miscellany with Giustiniani's oration now in Munich (Clm 5335).<sup>105</sup> Kort Rogge (Conradus Roggo, ca. 1420–1501) was born in Stockholm and studied at the University of Perugia (1455–60) where he obtained a manuscript with humanist texts such as Giustiniani's eulogy. He later served as bishop of Strängnäs (1479–1501), and he left his codices to his cathedral library. It seems fitting that the book, which traveled from Perugia to Sweden, at some point in its history suffered water damage.<sup>106</sup> Fabrizio Marliani

<sup>104</sup> BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:671b–72b (written in England); Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:144–45, where the hand is characterized as Gothic of English origin; Martin Davies, “L'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni: Per un catalogo dei codici britannici,” in *Per il censimento dei codici* (n. 29 above), 3, who says that the humanist anthology was copied in London from Harley 2268, which Davies thinks may be Flemish; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:90 (no. 1239), who suggests that the codex may have been copied at the Council of Basel. For Bekynton's career, see Roberto Weiss, *Humanism in England During the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941), 71–75 (cf. the 4th edition, ed. David Rundle and Anthony John Lappin, chapters 4 and 5, 110–17, published by The Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature online 2009, available at: [aevum.space/system/files/weiss\\_instalment\\_iii.pdf](http://aevum.space/system/files/weiss_instalment_iii.pdf) [accessed 21 March 2020]); Joel Thomas Rosenthal, “The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s., 60.5 (1970): 11, 13, 15–17, 23–27, 30–33, 36–40, 43–44, 46–48, and 50–51; Albinia de la Mare and Richard Hunt, “Bekynton, Chaundler, and New College,” in *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century: Catalogue of an Exhibition Held in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford, 1970), 15–23, who challenged Weiss's claim that Bekynton reformed the Latin of official English correspondence; and Alessandra Petrina, *Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England: The Case of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester* (Leiden, 2004), 200 and 348–50. On behalf of the king, Bekynton responded to a letter that Bruni wrote for the Florentine Republic in 1430. David Rundle questioned whether the Cottonian manuscript should be associated with Bekynton. See Rundle, “Of Republics and Tyrants” (n. 56 above), 412–13.

<sup>105</sup> Von Kraiburg's role as bishop from 1467–77 has been emphasized by the editors of Bruni's personal correspondence. See Hausmann, “Manoscritti di Leonardo Bruni,” 95; and Gualdo Rosa, “Introduzione,” *Censimento*, 1:xxxiii.

<sup>106</sup> Strängnäs Domkyrkobibl. 7 (F.7). The codex was written in Italy, most likely at Perugia before 1460, and it has several hands. On the codex, see Henricus Amanson, *Bibliotheca Templi Cathedralis Strenghesensis, quae maximam partem ex Germania capta est circa finem belli triginta anni* (Stockholm, 1863), 4 and 43 (orations copied by Rogge); Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:16a–b; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:175 (no. 2377). For Rogge's career, see Jan Öberg, “Vom Humanismus zum Traditionalismus: Die Einwirkung der politischen,

(1440–1508), bishop of Tortona and Piacenza and courtier to the Sforza, let Tristano Calco consult his manuscript with the speech to assist Calco's historical research.<sup>107</sup> The cardinals who collected a codex for their libraries — Domenico Capranica,<sup>108</sup> Bessarion, Domenico Grimani, Angelo Colocci, Guglielmo Sirleto, Ascanio Colonna — seem imitators of the pope and precursors of the monster collectors from the eighteenth century on. They have a secular counterpart in the businessman turned courtier Hans Jakob Fugger.

Marsilio Ficino was ordained to the priesthood at age forty and spent much of his life translating and commenting on the works of Plato, Plotinus, and the Hermetic corpus. As such, he bridges from ecclesiastical owners of the manuscripts to the humanists and students who played a role in conserving Giustiniani's speech. A humanist is credited with collecting Hamburg Philol. 325a (quarto), and the Milanese humanist Lancino Curti (ca. 1460–1512) owned a miscellany centuries before it emigrated to America with the help of Ludwig Bertalot.<sup>109</sup> Giustiniani's

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gesellschaftlichen, und kirchlichen Verhältnissen auf das Kulturleben in Schweden am Beispiel von Kort Rogge (um 1420–1501),” in *Ut Granum Sinapis: Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Honour of Jozef Ijsewijn*, ed. Gilbert Tournoy and Dirk Sacré, *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* 12 (Leuven, 1997), 24–38.

<sup>107</sup> Milan Ambrosiana C 141 inf. The codex has two independent folios bound at the start and was written by several hands. A letter of Giovanni Francesco Marliani from 1524 was added on fol. 195r–v. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:319b–20a; and the online entry prepared by Massimo Menna from data in the *Inventario Ceruti*, “Manus online: Censimento dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane,” available at: [https://manus.iccu.sbn.it//opac\\_SchedaScheda.php?ID=31300](https://manus.iccu.sbn.it//opac_SchedaScheda.php?ID=31300) (accessed 23 March 2020).

<sup>108</sup> BAV Ross. 784. The codex was copied by a single Italian hand in Semigothic script and has a possessor's note on fol. 1 (parchment): “Liber iste Ethicorum Yconomicorum et aliorum operum Aristotelis transductus per Leonardum Aretinum est mei Cardinalis Firmani Manu propria.” In 1842, Giovan Francesco De Rossi bought 224 manuscripts from the library of the Collegio Capranica in Rome. After De Rossi's death in 1854, his widow, Princess Luisa Carlotta (1802–57) of the house of Bourbon, fulfilled his wishes a year later by giving his library, under the Emperor's protection, to the Jesuits in Rome. The library was transported to Vienna in 1877 and, with the Emperor's permission in 1895, the Jesuits moved the books to their residence at Lainz. See Eduard Gollob, *Die Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegiums in Wien XIII. (Lainz) und ihre Handschriften* (Vienna, 1909), 1–9 and 26–27; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:467a; A. V. Antonovics, “The Library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica,” in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. Cecil H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), 143 (no. 179) and 148; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:196 (no. 2684); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:302–303.

<sup>109</sup> Philadelphia Univ. of Pennsylvania Lat. 7, with a note on fol. 105 that Curti owned the codex in Milan in 1484. Fol. 105v also has a note, “Pillule Magistri Antonii Cermisoni.” Antonio Cermisone earned his medical degree at Padua in 1390 and taught at the University of Pavia. In the twentieth century, the University of Pennsylvania codex was owned by Ludwig Bertalot, Dean P. Lockwood (1946), and William H. Allen (1947), who sold the codex to the library. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:372a–b; Dutschke, *Census of Petrarch Manuscripts* (n. 13 above), 247–52; Hankins, “Bruni Manuscripts in North America” (n. 29 above), 83; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:253; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:154 (no. 2112). See

oration aptly found a place among the texts in manuscripts owned by the Venetian scholars Marino Sanudo il Giovane (1466–1536) and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601). Sanudo's codex, Venice Correr Morosini-Grimaldi 248, was written in *antiqua* and has an initial in the Florentine style. Pinelli's codices, Milan Ambrosiana D 39 sup. and N 340 sup., survived possible pilfering by one of his servants, possible confiscation by the Venetian government, jettison by pirates, sale at auction pitting the Jesuits against Cardinal Federico Borromeo, and Borromeo's subsequent winnowing of his newly acquired books.<sup>110</sup>

From the beginning, students played the key role in conserving the text of the speech. Francesco Barbaro, student of Guarino in Venice, had the speech of his fellow student in one of his prized notebooks that he consulted throughout his life and bound together at life's end. Connections to the pedagogy of Guarino and Barzizza sustain the diffusion of the speech throughout the fifteenth century. At Padua in the 1420s, Agostino Santucci began collecting rhetorical exemplars that included Giustiniani's eulogy. The codex that Venceslaus de Alamania Alta put together at Padua supplied a model for at least two other codices. Likewise, the texts that Johannes Heller amassed at Padua toward mid-century have ties to several other codices, and the Paduan citizen Johannes Antonius Urbinas made a personal copy in 1489. Another scholar proud to hail from the Veneto, Iampetrus Venetus, owned a codex now in Paris.<sup>111</sup> In those

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also the "Digital Scriptorium" website, available at: [http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/Ms.Codex0829\\_27](http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/Ms.Codex0829_27) (accessed 22 March 2020). The Lombard humanist Curti claimed to have written over 60,000 works, including poetry under the patronage of Ludovico Sforza (il Moro). After Ludovico's fall Curti provocatively spurned French fashion and literary style, though he did continue to frequent learned circles and accept government posts. See Eduardo Melfi, "Curti, Lancino," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 31:487–88; and Stefano Meschini, *Uno storico umanista alla corte sforzesca: Biografia di Bernardino Corio*, Biblioteca di storia moderna e contemporanea 8 (Milan, 1995), 10–11, 137–38, and 190–203.

<sup>110</sup> Marcella Grendler, "A Greek Collection in Padua: The Library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)," *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980): 386–93.

<sup>111</sup> Paris BN Lat. 7868. The owner's note is found on fol. 238v: "Iste liber fuit ad usum mei Iampetri Veneti deputatus." See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:222b–23a; and Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:248. The codex has a rare work by the Venetian and papal military administrator, Chierighino Chiericati (d. 1477). After resigning his position as inspector-general of the papal army under Paul II, Chiericati wrote a short treatise on logistics in 1471 to win the favor of Cardinal Latino Orsini (for whom Chiericati professed little respect in his private correspondence). Chiericati's hopes of winning back his post in the new administration of Sixtus IV were not realized. On Chiericati's career, see Giangiorgio Zorzi, "Un vicentino alla corte di Paolo Secondo: Chierighino Chiericati e il suo *Trattatello della Milizia*," *Nuovo archivio veneto* 30 (1915): 369–424; Michael E. Mallett, "Chiericati, Chierighino," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 24:673–74; and Michael E. Mallett and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice, c. 1400–1617* (Cambridge, 1988), 106–13, 123–26, and 154 n. 2. When editing the short treatise, Zorzi used a manuscript then in the possession of Conte Gabriele Chiericati-Salvioni.

same years, a similar well-endowed textbook served the needs of students like Hans Pirckheimer, who learned rhetoric in Bologna from Guarino's student, Giovanni Lamola, and also studied at the University of Padua. The Paduan *scriptorium* of Lauro Palazzolo (ca. 1410–64) churned out two massive miscellanies with many of the same texts that Pirckheimer collected.<sup>112</sup> In addition to the

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<sup>112</sup> Giorgio Ronconi attributed Ambrosiana D 93 sup. to the *scriptorium* of Palazzolo and argued that it derives from texts that Palazzolo chose to put together. See Ronconi, "Il giurista Lauro Palazzolo, la sua famiglia, e l'attività oratoria, accademica, e pubblica (2 tavole genealogiche)," *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 17 (1984): 1 and 33–65. On Ambrosiana D 93 sup., see also Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:330a–b; Louis Jordan and Susan Wool, *Inventory of Western Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana from the Medieval Institute of the University of Notre Dame: The Frank M. Folson Microfilm Collection*, Publications in Medieval Studies 22.1– (Notre Dame, IN, 1984–), 2:191–202; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:210; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:105 (no. 1430); and Carlo Maria Monti, "Umanesimo visconteo e lettere di cancelleria in codici miscellanei dell'Ambrosiana," in *Nuove ricerche su codici in scrittura latina dell'Ambrosiana* (n. 93 above), 190–91. Ambrosiana D 93 sup. and C 145 inf. (a similar compendium from Palazzolo's *scriptorium*) are related to BL Arundel 70, Munich Universitätsbibl. Folio 607, Munich Universitätsbibl. Quarto 768 of Johannes Heller, Munich Clm 504 of Hermann Schedel, Palat. lat. 492, Treviso Capitolare I.177, Trier 1879/74, and Vienna Lat. 3330. Some of the common elements likely served as models for the study of rhetoric in central and northern Italy in the middle of the fifteenth century and trace their pedagogical lineage through Giovanni Lamola back to Guarino and Barzizza. Munich Folio 607 dates to the middle of the fifteenth century. The German scribe who copied the codex did not understand the texts, and a second hand made many corrections. Fittingly, a codex whose origins can be traced to university studies passed from the Universitätsbibliothek of Ingolstadt to that of Landshut and finally to that of Munich. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:648a–49a; Natalia Daniel, Gerhard Schott, and Peter Zahn, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek München*, vol. 3.2, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften aus der Folioreihe* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 107–16; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:232–33; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:132; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:119 (no. 1638). Trier 1879/74 was written in Italy by two hands, the first of which is German (fols. 1–152), it has a *terminus post quem* of 10 July 1451, it was in the possession of the Benedictine monastery of Sts. Eucharius and Matthias by the end of the fifteenth century, and it passed to the city in 1802–1803. On the Trier codex, see Bertalot, "Eine humanistische Anthologie" (n. 66 above), 1:77–82; Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:719b–20a; Agostino Sottili, "I codici del Petrarca nella Germania Occidentale," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 14 (1971): 382–84; Fubini, "Il 'teatro del mondo,'" in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380–1980* (n. 2 above), 97; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:302; and Petrus Becker, ed., *Die Benediktinerabtei St. Eucharius – St. Matthias vor Trier*, Germania Sacra, Neue Folge, 34 / Die Bistümer der Kirchenprovinz Trier / Das Erzbistum Trier 8 (Berlin, 1996), 203. On Vienna Lat. 3330, which was written in Gothic script by a German scribe and has Giustiniani's eulogy among its approximately 370 orations and letters, see *Tabulae Codicum Manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum* (Vienna, 1864–99), 2:261; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:330–31; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:221–22 (no. 3070). Gianni Zippel argued that Arundel 70, Munich Universitätsbibl. Folio 607, and Vienna Lat. 3330 are exemplars of a German anthology of Paduan origins that are independent of each other but part of a single tradition. See Gianni Zippel, "Review of Agostino Sottili, *Studenti tedeschi e*

university towns of Padua and Bologna, Perugia and Pavia also produced such miscellanies. At Pavia, the wily young Brangotus parodied the formulae of notaries, and Johannes Maria de Berneriis copied many texts also found in the Codex Bollea, split into two pieces and sold by Bertalot before the outbreak of World War II.<sup>113</sup> Foreign universities profited as well. Paulus Verceligena may have taken a miscellany to Poland, and a miscellany (Harley 2268) that has rhetorical texts related to Padua and Bologna, some of which were later copied into a Cottonian codex, ended up in the library of St. Mary's monastery at York and then in the library of the Cambridge Master Orwyll.<sup>114</sup>

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*umanesimo italiano nell'Università di Padova durante il Quattrocento,*” *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 7 (1974): 85–87 n. 15. In collating manuscripts with a text of Ciriaco d'Ancona, Liliana Monti Sabia found that the versions in Arundel 70 and Munich Folio 607 came from anthologies with the same humanist works in the same order in both, were both copied by German Gothic hands, both had 42 lines per page, and both had identical texts of Ciriaco's “Naumachia” and identical errors. Nonetheless, neither is a copy of the other, but both derive from a common exemplar. See Liliana Monti Sabia, “Altri codici della *Naumachia Regia* di Ciriaco d'Ancona,” in *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la cultura antiquaria dell'Umanesimo (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio, Ancona, 6–9 febbraio 1992)*, ed. Gianfranco Paci and Sergio Sconocchia, Accademia Marchigiana di Scienze, Lettere, ed Arti, Collana “Progetto Adriatico” 2 (Reggio Emilia, 1998), 241–46; and *Kyriaci Anconitani Naumachia Regia*, ed. Monti Sabia, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento Meridionale, Studi 11 (Pisa, 2000), 28–35.

<sup>113</sup> Palat. lat. 1592 shares with the “Codex Bollea” a high percentage of the letters it preserves (121 of 181 total in the Vatican codex). Around 1440–50, the codex Bollea was copied by Antonius de Marchixiis, a canon of Sant'Eusebio in Vercelli, and continued from 1461–84 by Thomas de Vercellis, a member of the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Lateran, whose monastery of Santa Maria di Crea (Monferrato) inherited the codex at the end of the fifteenth century. In 1899, Luigi Cesare Bollea (1877–1933) obtained the codex from an anonymous female aristocrat and described its contents before he sold it to Ludwig Bertalot in 1929. Bertalot split the codex into two pieces and sold them separately to the Stadt- und Universitätsbibl. in Frankfurt am Main in 1931 (Lat. oct. 136) and the ex-Preußische Staatsbibl. in Berlin in 1935 (Lat. oct. 431). The original codex had 353 letters and six other works. See Bollea, “Un codice umanistico vercellese,” *Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 26 (1924): 222–310; Ursula Jaitner-Hahner, “Per la fortuna del ‘Codice Bollea,’” in *Per il censimento dei codici* (n. 29 above), 99–111; and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:101–103 and 131.

<sup>114</sup> Harley 2268. The codex dates to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, has several hands (perhaps English, French, Italian, and Flemish), supplied humanist texts for Cotton Tiberius B.VI, has Bruni letters in common with Brussels BR II.1443 as well, was in the monastery's possession by the late fifteenth century, and passed to Orwyll shortly thereafter (fol. 121, last flyleaf). There is also an owner's note for “Tho. Knyght” in the seventeenth century. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:157b–58a; Mann, “Petrarch Manuscripts in the British Isles” (n. 56 above), 268–69; Davies, “L'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni” (n. 104 above), 1–3; Lucia Gualdo Rosa, “Le lettere familiari di Leonardo Bruni: Alcuni esempi della loro diffusione in Italia nel primo Quattrocento,” in *Per il censimento dei codici* (n. 29 above), 38–39; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:208; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:145; Rundle, “Of Republics and Tyrants” (n. 56 above), 393–414; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:90 (no. 1245). See further below on John Covel.

Using Kristeller's norm of a very rare text as a clue to the genesis of a miscellany, here are a few possibilities:

An anonymous priest or a Priolo for Foligno Jacobilli C.IV.10<sup>115</sup>

Iacobus de Regno, OP, for BL Add. 11760<sup>116</sup>

Petrus de Platea or Martinus Buta for BL Harley 4094<sup>117</sup>

Paolo Maffei for Milan Braidense A.G.IX.43<sup>118</sup>

Pietro Bravo for Padua Museo Civico B. P. 1223<sup>119</sup>

Iacobus de Alexandria, OFM, or Guilelmus de la Pigna for Turin BN H.III.8<sup>120</sup>

<sup>115</sup> Foligno Jacobilli C.IV.10. The codex was principally written by two hands, the first an Italian hand in *antiqua* (fols. 1–101), the second a more cursive script with Gothic elements (fols. 102–98). It is missing the first fascicle and has a *terminus post quem* of 1443. A note on fol. 207 reads: “... Noto ego priolo(?) como abia misso con tre presenti lo capitulo de Santa Maria delli nove docati.” See Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:629b–30b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:195–96; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:75 (no. 1046); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:108–109.

<sup>116</sup> BL Add. 11760. Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (n. 95 above), 2:337–38 and 4:135–36, supplies information on Iacobus, who was from Acquamela near Salerno and served as Procurator General of the Dominican Order in Rome from 1434 until his death in 1449. The only surviving literary work of Iacobus that Kaeppli catalogs is a sermon on St. Francis preserved in Add. 11760.

<sup>117</sup> BL Harley 4094. The codex was written in Italy, perhaps at a north Italian university, has Humanist cursive hands, and has letters dated 1441 and 1442. In and around 1502, another hand added orations and recipes on the last folios. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 4:178b–79b; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:153; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:93 (no. 1277). A Pietro Piazza served as governor of Piacenza for Duke Filippo Maria Visconti. See Carlo de' Rosmini, *Vita di Francesco Filelfo da Tolentino* (Milan, 1808), 1:102–103.

<sup>118</sup> Milan Braidense A.G.IX.43. The codex has a *terminus post quem* of 1466 and contains letters of Paolo Maffei to Francesco Barbaro and others. It was once in the possession of Santa Maria della Passione in Milan. Paolo Maffei was born at Verona around 1380, studied under Gasparino Barzizza, entered the Reformed Canons Regular (Lateran Canons) in 1409, and died in 1452. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:358b–59a; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:218; and Isabella Gagliardi, *Li trofei della croce: L'esperienza gesuata e la società lucchese tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Centro Alti Studi in Scienze Religiose 3 (Rome, 2005), 100–104.

<sup>119</sup> Padua Museo Civico B. P. 1223. The codex was written by a single north Italian hand in Semigothic script. It has a rare invective by Bravo against Andronikos Kallistos (1400–86), published by James Hankins, “Humanist Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II,” *Humanism and Platonism in the Italian Renaissance* (n. 87 above), 1:417–19. Hankins attributes the marginalia on pages 27 and 128 to Matteo Palmieri, but I would propose that they may be the scribe's cross-references to relevant passages in Palmieri's writings. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:23a–b; John M. McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio the Elder and Saint Jerome: An Edition and Translation of “Sermones pro Sancto Hieronymo.”* Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 177 (Tempe, AZ, 1999), 35–40; and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:368.

<sup>120</sup> Turin BN H.III.8. On the Venetian codex, written by several Humanist cursive hands, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:181a–b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:300; Hankins, *Repertorium*,

- Paulus Porfirius Bononiensis or P. Hortinus or Fr. Hieronymus  
Choritus, OFM, for Borg. lat. 214<sup>121</sup>  
Maggio Maggi and his family for Verona Capitolare CLIII (141)<sup>122</sup>  
Uberto Testa for Einsiedeln 399<sup>123</sup>  
M. Adam for Chis. J.IV.118<sup>124</sup>

1:179 (no. 2431); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:220. A Guglielmo della Pigna studied with Guarino, perhaps before 1403, earned a degree in law, and corresponded with Guarino later in life (letters in Florence Ricc. 779, fols. 371–75). See Remigio Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Guarini Veronese (con 44 documenti)* (Catania, 1896), 8–9. On the funeral oration for Fantino Valaresso, archbishop of Crete, that Giacomo da Alessandria gave in 1443 and that is preserved in the Turin codex, see McManamon, *Funeral Oratory* (n. 2 above), 73, 148, and 273.

<sup>121</sup> BAV Borg. lat. 214. The paper codex dates from the late fifteenth century and has the funeral and wedding speeches published by Gregorio Britannico (fols. 225–307). A letter from Paulus Porfirius Bononiensis to his nephew Lucius is inserted on a parchment folio (fol. 26r–v). See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:439b–40a and 6:386a; and Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum* (n. 95 above), 2:53–54.

<sup>122</sup> Verona Capitolare CLIII (141). The latest text in the codex dates to 1448. Maggio Maggi (Madius Veronensis / Mazo de' Mazi, d. 1445), a notary and lawyer from Verona, nurtured his friendship with Guarino through correspondence and played a role in the civic and diplomatic affairs of Verona. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:295a; Francesco Scarcella, "Maggio Maggi giurista veronese," in *Atti e memorie dell'Accademia di Agricoltura, Scienze, e Lettere di Verona*, ser. 6, 29 (1977–78): 247–58; and Giovanni Cavarzere, "L'umanesimo veronese nei manoscritti della Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona: Per un catalogo," (Tesi di laurea, Univ. degli Studi di Verona, 1998), xiv. For the career of Maggi, see Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi* (n. 120 above), 3, 20, 130, 137, 154, 184–86, and 190–91; Rino Avesani, "Verona nel Quattrocento: La civiltà delle lettere," in *Verona e il suo Territorio*, vol. 4.1–2, *Verona nel Quattrocento* (Verona, 1984), 4.2:10–13; and Pade, *The Reception of Plutarch's "Lives"* (n. 60 above), 1:216–18.

<sup>123</sup> Einsiedeln 399 (308). The codex had its origins in the Veneto and was written by several hands. In the seventeenth century, it formed part of the Jesuit College Library at Belinzona, which the Benedictines of Einsiedeln acquired in 1675. In the eighteenth century, the Benedictines moved the books to their motherhouse. Testa was a student of "A(ntonius) de Pisis," served as chancellor to the *podestà* of Treviso, and later as chancellor of Modon. A codex formerly in Recanati and copied by Giacomo Corradetti d'Apiro had an oration "pro magistro Antonio de Pisis ad Comunitatem Pistorii." See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:559a and 5:106a; and Besomi, "Codici petrarcheschi nelle biblioteche svizzere" (n. 59 above), 402–403.

<sup>124</sup> BAV Chis. J.IV.118. The codex dates to the fifteenth century and was written in Chancery and Semigothic scripts. It has for its provenance the Aniciana Library in Rome (cod. R.6.58), part of the Benedictine house of studies that Costantino Gaetano established in 1621 in Trastevere, the neighborhood of the city where the Anicii family had lived in antiquity. In 1641, when the Collegium experienced financial difficulties, Gaetano handed the school over to Propaganda Fidei, but the English Benedictines obtained possession once again in 1658. Nonetheless, when Gaetano died in 1650, the Aniciana Library passed to Propaganda Fidei, where it remained only a short time until Pope Alexander VII Chigi moved most of the books in 1666 to his new Bibl. Alessandrina at the Sapienza. The pope kept a few chests of books and documents for his family library, and this codex finished in one of the papal chests, eventually acquiring a Chisianus shelfmark in the Vatican Library.



The appetite among society's elite for collecting humanist miscellanies is reflected in late ownership. Individual owners after 1650 include John Covell (1638–1722) who spent a number of years in Constantinople and environs, served as Master of Christ's College Cambridge beginning in 1688, and sold his manuscripts in 1716 to Edward Harley (1689–1741), second earl of Oxford whose heirs sold the manuscripts to the nation in 1753,<sup>125</sup> Giambattista Recanati (1687–1735), who gave most of his manuscripts, including some from the Gonzaga family, to the Marciana in 1734,<sup>126</sup> Cardinal Giuseppe Renato Imperiali (1651–1737),<sup>127</sup> Imperiali's librarian Giusto Fontanini, titular archbishop of Ancyra (1666–1736),<sup>128</sup>

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See José Ruysschaert, "Costantino Gaetano, O.S.B., chasseur de manuscrits: Contribution à l'histoire de trois bibliothèques romaines du XVIIe s., l'Aniciana, l'Alessandrina, et la Chigi," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 7, *Bibliothèque Vaticane (Deuxième partie)*, Studi e Testi 237 (Vatican City, 1964), 261–63, 271, and 316; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:482a; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:187 (no. 2541).

<sup>125</sup> Harley 2268, which is not, however, listed among the manuscripts in Covell's catalog for the sale. On the Harley family and their library, see De Ricci, *English Collectors* (n. 41 above), 33–38; and "Harley Manuscripts: History of the Harley Library," available at: <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelp/prestyle/manuscripts/harleymss/harleymss.html> (accessed 2 April 2020).

<sup>126</sup> On Recanati, see Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 250–52. Recanati also ceded some of his codices to Iacopo Soranzo (1686–1761).

<sup>127</sup> Marc. lat. XI.100 (3938). The original nucleus of around 3,000 books in Imperiali's library came from his great-uncle, Cardinal Lorenzo (1606–73). Imperiali enriched the collection by acquiring around 1690–91 some 10,000 of the 21,000 books from the library of Cardinal Jean-Gautier de Sluse (1628–87) and around 1710 some 2,000 books from the library of Monsignor Marcello Severoli (1633–1707). Though Imperiali had bequeathed his codices for public use, many of his books were auctioned in Rome from 1793–96. Fontanini became librarian for Imperiali in 1697 and fourteen years later published the first edition of his catalog of the library: *Bibliothecae Josephi Renati Imperialis ... Catalogus secundum auctorum cognomina ordine alphabetico dispositus, una cum altero catalogo scientiarum et artium* (Rome, 1711). See Flavia Cancedda, *Figure e fatti intorno alla biblioteca del cardinale Imperiali, mecenate del '700* (Rome, 1995), 33–102; and Stefano Tabacchi, "Imperiali, Giuseppe Renato," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 62:306.

<sup>128</sup> Marc. lat. XIV.45 (4595). Fontanini studied at the Jesuit College in Gorizia, where he developed a lifelong dislike for the Jesuits. His vain and feisty personality gained him many enemies, especially Ludovico Antonio Muratori. They debated whether Ludovico Castelvetro (ca. 1505–1571) was a heretic. Two short works of Castelvetro were copied into the Marciana codex in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Fontanini had possession of the composite Marciana codex in 1730, and texts were added to the manuscript in the eighteenth century. After Fontanini's death, the Imperiali family filed suit to block the removal of Fontanini's books from Rome, but they lost and, in 1737, the books were crated for transport to Friuli. However, the Venetian ambassador in Rome, Alvise Mocenigo, took possession of the books and brought them to Venice where the Venetian authorities examined them. The Venetians took fifty-eight codices and removed them from circulation (most are now in the Marciana), another block went to the library in Fontanini's hometown of San Daniele (codices 205–271), and still others were scattered widely after his heirs sold them. See Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 3:65–68; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:263b and 6:261a; Zorzi, *La Libreria*,

Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750), who financed his historical studies by selling his poetry and libretti,<sup>129</sup> Iacopo Morelli (1745–1819), a priest who became librarian of the Marciana in 1778 and left his books and manuscripts to the library,<sup>130</sup> Carlo Morbio a portion of whose manuscripts were auctioned off after his death in 1881, and the Counts Onigo of Treviso whose codex was once thought lost but actually belongs to the Bibl. Capitolare of Treviso (I.177).<sup>131</sup> The huge collection of Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872) is again well represented by multiple codices, and American collectors such as Dean P. Lockwood and Phyllis Goodhart Gordan (d. 1994) brought codices with the speech across the Atlantic.<sup>132</sup>

An even greater number of indicative *fondi* find a place on the Giustiniani list: Magliabecchiano Strozzi VIII.1435, also conserving Bruni's oration on Nanni

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273–76; and Dario Busolini, "Fontanini, Giusto," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 48:747–52.

<sup>129</sup> Marc. lat. XI.100 (3938) and Marc. lat. XI.101 (3939). The first folio of Marc. lat. XI.101 is richly decorated and has the Este coat of arms. The codex was written by a single Semigothic hand. Zorzanello contrasts the rich decoration of the codex to its inaccurate copying. On the codices, see Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini*, 1:563–79 and 2:3–7; Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:255b–56a and 6:259b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:317; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:211 (nos. 2930 and 2931); Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:244; Revest, "Naissance du cicéronianisme" (n. 23 above), 245–48; and Aurelio Malandrino, "Censimento dei codici petrarcheschi latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia," (Ph.D. dissertation, Università Ca' Foscari Venice, 2014), 204–11. Around 1718, Zeno bought Marc. lat. XI.100 (no. 125) and XI.101 (no. 142) from Gerardo Sagredo (1692–1738), a procurator of San Marco. The nephew of Zaccaria Sagredo (1653–1729) and great-nephew of Doge Nicolò Sagredo (1606–76) and Patriarch Alvise Sagredo (1617–88), Gerardo continued the family's efforts to rebuild their political reputation by collecting art, remodeling the Ca' Morosini purchased around 1705, and endowing a burial chapel in San Francesco della Vigna. On Gerardo Sagredo's career, see Preston Remington, "A Bedroom from the Palazzo Sagredo at Venice," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 21 (1926): 11–14; and William L. Barcham, "The Capella Sagredo in San Francesco della Vigna," *Artibus et Historiae* 4 (1983): 104 and 118–19. In 1702, Apostolo Zeno tried to become librarian of the Marciana but lost out to the less qualified Marc'Antonio Maderò. Zeno left the codex to the Observant Dominicans (Zattere) in 1750, and it passed to the Marciana in 1810. On Zeno's career, see Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 243–46 and 343–44.

<sup>130</sup> On Morelli, see Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 285–371.

<sup>131</sup> On the codex, see McManamon, *Pierpaolo Vergerio and Saint Jerome* (n. 119 above), 70–78. The Counts Onigo trace their ancestry to Gualperto da Cavasio (d. 1197), have a tomb to Count Agostino (before 1427–before 1500) by Tullio Lombardo and Lorenzo Lotto in San Nicolò, and owned a vast residence in Treviso where the last heiress of the family, Countess Teodolinda, was murdered in 1903.

<sup>132</sup> Philadelphia Univ. of Pennsylvania Lat. 7 and New York Gordan cod. 73. Lockwood bought the Pennsylvania codex from Bertalot in 1946, sold it to William H. Allen in 1947, and Allen sold it to the University Library. See Jaitner-Hahner, "Per la fortuna del 'Codice Bollea'" (n. 113 above), 107–108. The Gordan codex was written in the Veneto in the second and fourth quarters of the fifteenth century and purchased by Howard L. Goodhart from Maggs Bros. in 1944. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 5:351a; Hankins, "Bruni Manuscripts in North America" (n. 29 above), 80; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:126 (no. 1736).

degli Strozzi and belonging to the Strozzi family library expanded by Senator Carlo Strozzi and ceded in 1786 to Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo by Maria Caterina Strozzi after the death of all male Strozzi heirs, a Harburg Castle manuscript from the former residence of the Oettingen-Wallerstein princes, a Blickling Hall codex in the stately home rebuilt by Sir Henry Hobart after he had bought the property from the heirs of the Boleyn family in 1616,<sup>133</sup> Laurenziana Ashburnham 278 at one time owned by Marchese Paolino Gianfilippi (no. 400) and bought in 1847 by Lord Bertram (1797–1878), fourth earl of Ashburnham,<sup>134</sup> BNCF Rossi-Cassigoli 372 obtained by the library in 1894 four years after the death of the Pistoian collector Filippo Rossi Cassigoli (1835–90),<sup>135</sup> Glasgow Hunter 301 (U.6.19) bequeathed in 1783 by the anatomist and Physician Extraordinary to Queen Charlotte, William Hunter (1718–83),<sup>136</sup> BL Arundel 70 given by Henry Howard, the duke of Norfolk, to the Royal Society in 1667 and sold to the British Museum in 1831, BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI from the manuscripts collected by Robert Bruce Cotton (1571–1631), given to the nation by his grandson in 1700 and damaged with others in a 1731 fire, and two codices from the Harley *fondo* of the British Library, collected by Robert (d. 1724) and Edward Harley (d. 1741) and sold to Parliament in 1753. There is a codex from the collection of Antonio Piazza in Padua, a codex from the Bourbon collection in Parma, and a codex

<sup>133</sup> Blickling Hall 6844. See Nikolaus Pevsner and Bill Wilson, *Norfolk 1: Norwich and North-East*, 2nd ed., The Buildings of England (London, 1997), 400–407.

<sup>134</sup> Florence Laurenziana Ashb. 278. The codex dates to the latter half of the fifteenth century, traces its origins to northern Italy, perhaps Ferrara or Verona, and was written by five hands in Humanist cursive or Italic scripts. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 1:83b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:49 (no. 637); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:57–58. Gianfilippi (1745–1827) inserted a table of contents on a loose piece of paper. Ashburnham 278 figures among the many codices in the Laurenziana *fondo* that once belonged to Guglielmo Libri Carucci dalla Sommaja (1803–69), renowned mathematician, historian of mathematics, and book-thief. In 1884, the Italian government purchased a group of the Libri manuscripts from the fifth Earl of Ashburnham, leaving aside those that rightly belonged to France. On Lord Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and Guglielmo Libri, see De Ricci, *English Collectors* (n. 41 above), 131–38; A. N. L. Munby, “The Earl and the Thief: Lord Ashburnham and Count Libri,” and Munby, “The Triumph of Delisle: A Sequel to ‘The Earl and the Thief.’” *Harvard Library Bulletin* 17 (1969): 5–21 and 279–90. For the dispersal of Gianfilippi’s library, some of whose codices came from the Libreria Saibante, see Léopold Delisle, “Notice sur des manuscrits du fonds Libri conservés à la Laurentienne,” *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale et autres bibliothèques publiés par l’Institut National de France* 32.1 (1886): 16–18, 114–15, and 118; and Carlo Frati, “Review of Enrico Rostagni, *I codici Ashburnhamiani della R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze*,” *La Bibliofilia* 22 (1920–21): 98–102.

<sup>135</sup> See Luigi Chiappelli, “La Collezione pistoiese Rossi-Cassigoli,” *Archivio storico italiano*, 5th ser., 5 (1890): 483–86 (no. 20).

<sup>136</sup> On Hunter, see De Ricci, *English Collectors* (n. 41 above), 53. Hunter was a surgeon and a leading obstetrician of his day.

from the Corsini family library in Rome that numbered Cardinal Filippo Gualtieri among its benefactors and Neri Corsini as its founder in 1754.

Vatican *fondi* are represented by codices from the Palace Library of Heidelberg that Maximilian of Bavaria presented to the popes in 1623 in exchange for subsidies in his war against the Protestants, the Royal Library of Christina of Sweden (1626–89) whose executors sold it to the Vatican in 1690,<sup>137</sup> the Ottoboni library acquired by Benedict XIV in 1748,<sup>138</sup> the collection of the Borghese princes acquired in 1891 primarily to save the books originally from the papal library in Avignon, the library of Cavalier Giovan Francesco De Rossi that the Jesuits safeguarded in the name of the Austrian emperor until they deposited the collection in the library in 1921, and the Chigi library received as a gift from the Italian government in December 1922. Finally, there are important Venetian libraries whose *fondi* are represented: a codex from the collection that Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna (1789–1868) donated to the Venetian city government in 1865 in exchange for a pension for his sisters and then deposited in the Museo Civico Correr,<sup>139</sup> another in the same library from the collection of the

<sup>137</sup> BAV Reg. lat. 1583. The codex was written in Italy in Humanist cursive script late in the fifteenth century, has a table of contents by the copyist, and is included in the catalog that Isaac Voss made for the Royal Library (1650–51). See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:409a, 2:599a, and 6:372b; and Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins* (n. 89 above), 2.1:307–308. Reg. lat. 1612 also comes from the Royal Library of Sweden. Neither Reg. lat. 1583 nor 1612 figures among the codices that Paul Petau and his son Alexandre bought from French humanists and monasteries. On Reg. lat. 1612, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:409b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:195 (no. 2666); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:297–98. On the history of the Vatican's *fondi*, see 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, 1973); and the prefaces to each *fondo* in Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins* (n. 89 above).

<sup>138</sup> BAV Ottob. lat. 1153. The codex had its origins in Ferrara after 1450, was written by a principal Humanist cursive hand and secondary hands, and was later owned by Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (“*humanitatis 136*”), Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, and Duke Giovanni Angelo Altemps (no. L.V.11), before it was acquired by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:427a–b; Besomi and Regoliosi, *Laurentii Valle Epistole* (n. 27 above), 68–69; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:174; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:189 (no. 2570); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:286–87. Ottob. lat. 1184, Ottob. lat. 1510, and Ottob. lat. 3021 also have Giustiniani's funeral oration for Zeno. Ottob. lat. 1184 belonged to Marcello Cervini. Ottob. lat. 1510 was written in Italy by several Humanist cursive hands, one of whom wrote a minuscule *g* characteristic of Pomponio Leto and members of his Roman Academy. On Ottob. lat. 1510, see Pellegrin et al., *Les manuscrits classiques latins* (n. 89 above), 1:595–601.

<sup>139</sup> Venice Museo Civico Correr Cicogna 797 (1048). The codex was written by a single hand in a Semihumanist script in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. On 2 October 1841, Pietro Nicolò Oliva del Turco gave the manuscript to Cicogna at Aviano. Oliva had previously added a table of contents. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:283b; Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:214 (no. 2972); and Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 2:234–35. It is estimated that Cicogna saved approximately 5,000 manuscripts. See Paolo Preto, “Cicogna, Emmanuele Antonio,” *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (n. 3 above), 25:394–96.

Morosini-Grimani family,<sup>140</sup> and a codex still in the hands of the Giustiniani-Recanati family that recently belonged to Alvisè Giustinian.<sup>141</sup>

A few of the codices have contents that can be considered homogeneous. Padua Seminario 46, Munich Staatsbibl. Clm 76, Venice Zan. lat. 408 (2029), and Vienna Lat. 3315 all have a sylloge of works on Carlo Zeno that feature Iacopo Zeno's biography of his grandfather. The dedication copy for Pope Pius II, now Yale Beinecke cod. 2, had only the biography and omitted Giustiniani's oration and two letters that complete the compilation.<sup>142</sup> Venice Giustiniani-Recanati V.13 has just two orations and reflects interest by descendants in Leonardo Giustiniani as an author. Glasgow Hunter 301 has only Giustiniani's oration and his translations from Greek. The lost Milanese codex once in the possession of Luigi Cibrario and then the Archivio di Stato in Milan was copied from the works of Gioacchino Castiglioni found among his personal papers after his sudden death. The manuscript had over twenty funeral orations by Castiglioni, many of which are known only from later cataloging of the codex.

The vast majority of the manuscripts are humanist miscellanies, in no way homogeneous from the point of view of contents but homogeneous as educational textbooks, bringing together paradigms of persuasive letter writing and speech making. As one might expect for a famous speech on a Venetian subject, Giustiniani's oration is frequently paired with other funeral orations from Venice and

<sup>140</sup> Museo Civico Correr Morosini-Grimani 248. The codex was written in *antiqua* and dates to the second half of the fifteenth century. It once belonged to Marino Sanudo il Giovane (no. CCIX on the front pastedown) and then to the Archivio Morosini-Grimani. On the codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 6:278a–b; Griggio, *Francesco Barbaro*, 1:325; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:214 (no. 2979). Sanudo's father Leonardo owned at least thirty books by the time of his death in 1474. The Sanudo library grew to about 500 books in 1502, to 2,800 in 1516, and to 6,500 in 1536. On Sanudo's library, see Neil Harris, "Marin Sanudo, Forerunner of Melzi, I–III," *La Bibliofilia* 95 (1993): 6–8, 26–28, and 101–102; and Brian Richardson, *Printing, Writers, and Readers in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge, 1999), 120.

<sup>141</sup> Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:292b, catalogs a codex with Giustiniani's eulogy ("cart. XVII–XVIII") then in the possession of Count Alvisè Giustinian, and he refers back to that codex in 6:287a, when cataloging a fifteenth-century manuscript with six unnumbered folios in the Bibl. Giustiniani-Recanati. The Recanati family died out in the eighteenth century; in 1712, Laura Recanati married Giacomo Giustiniani. Thereafter, the family took the name Giustiniani-Recanati, and the last descendant, Alvisè, died late in the twentieth century, between the publication of *Iter* 2 and 6. See Zorzi, *La Libreria*, 487 n. 49.

<sup>142</sup> On the Yale codex, see the entry prepared by Barbara A. Shailor for the online catalog of pre-1600 manuscripts in the Beinecke Library, available at: <https://pre1600ms.beinecke.library.yale.edu/docs/pre1600.ms002.htm> (accessed 31 March 2020). The codex was written in *antiqua* by Franciscus de Tianis Pistoriensis. Trent Capitolare 42, a composite miscellany from the Veneto written by several hands in the fifteenth century, has Giustiniani's oration on Zeno followed by Pierpaolo Vergerio's letter to Zeno. See Kristeller, *Iter*, 2:189b–90a and 6:231b.

Padua. The codices combine Giustiniani's eulogy with those of Andrea Giuliano for Chrysoloras, Pietro Donato for Zabarella, Gasparino Barzizza for Iacopo da Forlì, and George of Trebizond for Fantino Michiel. The pattern holds for Veneto speeches in manuscripts that mix Venetian and Florentine models. Giuliano's eulogy is included most consistently, followed by Donato's for Zabarella, Barzizza's for Iacopo, and Francesco Barbaro's panegyric for Alberto Guidalotti. Collectors commonly added Leonardo Bruni's oration for Otto de' Cavalcanti and Poggio's oration for Zabarella. The miscellanies with a more restrictive, Florentine focus feature along with Giustiniani's eulogy the funeral orations of Poggio for Niccolò Niccoli and Bruni for Otto. There are manuscripts that suggest other possible commonalities. Munich Clm 5335, St. Pölten 63, Kremsmünster 10, and Venice Correr Cicogna 797 all have Giustiniani's eulogy for Zeno, Leon Battista Alberti's satiric eulogy for his dog, and the Observant Franciscan Apollonio Bianchi's correspondence or short funeral speeches. The Cicogna manuscript served as exemplar for the others, and all four may be related to Bianchi and his cultural activities.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Kremsmünster 10 and St. Pölten 63 have texts with subscriptions, "in Nova Civitate" (Wiener Neustadt): in the Kremsmünster codex by Michael Wochner on 13 January 1455 (fol. 246v) and in the St. Pölten codex by Johannes Tröster on 3 September 1454 (fol. 244). Wochner wrote the Kremsmünster manuscript in Gothic script; it has a coat of arms. On the codex, see Hugo Schmid, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca Cremifanensis Ord. s. Bened. asservatorum* (Linz, 1877), 148–92; Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:22a–b; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:7–8; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:84 (no. 1157). The St. Pölten codex has Gothic hands besides Tröster's, came from the library of the seminary, and preserves the note on the rear pastedown "domino, domino Udalrico." On the St. Pölten codex, see Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:49a–b; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:9–10; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:169 (no. 2302). Munich Clm 5335 dates to 1460, was principally written by a Semigothic hand, and has the former residence of Bishop Bernhard von Kraiburg of Chiemsee (Salzburg) for its provenance. See *Catalogus codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae regiae Monacensis*, vol. 1.3, *Mss. 5251–8100*, ed. Karl Felix von Halm, Georg von Laubmann, et al. (Munich, 1873), 6–7; Gualdo Rosa et al., *Censimento*, 1:115–16; and Hankins, *Repertorium*, 1:116 (no. 1600). Active in the fifteenth century, the Franciscan Bianchi's writings include letters, orations, *De vitae pauperis praestantia*, and *De virtute colenda*. See Kristeller, "Contribution of Religious Orders" (n. 94 above), 131. Cecil Grayson published an edition of Alberti's *Canis* based upon the following exemplars: Bologna Archiginnasio A.172, Brescia Queriniana B.VI.18 (with model letters of Bianchi), BNCF Pal. Panc. 123 (fragm.), Milan Ambrosiana D 93 sup., Novara Capitolare 124, Oxford Bodleian Canon. Misc. 172, Rimini Gambalunga SC–MS 22 (D.IV.208), Rome Angelica 1985, Seville Colomb. 5–5–28, Vienna Lat. 3420, and Vienna Lat. 12814. The vernacular translation of Marco Parenti is preserved in BNCF Magl. VI.2, Riccardiana Moreni 24, and Museo Horne 2790. See Cecil Grayson, "Il *Canis* di Leon Battista Alberti," in *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca* (n. 2 above), 1:193–204. Mariangela Regoliosi determined that the Cicogna manuscript is the exemplar for several others; see her "Linee di filologia albertiana: il *De commodis litterarum atque incommodis* e il *Canis*," in *Leon Battista Alberti, umanista e scrittore: Filologia, esegesi, tradizione (Atti del Convegno internazionale del Comitato Nazionale VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti, Arezzo, 24–25–26 giugno 2004)*, ed. Roberto Cardini and Mariangela Regoliosi (Florence, 2007), 1:235–43.

Composite codices comprise a significant block: Basel FV.6, Oxford Bywater 38, Berlin Lat. fol. 667, Ferrara II.135, Milan Ambrosiana D 93 sup., Ambrosiana N 340 sup., Rome Vallicelliana F.20, Trent Capit. 42, BAV Regin. lat. 1612, Udine Arcivescovile 49, Venice Marc. lat. XI.9, Marc. lat. XIV.45 and Stuttgart Poet. et Philol. folio 14. At times binding together individual student notebooks, a composite codex indicates a dynamic process that is mirrored in the number of codices with several hands, to which texts were added over time. BL Harley 4094 began in the second half of the fifteenth century as a repository for humanist texts and became in the first quarter of the sixteenth century a repository for further orations and for recipes. A Stuttgart codex into which Konrad Stettfelder copied a poem of Johannes Faber de Werdea in 1486 has the Giustiniani oration on paper with watermarks that date to the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>144</sup> Paris Ital. 353 was first copied in the fifteenth century in Chancery script and reused in the second half of the sixteenth century to describe the efforts to raise a sunken *galeone* at Venice in 1560. At least in the oration for Giustiniani and the description of the salvage effort, the Paris manuscript had the sea for its focus.<sup>145</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

Educational concerns shaped many manuscripts that preserve the funeral speeches of Poggio and Giustiniani. The handwritten books assisted students seeking to master the art of rhetoric. Thanks to the meticulous scholarship of James Hankins, comparisons are possible among the funeral eulogies for Zabarella and Zeno and two of Leonardo Bruni's panegyrics, one for Florence around 1404 and another for Nanni degli Strozzi around 1428. All four belong to the epideictic genre of rhetoric. Bruni's praise for the city of Florence was more ideological and less aristocratic than the other three. All four were remarkably popular in their own time and guided other speakers.<sup>146</sup> The raw numbers of surviving copies suggest that even the admired epideictic orations fall short of the great humanist bestsellers, works on humanist education and ethics, and that Giustiniani wrote the most popular encomium of the Renaissance. His total of 115 Latin manuscripts and nineteen printed editions left Bruni's sixty-five Latin manuscripts

<sup>144</sup> Stuttgart Württembergische Landesbibl. Poet. et Philol. fol. 14. See Wolfgang Irtenkau and Ingeborg Krekler, *Codices poetici et philologici*, Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart 1.2 (Wiesbaden, 1981), 14.

<sup>145</sup> The machinery built for the attempt to raise the *galeone* is described in Paris BN Ital. 353, fols. 173v–74. See Alex Keller, "Archimedean Hydrostatic Theorems and Salvage Operations in 16th-Century Venice," *Technology and Culture* 12 (1971): 610–11; and Kristeller, *Iter*, 3:309a.

<sup>146</sup> James Hankins, "Rhetoric, History, and Ideology: The Civic Panegyrics of Leonardo Bruni," in *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections*, ed. James Hankins, Ideas in Context (Cambridge, 2000), 147–52.

of the Strozzi eulogy a distant second. Poggio's oration for Zabarella survives in fifty-three Latin manuscripts, and Bruni's panegyric for Florence had, among the four, the smallest total of forty-three Latin manuscripts. In all four cases, there was almost no concern to assure a wider public by translating the oration into the vernacular. The speeches were exercises in "letters" (*litterae*), and translation would water down their achievement.

The dating of the manuscript exemplars, whether by scribal subscription or *terminus post quem*, indicates that the mid-fifteenth century marked the golden age for copying humanist panegyrics. Only five of the codices with Bruni's panegyric of Florence antedate 1440 (ca. 12 percent), telling for a speech written around 1404. The percentages are similar in the cases of Poggio (ca. 80 percent from 1425–75) and Giustiniani (ca. 88 percent). Early on, Poggio promoted his oration in correspondence to prove that he understood classical techniques for panegyric, and Guarino promoted Giustiniani's oration to prove that he taught classical techniques well. There is a falloff in manuscript copying after the introduction of printing, but it does not cease. At least seven manuscripts of the Poggio and Giustiniani orations have a *terminus post quem* of 1475, and Zabarella's relatives continued to make handwritten copies in the seventeenth century, in one case to aid printers.

Patterns of Renaissance ownership, whether owners read the works or did not, mirror the broader alliance of hereditary nobility, elite clergy, and haute bourgeoisie that generally exercised oligarchic rule in Italy's principalities, despotisms, and republics. The nobility and higher clergy represent from 27–33 percent of the public, whereas at least two thirds of the known owners come from the lower clergy, members of religious orders, and the haute bourgeoisie, particularly professionals involved in positions of public service such as notaries or chancery officials. Bruni's two panegyrics, with their extended emphasis on the genius of Florentine republicanism, had a utilitarian value for anyone asked to deliver a panegyric there. When rummaging for material on the topic of a Florentine's birthplace, speakers could pull their codex with Bruni's panegyric oration off the shelf and give a concise summary of Bruni's praise for the beauty, the government, and the territorial rule of the city. Fully half the copies of Poggio's oration for Zabarella ended up in the hands of secular and religious clergy, exactly where Poggio would want it as he strove to reform their morals. The clergy did not disdain Giustiniani's speech since religious, priests, bishops, cardinals, and a pope owned approximately 58 percent of the manuscripts. There is also a slight differential for Giustiniani's oration between the parchment codices (7–8) and the number of professional scribes (11–15), suggesting the possibility that wealthy patrons wanted a copy so badly that they were willing to settle for one that a scribe wrote on paper.



Geographical distribution confirms that humanism fundamentally was an Italian phenomenon. Bruni's two panegyrics achieved success overwhelmingly in Italy (from 90–100 percent), and especially in Florence and Tuscany (ca. 45 percent for the panegyric and 53 percent for the Strozzi eulogy). Likewise, over 90 percent of the copies of Poggio's oration, delivered at Constance, were copied in Italy, including at least four by non-Italians, and approximately 87 percent of the copies of Giustiniani's speech also have an Italian provenance, with a heavy concentration in the Veneto region. Giustiniani's speech did have a public in lesser numbers beyond the Veneto and the Italian peninsula, in large part because Gasparino Barzizza and Guarino da Verona chose to teach the speech as a model almost immediately after it was delivered.

Paul Oskar Kristeller posited that the Italians of the Renaissance diffused their cultural program in two ways: by teaching foreign students, especially those who matriculated at Italian universities, and by organizing textbooks of exemplary materials for letter writing and speech making.<sup>147</sup> German students embraced the new learning they encountered at universities in northern Italy (Pavia, Padua, Bologna) and carried home their weighty tomes filled with examples of humanist prose and poetry. The geography of German interests follows, in large part, the patterns of Romanization in ancient times, flowing along the Danube and Rhine Rivers. And one can generally trace that stream of interest back to its source in the rhetorical education offered by Guarino or his student, Giovanni Lamola. Lamola's students and those influenced by his students in Germany included Johannes Roth, Hans Pirkheimer and his family, Johannes Heller, Johannes Tröster, the Schedels, and the von Eybs. Of the eight or nine copies of Poggio's oration that non-Italians are known to have possessed, German speakers had seven; in Giustiniani's case, six German speakers and one Swede had their own copies.

There are telling clues buried in the statistical data to argue that education functioned as a principal motive for the copying of the two eulogies. If one tallies the known number of manuscripts with the orations of Poggio and Giustiniani that were in the hands of students or professional humanists, they amount to over 25 percent of the total ownership. Once familiar with the craftsmanship of the speeches, humanists kept a copy to aid their teaching of classical rhetoric and their writing of classicizing orations. Likewise, doctors comprise a distinct professional sub-grouping (30 percent of the haute bourgeoisie for Poggio and 20 percent for Giustiniani), and at least some of the physicians acquired manuscripts with the speech during their university training. The material characteristics of the

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<sup>147</sup> See Kristeller, "The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism," *Italica* 39 (1962): 1–20; and Agostino Sottili, *Humanismus und Universitätsbesuch: Die Wirkung italienischer Universitäten auf die "Studia Humanitatis" nördlich der Alpen*, Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 26 (Leiden, 2006).

manuscripts confirm their use as texts for study: the vast majority are paper miscellanies written by more than one hand over a period of years. Rinuccio Aretino kept adding to the contents of his tome for up to thirty years. From 1451 to 1458, Giovanni Bernardo Dalle Valli entered texts into Munich Clm 78, and, until 1481, Hartmann Schedel and other German hands continued to add texts to the manuscript once Schedel had come into its possession. While often found in large compendia, the Bracciolini and Giustiniani speeches, in contrast to incunabular editions of later public orations, are never published alone. There was cross-pollination between Florence and Venice, even if Bruni was more popular in Tuscany and Giustiniani in the Veneto. While the first generation of humanist educators, Barzizza, Guarino, and their compatriots, quickly embraced the speeches, the second generation that included Lamola solidified their popularity at mid-century.

Humanist miscellanies will always frustrate simplistic efforts at analysis. Some of the texts copied into a miscellany perforce reflect serendipity, put there to demonstrate the acquired skills of the compiler and mirror his particular interests. However, a core of the works consistently included in multiple codices may well represent a sort of evolving textbook of contemporary rhetorical models that traces its roots to the teaching of Barzizza and Guarino and early included speeches of Giustiniani, Bruni, and Poggio. The notion of a textbook seems one explanation for the fact that Arundel 70 and Munich Universitätsbibliothek Folio 607 have the same anthology of texts copied by German Gothic hands, have the same number of lines per page, and have the identical text of the *Nau-machia* of Ciriaco d'Ancona, but neither one was copied from the other. They were both copied from a common exemplar whose anthology of contemporary texts likely served as epistolary and oratorical models.

What lessons would the two orations offer students and other readers? First, the portraits of Zabarella and Zeno underlined the lifetime value of a humanist education. The deeds and virtues of both proved the genius of an educational program that Pierpaolo Vergerio conceptualized and Guarino and Barzizza institutionalized. The education was geared toward phases in maturation. Zabarella began to study letters, that is, master Latin grammar, as soon as he was old enough. When Zabarella had to choose an area of specialization in the university, he chose law because it was a discipline that brought society benefits. In between, during adolescence, the future professor and cardinal pursued the humanities because they taught him moderation, disciplined him to control his libido, and motivated him to embrace a commitment to chastity. Throughout his life he devoted leisure time to the reading of ancient literature, making him a proponent of the liberal arts in deed. Similarly, Carlo Zeno began his schooling during boyhood with letters. As he matured, he combined training in arms with study of music. He intended to equal the feats of Themistocles as an admiral but

surpass the Athenian admiral in his mastery of music. Like Zabarella, Zeno chose to specialize his training and contribute to the public welfare through a military career where he proved as valuable for his counsel as he did for his performance in combat.

Poggio and Leonardo Giustiniani celebrated civic heroes who made their avocation a vocation. Embracing the Ciceronian ethic that we are not born for ourselves alone, Zabarella devoted himself after graduation to the teaching of law. So generous was his personality that he seemed a common parent to all his students. Zeno rejected self-indulgence, particularly when free from military campaigning. He used the leisure time to renew his study of good letters. Zeno focused on two disciplines he deemed crucial: moral philosophy that taught the art of good and holy living and the service (*munus*) of oratory that brought common benefit to fellow citizens. Well into his eighties and after retirement from active duty, he returned to liberal studies so that any advice he offered be sound and any service he rendered be selfless.

Both speakers used their subjects to illustrate the value of a comprehensive education in the liberal arts. Although Zabarella specialized in law, he built those studies on the foundation of the humanities and moral philosophy. Zabarella embraced the precepts of ancient rhetoricians because he was convinced that public speaking was crucial to the common good. So successful was he in the study of rhetoric that his speech was like a river flowing with an abundance of apt diction and reliable recommendation. He focused his philosophical study on ethics because sound moral judgment enabled a life of integrity. His legal commentaries made the obscure comprehensible and multiplied the benefits of his knowledge beyond the classroom. Zabarella exemplified the merits that Cicero had posited for jurisprudence. Law was the bond that secured rights in society, the foundation of liberty, and the wellspring of justice. Zeno stood apart from other learned Venetians. Where they attained proficiency in a specific art, he was outstanding across the board. Giustiniani used three comparisons to Lucius Lucullus to demonstrate the breadth of the admiral's education and the fruits it had borne. In hospitality to the learned, including Guarino, Zeno proved the equal of Lucullus who had befriended the philosopher Antiochus of Ascalon. In his considerable aptitude for memorizing, Zeno proved superior to Lucullus. And in retiring to a life of study, he proved himself a Lucullus redivivus. Comparisons to Lucullus came easy for Giustiniani because, two years earlier under Guarino's tutelage, he had translated Plutarch's life of the Roman general.<sup>148</sup> Zeno also proved to be more clement than Julius Caesar. Whereas Caesar restored his political enemies to Rome but not to freedom, Zeno restored personal enemies to life

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<sup>148</sup> Plut. *Vit. Luc.* 42.6 (friend of Ascalon); 1.5 and 42.2 (retirement spent with scholars); and Cic. *Acad.* 2.2 (memory for facts). Giustiniani translated the parallel lives of *Cimon* and *Lucullus* in 1416 and dedicated the translation to Enrico Lusignan.

and liberty. That action epitomized the oddly humane way that Zeno waged war, a thread Giustiniani wove through his eulogy.

Both speakers used their funeral orations to celebrate learned integrity, the principal yield of a humanist education. The two speeches were structured to convey the message: they first covered historical deeds (*de vita*) and then moved to ethical character (*de virtute*). Zabarella made the linkage explicit when he endorsed the Socratic maxim that human beings will progress in virtue if they behave as they wish to appear. Poggio celebrated Zabarella at the Council of Constance as a Churchman who exemplified integrity (*probitas*) and denounced hypocrisy. That allowed Poggio to draw a sharp contrast between the upright Zabarella and most of his fellow bishops and cardinals. The motivation for his promotion in the hierarchy was altogether unusual and appropriate. The usual path was through wealth or personal ambition or noble ancestry or suasion by the powerfully connected. The pope chose to advance Zabarella on the basis of interior virtue that was purely his own. It was a felicitous choice, meeting a dire need for a bishop who was wise, virtuous, and an exemplar of holy living. Once promoted, Zabarella provided a second contrast. Unlike most of his fellow clerics, he chose not to drink from the cup of Circe and, as Horace wrote, grovel before a courtesan's commands. The remarkable thing about Zabarella was that he remained the same person he was before promotion. He dedicated himself to his ministries and thought nothing more preferable than to take up the cause of the oppressed. He cheated himself to support those in need.

Poggio orchestrated his treatment of Zabarella's actions at the Council of Constance in a moving crescendo to his integrity. He helped to choose Constance because it was a city above the factions. When John XXIII wavered about attending, Zabarella told him that he was going because he had given his word. At the Council, Zabarella endeavored to root out division and reconcile enemies. When he spoke, he said what others were loath to say publicly. His final speech to the assembled fathers stood out for its forcefulness: he exhorted, he warned, he rebuked. In the peroration he expressed a willingness to pour out his spirit for the cause of Church unity. And he did. Shortly after the dramatic speech, Zabarella capitulated to the wishes of intimate friends and sought a cure for a nagging illness at the nearby baths. When he arrived, he could barely breathe. But he cut the treatment short to rejoin the conciliar debate and promote the cause of European peace. He succumbed to the disease and relentless efforts for unity. For Poggio, Zabarella was the antithesis of the nefarious, unethical, and seditious men who populated the meeting halls of the Council. Unlike them, Zabarella's undivided focus was the salvation of all believers afflicted by schism in the Roman Church.

Giustiniani portrayed Carlo Zeno as an honorably humane commander. When still an adolescent (age 24), Zeno received a lucrative position as a cathedral canon

in the city of Patras. He resigned the position to engage in a contest (*duellum*) with an unnamed Apulian. Because Zeno emerged the victor, by the laws of warfare, the foreigner was a prisoner and slave, but Zeno chose to give him his freedom as well as his life. Late in life, Zeno was sent with a small band of soldiers to conciliate a throng of insurgents living in the Comascan Alps. That marauding band had never been subjugated by the force of arms. Zeno chose to fight and defeat them in a new sort of war waged with the mollifying virtues of compassion, respect, and leniency, to which he added the persuasive art of eloquence. Throughout his life, Zeno earned his renown (*gloria*) among the best citizens of the Venetian Republic. In the penultimate war that Venice fought against Genoa, the War of Chioggia, Zeno made enormous sacrifices. He was wounded and lost an eye, but he crushed the enemy and suppressed insurrection among Venetian mercenaries. Zeno proved another Scipio: when Genoese attacking forces directly threatened the homeland, he took the war to Genoa. One glance at Zeno's scar-riddled corpse as it lay naked on the bier confirmed his courageous commitment to Venice. But his courage never outran conciliating virtues. At critical moments, Zeno offered to the governing oligarchy his sage counsel and to the Republic's sworn enemies his generous clemency. Zeno's prudent benevolence won the war and the peace.

Those who read and studied the two funeral orations would come away with an informed understanding of their celebratory rhetoric, historical focus, and vivid portrayal. In every commonwealth, deeds of integrity mattered. By quoting ancient sources, Poggio made explicit his reliance on Roman inspiration. Horace supplied his allusion to the cup of Circe that fueled human libido, but Cicero stood out among his classical authors. Poggio gleaned from Cicero the image of the flowing river of Zabarella's eloquence, the contention that dedication to good and holy living was as important as scholarly erudition, and the guiding conviction that we are not born for ourselves alone.<sup>149</sup> Zabarella's authenticity set him apart from his clerical peers: he lived the values that he advocated. Giustiniani was hardly averse to Ciceronian ideals, apparent in his celebrating *humanitas* in war, clemency to the undeserving, and breadth of knowledge in all the liberal arts. The young Venetian added Greek ideals that he had learned from studying under Guarino and translating Plutarch. Zeno was an admiral superior to Themistocles in his musical proficiency, and Zeno was equal or superior to Lucullus in intellectual abilities, commitment to learning, and patronage for humanist scholars.<sup>150</sup> Giustiniani added a peculiarly Venetian note when he observed that, while

<sup>149</sup> Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.24-25. Cic. *De or.* 2.188; *Acad.* 2.119 (*flumen eloquentiae*); *Tusc.* 4.84 and 5.19; *Fin.* 1.72 and 5.88 (*ars bene beateque vivendi*); *Off.* 1.22; and *Fin.* 2.45 (*non nobis nati sumus*).

<sup>150</sup> *Rhet. Her.* 4.23 (*pacem humanitas augere*); *Brut.* 12.45 (*eloquentia pacis comes*); *Arch.* 1.2 (*omnes artes, quae ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum*); *Marc.* 1.1-2

in Patras, Zeno used every opportunity to navigate far and wide. He did so because great men traveled to learn, and mastery of nautical training had bred an empire for Venice. For both humanists, in keeping with their embrace of ancient cultural ideals, eloquence was the supremely beneficial civic art. The numbers of manuscripts and printed editions of their two funeral orations provide grounds to commend them for their own rhetorical integrity.

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**Keywords:** humanism, Renaissance, Italy, oratory, manuscript, copyist

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(*clementia*); *De or.* 1.13 (*omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenae*); and *Tusc.* 1.4 (*Themistoclesque ... cum in epulis recusaret lyram, est habitus indoctor*).

Poggio Bracciolini on Francesco Zabarella				
DATE	COPYIST OWNER	PLACE	STATUS	MANUSCRIPT
1417 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands	Italy (North)?	Religious?	Florence Ricc. 784
1420–1425–1458	Agostino Santucci (C)	Italy (Padua, Perugia)	Student / Professor (Medicine)	Pesaro Oliveriana 44
1420 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Four Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> / Semihumanist) Ludovico da Pirano? Antonius Burgundus S. Francesco	Italy (Veneto?)  Italy (Ferrara)	Professional scribe?  Religious (Franciscan) Religious (Franciscan)	Siena Comunale H.VI.26 (parchment)
1426–68  ca. 1426 (fasc. III with Poggio oration) 1463–68	Several Hands  Johannes von Eyb (C, 362–92)  Albrecht von Eyb	Italy (North), Basel, Germany Italy (Padua)  Germany	  Priest (Canon) / Lawyer  Humanist	Eichstätt 218
1427	Ludolphus de Frisia et al.	Italy (Pavia)	Student (Law)	Brussels Royale II.1442
1434 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  1500–99	Several Hands (one text dated 1430)	Italy (Veneto)?	Student (rhetoric)?	BAV Vat. lat. 6292
1435	Venceslaus de Alamania Alta (C)	Italy (Padua)	Student (Univ. of Padua)	BAV Ottob. lat. 3021
1435 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Domenico Grimani	Italy (Padua)  Italy (Rome)	  Cardinal	Udine Arciv. 70
1435 (ca.)		Italy (Piemonte, Padua)?	Student (Univ. of Padua)?	Berlin Lat. fol. 613 <sup>151</sup>

<sup>151</sup> The codex has an “Oratio pro cardinale de Fuxo.” The elder Pierre de Foix was a cardinal from 1409–64 and the younger Pierre a cardinal from 1476–85.

Poggio Bracciolini on Francesco Zabarella				
1435 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	German Hand			Stuttgart Landesbibl. Hist. fol. 252
1436	Spanish Hand (A.S.Y.R.A.X)	Italy (Bologna — home of Master Juan Butiyer)	Student (Spanish College)?	Madrid Nac. 11557
1530–66 (ca.)	Martín Pérez de Ayala (1504–66)	Spain	Religious / Bishop	
1566	Monastery of Santiago de Uclés	Spain (Cuenca)	Religious (Order of Santiago)	
1440 (ca.)	Eight Hands	Italy (Veneto)		Berlin lat. fol. 667 (composite)
1438	Guarino (note)		Humanist Professionals (Physicians)	
1452	Leonardi family?			Appendix
1444 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands (Humanist cursive)	Italy		Berlin Lat. fol. 557
1564–80 (ca.)	Daniel Furlanus (C)	Italy (Padua)	Professional (Physician)	
1445		Italy (Florence)		Budapest Clmae 292
1445 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Humanist cursive hand	Italy? Spain?		Salamanca Univ. 64
	Juan Ruiz de Camargo (d. 1477)	Spain (Salamanca)	<i>Maestrescuela</i>	
1586	Alfonso Ortiz	Spain (Toledo?)	Cathedral Canon	
	Nicolás de Garnica	Spain (Leon)		
1445 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )		Italy (Tuscany? Rome?)		Perugia Augusta Fondo Vecchio H.78



Poggio Bracciolini on Francesco Zabarella				
1445 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )?				Berlin lat. quarto 545 (deposited in Cracow Jagiell.)
1451	Petrus de Traiecto (C)	Italy (Florence)	Professional scribe for Vespasiano	Wrocław Univ. R.36
1451, 15 Sep. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several hands (Semigothic) Cristoforo Viviani da Verona (Chr. V.)	Italy Italy (North)	Professional (Lawyer)	Venice Marc. lat. XI.59 (4152)
1452, 5 Jan. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Io. Guidonis M. de Quercu			Munich Staatsbibl. Clm 477
1453 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands Agnelius Salernitanus? Vinciguerra Issapica Angelo Colocci	Italy (Salerno) Italy (Rome)	Humanist Professional (Physician) Cardinal	BAV Vat. lat. 2906 (composite / <i>zibaldone</i> )
1458 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands Ranivaldus de Monte Calvo?	Dalmatia? Italy (Campania)?		BAV Chis. J.VI.215
1450s 1464–71	Bruno Johannes (C) Pietro del Monte Paul II?	Italy (Central) Italy (Rome)	Lawyer / Bishop Bishop and Pope	BAV Vat. lat. 1785 <sup>152</sup>
1456–61	Battista da Cingoli (C) ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Guarnerio d'Artegna	Italy (San Daniele)	Professional scribe Priest (corrections)	San Daniele Guarneriana 97 (copied from cod. 141)

<sup>152</sup> David Rundle, "A Renaissance Bishop and His Books: A Preliminary Survey of the Manuscript Collection of Pietro del Monte (ca. 1400-57)," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): 245–72.

Poggio Bracciolini on Francesco Zabarella				
1459 ( <i>terminus ante quem</i> )	Niccolò de' Ricci (C) ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico Poggio Bracciolini Iacopo di Poggio Bracciolini	Italy (Florence)	Professional scribe  Illuminator  Humanist	BAV Urb. lat. 224 (formerly 477)
1471	Federigo da Montefeltro		Duke	
1461	Wenceslaus de Glacz (C) Johannes von Rabenstein	Bohemia (Prague)	Priest  Humanist	Schlägl Cpl. 136
1461 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two–Three Hands (Semigothic) Cristoforo Viviani da Verona?	Italy (Veneto)	Professional (Lawyer)	Padua Semin. 92
1465				
1463 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) (marginal corrections)	Italy (Veneto)	Professional scribe	Dresden App. 2282 (parchment?)
1463 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Three Hands (German) Hans Pirckheimer (C)	Italy (Bologna / Padua)	Student (rhetoric / law) / Humanist	BL Arundel 70
1450 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands (at least one German Gothic)	Italy (Bologna, Padua)?	Professional scribe? (many errors) Student? (corrections)	Munich Univ. Fol. 607

Poggio Bracciolini on Francesco Zabarella				
1425–75	Several Hands (at least one German Gothic)	Italy (Bologna, Padua)?	Student(s)?	Vienna Lat. 3330
1467 (ca.)	Northern Hand (Semigothic) A. R. (C) Sigismund Gossembrot (C)	Italy (Padua?)  Germany (Augsburg)	Humanist / Magistrate (Mayor)	Gotha Chart. B.61
1468 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )		Italy	Student (rhetoric)?	Paris Nationale Nuov. acq. lat. 1150
1462?  1468–69  1531	Several German Hands Stephanus Marchfart (C)  Simon Enthofer (C) Ulrich Gossembrot (C) Fernando Colón	Italy  Germany (Augsburg)  Seville	Notary (for “your reverence”)  Humanist  Bibliophile	Seville Colombina 5–5–19
1425–75	One Hand ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Tabaleno di Marco di Ser Nicollino da Rimini Baptista?	Italy (Veneto)	Professional scribe  Priest? Notary?	Ravenna Class. 117
1471, 1 Nov. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) – 1525 (ca.)	Leonardus Izerielze?	France (Abbey of Cîteaux)	Religious (Cistercians)	Dijon 837 (491)
1478, 28 Aug. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) – 1510 (ca.)	Several Hands	Italy		BNCF Magl. Strozz. VIII.1435
1478 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Northern Hand	Austria (Linz)		Olomouc M.I.159

Poggio Bracciolini on Francesco Zabarella				
1481 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  1583	Several Hands Anon author of wedding speech for daughter of Giacomo Sacrati Guido Alfonso and Isabella Faletti	Italy (Ferrara?)		Padua Semin. 36 (composite)
1481 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  1503	Giovanni Pontano Eugenia Pontano S. Domenico Maggiore S. Michele di Murano	Italy (Naples)	Humanist  Religious (Dominicans) Religious (Camaldolese)	BAV Vat. lat. 13679
1482 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) – 1500s	Several Hands	Italy (Florence, Tuscany)?		Perugia Augusta Fondo Vecchio J.100
1483 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Horatius Sanctinus	Italy		Oxford Bodl. D’Orville 59
1485 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Ma(r)iano da Montesanto? Angelus de Narduciis?	Italy (Veneto?)  Two letters (flyleaf)	Religious (Franciscan)	Venice Marc. lat. XI.80 (3057) (mostly parchment)
1476–1500		Italy		Milan Ambros. E 115 sup.
1476–1500  1556	Several Hands  Cesare Dultone (no. 486)	Italy (Padua)	Coat of Arms (“NI HO”) Religious (Franciscan)	Yale Osborn a.17
1450–1550		Italy	Nobility (Court of Urbino)	BAV Urb. lat. 1169
1642 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Zabarella family?	Italy (Veneto)		Washington DC Libr. of Congress Phillipps 5819
1655 ( <i>terminus ante quem</i> )	Zabarella family	Italy (Veneto)		Padua Museo Civico B.P. 2042

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
DATE	COPYIST OWNER	PLACE	STATUS	MANUSCRIPT
1411, 1 Oct. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several German Hands	Germany		Basel Univ. FV.6 (composite)
1418 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Italian Hand ( <i>littera antiqua</i> )		Professional scribe	
1447–52	Enrico Amici	Switzerland (Basel)	Professional (Physician)	
	Charterhouse	Switzerland (Basel)	Religious (Carthusians)	
1414–54	Several Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> , Gothic)	Italy		Oxford Bodl. Bywater 38 (composite)
	Guarino (autogr.)	Italy (Florence)	Humanist	
	Francesco Barbaro	Italy (Veneto)	Humanist	
1420–25 –1458	Agostino Santucci (C)	Italy (Padua, Perugia)	Student / Professor (Medicine)	Pesaro Oliveriana 44
1420 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Four Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> / Semihumanist)	Italy (Veneto?)	Professional scribe?	Siena Comunale H.VI.26 (parchment)
	Ludovico da Pirano?		Religious (Franciscan)	
	Antonius Burgundus	Italy (Ferrara)	Religious (Franciscan)	
	S. Francesco	Italy (Ferrara)	Religious (Franciscans)	
1430–50 1475–1500	Two Hands? (Semigothic)	Italy (Veneto)		New York Gordan 73
1420–60	Eight Hands Rinuccio Aretino (C) Three scribes employed by Rinuccio	Italy (Rome)	Humanist / Papal secretary	BNCF Naz. II.VIII.129

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1431–38 1525–95 (ca.)	Antonio Delani d'Alba (C) Gabriele Alessandri da Bergamo (C)	Italy (Verona)	Magistrate ( <i>Podestà</i> )	Padua Univ. 541
1433 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Iacobus de Regno?	Italy (Rome, Florence)?	Religious (Dominican)	BL Add. 11760
1434–41 1500–99	Petrus Lunensis (Pietro de' Putomorsi) (C) Hand B ( <i>marginalia</i> )	Italy (Viterbo)	Magistrate (Papal chancellor)	Viterbo Capit. 13
1428 1435, 23 Aug.	Two Hands ( <i>Bastarda</i> all'antica)	Italy (Veneto? Ferrara?)		Florence Ricc. 421
1435	Venceslaus de Alamania Alta (C)	Italy (Padua)	Student (University)	BAV Ottob. lat. 3021
1435 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Domenico Grimani	Italy (Padua) Italy (Rome)	Cardinal	Udine Arciv. 70
1435 (ca.)		Italy (Piemonte, Padua)?	Student (rhetoric)?	Berlin Lat. fol. 613
1435 –1475	Several Hands Brangotus (Ugolino Pisani?) Antonio Ilicino?	Italy Italy (Pavia) Italy (Urbino?)	Student  Professional (Montefeltro secretary)	Venice Marc. lat. XIV.219 (4631)
1436–45	Guarnerio d'Artegna (C) Two Further Hands ( <i>Bastarda</i> )	Italy (San Daniele)	Priest	San Daniele Guarneriana 141 (exemplar for cod. 97)

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1438 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) 1433–35  1466, 26 Apr.	Several Hands  Guillelmus Rustichellus  Pietro Roncioni	Italy (Lucca)   Italy (Pisa)	  Communal notary and secretary Notary (Episcopal Curia)	Lucca Statale 1436
1440 (ca.) 1438  1452	Eight Hands Guarino (note) Leonardi family?	Italy (Veneto)	Humanist Professionals (Physicians)	Berlin lat. fol. 667 (composite)  Appendix
1440 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Barbone Morosini?	Italy (Padua)?	Student (Univ. of Padua)?	Vienna Lat. 3136
1442 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands Giovanni Melzi and friends	Italy (Milan)	Lawyer / Sforza Courtier	Milan Ambros. Sussidio H 52 (composite / parchment)
1443 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )				Macerata 381 (5, 3.D.8)
1443 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands (principal <i>littera antiqua</i> / Gothic) Priolo?	Italy (Foligno?)	Professional scribe?  Priest?	Foligno Jacobilli C.IV.10
1443 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands (Humanist cursive) Iacobus de Alexandria? Guillelmus de la Pigna?	Italy (Veneto)  Italy (Verona?)	  Religious (Franciscan) Jurist / Magistrate ( <i>Podestà</i> )	Turin Nazionale Univ. H.III.8
1443 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Galiottus?	Italy	Professional (Teacher)	Vienna Lat. 3494

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1443 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  –1502	Several Hands (Humanist cursive) Petrus de Platea? Martinus Buta?	Italy (Padua? Ferrara?)	Student (University)?  Orations and recipes added	BL Harley 4094
1444 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  1564–80 (ca.)	Several Hands (Humanist cursive) Daniel Furlanus (C)	Italy  Italy (Padua)	Professional (Physician)	Berlin Lat. fol. 557
1444 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	One Hand (Humanist cursive)	Italy (North / Milan)	Scholar Coat of Arms (on old binding)	Berlin Lat. quarto 507
1445 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  1586	Humanist cursive hand Juan Ruiz de Camargo (d. 1477) Alfonso Ortiz Nicolás de Garnica	Italy? Spain?  Spain (Salamanca)  Spain (Toledo?) Spain (Leon)	<i>Maestrescuela</i>  Cathedral Canon	Salamanca Univ. 64
1446, 16 Aug.  1458 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Hieronymus Pistoriensis (C)  Alessandro Astesi da Pistoia	Italy (Rome)	Professional scribe / Secretary Professor (Dante lecture to Pius II)	BNCF Rossi-Cassigoli 372
1446, 26 Apr. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands (Humanist cursive) A. L. (C) Battista Panetti?	Italy (North)  Italy (Ferrara)	Religious priest (Carmelite)	Ferrara Ariostea II.110



Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1447 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Gabriele da Bosco (C) (Humanist cursive) S. Michele	Italy (North)  Italy (Candiana)	Scholar / Cleric / Augustinian Canon  Religious (Augustinians)	Venice Marc. lat. XI.3 (4351)
1448–55	Paulus Verceligena	Italy (Bergamo)?	Student?	Elbląg Miejska Q.78 (lost)
1448 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Johannes Divitis (C) (Prehumanist Bastarda)	Belgium (Ghent)	Religious (Carthusian)	Brussels Royale II.1443
1448 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Maggio Maggi and his family?	Italy (Padua? Verona?)	Humanist / Lawyer (circle of Guarino)	Verona Capit. CLIII (141)
1425–50	One Hand (Semihumanist)	Italy (North, Bologna)?		Venice Correr Cicogna 797 (1048)
1400–50	Two Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Archangelus and friends	Italy (Padua)?	Professional scribe?	BAV Vat. lat. 2936
1400–50	One Hand (Semigothic) Este	Italy (Veneto)  Italy (Ferrara)	Coat of arms	Venice Marc. lat. XI.101 (3939)
1400–50	Five Hands Flavio Biondo (corrections)	Italy	Humanist / Papal secretary	BAV Vat. lat. 1071
1400–50  1475–1525 (ca.)	Several Hands (Italian / English / Flemish / French) Master Orwyll	Northern Europe?	Professor (Cambridge)	BL Harley 2268 (parchment and paper)
1400–50	English Hand (Gothic)  Thomas Bekynton?	Northern Europe (Council of Basel?) England	Royal Secretary / Bishop	BL Cotton Tiberius B.VI (parchment)

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1400–50	One Hand (Semigothic) Domenico Capranica Collegio Capranica	Italy (Rome?) Italy (Rome) Italy (Rome)	Cardinal	BAV Ross. 784
1400–50	Two Hands (Chancery and Semigothic) M. Adam?			BAV Chis. J.IV.118
1450 (ca.)  1475	Several Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Johannes Heller (C) Cathedral Library	Italy (Padua?)  Germany (Freising)	Professional scribe? Student / Priest	Munich Staatsbibl. Clm 6721
1451–52  –1480, 10 Dec.  1552  1571	Giovanni Bernardo Dalle Valli (C)  Hartmann Schedel  Hans Jakob Fugger Albrecht V	Italy (Padua)  Germany (Nuremberg)  Germany (Augsburg) Germany (Munich)	Student  Humanist / Physician (Coat of arms) Businessman  Duke	Munich Clm 78
1453	One Hand (Italian)	Italy (Florence?)	Professional scribe	Glasgow Hunter 301 (U.6.19) (parchment)
1453	Bessarion	Italy	Cardinal	Venice Zan. lat. 496 (1688)
1453, 15 Nov.	Two Hands Johannes Maria de Berneriis (C)	Italy (Pavia)	Student (University)?	BAV Palat. lat. 1592
1454, 1 Sept.– 1459	Several Hands Benedetto Ovetari da Vicenza (C)	Italy (Padua?) Cyprus	Magistrate (Chancellor)	Venice Marc. lat. XI.100 (3938) (zibaldone)

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1454–56 1454, 3 Sept. 1487 (ca.) 1500 ( <i>terminus ante quem</i> )	Several Hands (Gothic) Johannes Tröster Church of St. Ulrich Seminary Library	Austria (Wiener Neustadt)  Germany (Regensburg)	Humanist / Cleric / Imperial secretary	Sankt Pölten Diözesanbibl. 63
1455 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) 1501	Several Hands Kort Rogge Strängnäs Cathedral	Italy (Perugia)  Sweden	Student / Bishop	Strängnäs Cathedral Library 7 (F.7)
1456 1481	Several Hands (one Semigothic) Sixtus IV	Italy (Lucca)  Italy (Rome)	Bishop / Pope	BAV Vat. lat. 1541 (parchment)
1456–61	Battista da Cingoli (C) ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Guarnerio d'Artegna	Italy (San Daniele)	Professional scribe  Priest (corrections)	San Daniele Guarneriana 97 (copied from cod. 141)
1457 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )		Italy?		Padua Semin. 637
1458 (ca.)	One Hand Iacopo Zeno M. Corvinus?	Italy (Florence? Siena? Padua?)  Hungary (Buda)?	Professional scribe Bishop / Humanist King	Padua Semin. 46 (parchment - Zeno sylloge)
1460 (ca.) 1476–77	Three Hands (one Semigothic) Bernhard von Kraiburg	Austria (Chiemsee-Salzburg)	Bishop	Munich Staatsbibl. Clm 5335

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1461 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) 1465	Two-Three Hands (Semigothic) Cristoforo Viviani da Verona?	Italy (Veneto)	Professional (Lawyer)	Padua Semin. 92
1461–71	Tho. G. S. (C) S. Caterina	Italy (Pisa?) Italy (Pisa)	Religious (Dominican)? Religious (Dominicans)	Pisa S. Caterina 37
1463, 11 June	Bartholomaeus Fabius Mutinensis (C)	Italy (North)	Professional scribe	Venice Archivio di Stato Misc. stor. ven. 159
1463 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Marginal corrections	Italy (Veneto)	Professional scribe	Dresden App. 2282 (parchment?)
1463 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Francesco Ottavio Clefilo?	Italy (Veneto?) Ferrara?)		Vicenza Bertoliana 7.1.31
1450–64 –1525	Scriptorium of Lauro Palazzolo Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)	Italy (Padua)	Professional (Jurist) Humanist / Bibliophile	Milan Ambros. D 93 sup. (composite)
1460 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands	Italy (North)	Student(s)?	Treviso Capit. I.177
1463 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Three German Hands Hans Pirckheimer (C)	Italy (Bologna, Padua)	Student (rhetoric, law) / Humanist	BL Arundel 70
1450 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Two Hands (at least one German)	Italy (Bologna, Padua)?	Professional scribe? (many errors) Student? (corrections)	Munich Univ. Fol. 607
1425–75	Several Hands (at least one German Gothic)	Italy (Bologna, Padua)?	Student(s)?	Vienna Lat. 3330

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1451 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) 1500	Two Hands (one German) Abbey of Sts. Eucharius and Matthias	Italy (Italian paper) Germany (Trier)	Student (rhetoric)? Religious (Benedictines)	Trier Stadtbibl. 1879/74
1456 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> ) –1525		Germany		Blickling Hall 6844 (partly printed)
1425–75	Several Hands (Humanist cursive) Iop R. (C)	Italy (North)	Professional scribe	Parma Palatina Pal. 262
1425–75	Several Hands Giacomo della Marca	Italy (Monteprandone)	Religious (Franciscan)	Monteprandone M.54
1464 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands	Italy (Veneto)		Trent Capit. 42 (composite)
1466 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands Paolo Maffei?  S. Maria della Passione	Italy (North)  Italy (Milan)	Humanist / Theologian Lateran Canons Regular	Milan Braidense A.G.IX.43
1467  1525–40 (ca.)	Several Hands Giacomo Corradetti d'Apiro Marcello Cervini Gugl. Sirleto	Italy (Osimo)  Italy (Rome)	Magistrate (Chancellor)  Cardinal  Cardinal	BAV Ottob. lat. 1184
1467–68 (ca.)	Several Hands (German) Hartmann Schedel (C)  Hermann Schedel?	Germany?	Humanist / Physician (Coat of arms)	Munich Staatsbibl. Clm 522
1470, 1 Oct.	One Hand Maffei family	Italy (Verona)		Berlin Lat. oct. 148

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1471  1571	Hans Jakob Fugger Albrecht V	Italy (North)? Germany (Augsburg) Germany (Munich)	Businessman  Duke	Munich Staatsbibl. Clm 76 (Zeno sylloge)
1471	<i>littera antiqua</i> Johannes Nydennda de Confluentia (C)	Italy (Veneto)	Professional Scribe Illuminated	Vienna Lat. 3315 (Zeno sylloge)
1471 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands (Italian and perhaps French) Iampetrus Venetus Chierighino Chiericati?	Italy (North?)		Paris Nationale Lat. 7868
1471–80? –1550	One Hand (Humanist cursive)	Italy (Lombardy)	Scribe of Milan Trivulz. 873	Brescia Queriniana B.VI.4
1471 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Ambrosius Allantsee (C) (Bastarda) St. Mang	Switzerland (Basel)  Germany (Füssen)	Religious (Carthusian)  Religious (Benedictines)	Augsburg Schloss Harburg II.lat.I.quarto.33
1471 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands Lorenzo Astemio?	Italy Italy (Urbino)	Librarian	Hamburg Staats- und Univ. Philol. 325a (quarto)
1472 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Gioacchino Castiglioni Marcanova, <i>Opera</i> Paolo Folperti da Pavia Graziadio Crotti da Cremona	Italy (Milan)	Religious Priests (Dominicans)	Milan Archivio di Stato cod. Castiglioni-Cibrario (lost)
1474 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Tommaso Baldinotti (C) (Humanist cursive)	Italy (Florence)	Priest / Poet	Rome Bibl. dell'Accademia dei Lincei Corsin. 583

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1475, 2 Feb. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	German Hand (Gothic) Michael Wochner (C)	Austria (Wiener Neustadt)	Coat of Arms	Kremsmünster 10
1475 (ca.)  1484	  Lancino Curti	Italy (Lombardy)	  Humanist / Courtier	Philadelphia Univ. of Penn. Lat. 7
1478, 28 Aug. ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands	Italy		BNCF Magl. Strozz. VIII.1435
1483 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )  –1600	Several Hands Iacobus Grasolarius? Lazzaro Gallineta da Padova?	Italy	Priest / Notary / Editor Religious (Dominican)	Perugia Augusta Fondo Vecchio J.115
1489, 5 Jan.	Johannes Antonius Urbinas (C)	Italy (Padua?)	Professional scribe?	Venice Giustiniani- Recanati V.13 (98)
1492 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Paulus Porfirius Bononiensis? P. Hortinus? Fr. Hier. Charitus?	Italy?	  Religious	BAV Borg. lat. 214
1492 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> )	Several Hands	Italy (Urbino?)		BAV Vat. lat. 8750
1450–1500	One Hand ( <i>littera antiqua</i> ) Marino Sanudo	Italy (Florence?)	Professional scribe Diarist / Magistrate	Venice Correr Morosini-Grimani 248
1450–1500 1483 ( <i>terminus post quem</i> for last fascicle)	Five Hands Ludovico Carbone (marginalia) Battista Panetti (C) S. Paolo	Italy (Ferrara)  Italy (Ferrara)  Italy (Ferrara)	  Humanist  Religious Priest (Carmel- ite) Religious (Carmelites)	Ferrara Ariostea II.135 (composite)

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1450–1500	Five Hands (Humanist cursive / Italic)	Italy (Ferrara? Verona?)		Florence Laurenziana Ashb. 278
1450–1500	Several Hands Nicolò da Urbino?	Italy (North)		Florence Ricc. 976
1450–1500	Chancery Hand Michele Orsini	Italy (North) Italy (Venice)	Augustinian Canon / Bishop	Paris Nationale Ital. 353
1560–86				
1450–1525	Several Hands Fabrizio Marliani Tristano Calco (reader)	Italy (Lombardy?)	Coat of Arms Bishop / Courtier Historian / Magistrate (Chancellor)	Milan Ambros. C 141 inf.
1450–1525	Eleven Hands Ludovico Podocataro (C)  Filippo Podocataro?	Italy (Padua)?	Student / Physician / Cardinal Student / Ambassador	BAV Regin. lat. 1612 (composite)
1450–1525 1540–1610 (ca.)	Several Hands Gugl. Sirleto Ascanio Colonna Giovanni Angelo Altemps	Italy (Ferrara) Italy (Rome)	Cardinal Cardinal  Duke	BAV Ottob. lat. 1153
1475–1500	S. M. (C)	Italy (Florence)	Professional scribe (from Veneto?)	BL Add. 15974
1475–1500	Pietro Bravo?	Italy (Padua)	Student / Magistrate (Chancellor of Verona)	Padua Museo Civico B. P. 1223
1475–1500			Student (rhetoric)?	Trier Incunabel 1219 (partly printed + 113 ms. fols.)



Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1475–1500	One Hand (Humanist cursive)	Italy		Regin. lat. 1583
1475–1500	Several Hands (Humanist cursive)	Italy (Rome? Lucca?)	Student (Circle of Leto or Giovan Pietro d'Avenza)?	BAV Ottob. lat. 1510
1475–1525	Two Hands Luca Fabiani Marsilio Ficino ( <i>postille</i> )	Italy (Florence)	Scribe Priest / Scholar	Rome Vallicelliana E.20 (composite)
1400–1500	Several North- ern Hands	Italy (Perugia)?	Student?	Würzburg Univ. M.ch.fol.68
1400–1500		Italy (Veneto)?		Berlin Lat. quarto 572
1400–1500 (1100–1200)	M. C. (C) ( <i>littera antiqua</i> )		Professional scribe	Udine Arciv. 49 (composite)
1400–1500	Several Hands	Italy (Veneto)		Einsiedeln 399 (308)
1400–1500? (1500–1600?)	One Hand (Humanist cursive)	Italy (Veneto)?	Student (rhetoric)?	Venice Marc. lat. XI.127 (4722)
1400–1500	Two Hands Francesco Saverio de Zelada (1717– 1801)	Italy? Italy (Rome)	Cardinal	Toledo 51, 4
1400–1500 –1730	Several Hands Giusto Fontanini	Italy (Veneto)? Italy (Rome)	Bishop / Librarian	Venice Marc. lat. XIV.45 (4595) (composite)
1486  1510–11 1750–60 (Giustiniani)	Konrad Stett- felder  Watermarks (fols. 11–16v)	Germany	Professional (Notary)?	Stuttgart Landesbibl. Poet. et Philol. fol. 14 (composite)
1500–1600		Italy?		Venice Zan. lat. 408 (2029) (Zeno sylloge)

Leonardo Giustiniani on Carlo Zeno				
1551–1600	Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601)	Italy (Veneto?)	Humanist / Bibliophile	Milan Ambros. N 340 sup. (composite)
1500–1700	SS. Giovanni e Paolo	Italy (Veneto?)	Religious (Dominicans)	Venice Marc. lat. XI.9 (4516) (composite)